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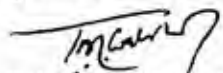
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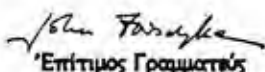
Τῷ σοφῷ καὶ ἐπιφανεῖ καθηγητῇ Κυρίῳ

RICHARD MacGILLIVRAY DAWKINS

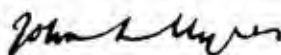
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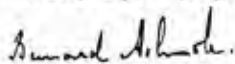
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# POTTERY FROM ERETRIA

(PLATES I-14)

MOST of the material published in this study is at present housed in the National Museum at Athens or in the museum at Eretria. It was excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service and under the direction of Kourouniotes over the period of years 1897-1917; annual reports were published in *PAE*.<sup>1</sup> The vases which Kourouniotes published in *AE* 1903 and the black figure amphorae published by Laurent in *AE* 1901 were taken to Athens, together with all the complete subgeometric and orientalisising grave amphorae and a number of other fragments now in an *apothéke* of the National Museum. The remainder, mainly sherds, was left in a small museum at Eretria. Unfortunately the pottery in Eretria has suffered in the course of time. No record of provenance has been kept and tomb groups are confused; complete profiles are hard to find as many plain fragments of body or foot had been thrown away or have since been lost. Much also had not been thoroughly cleaned, hence the hitherto unnoticed inscriptions on the archaic amphora (no. 17, p. 43 below).

The pottery is here discussed in six sections. The sub-geometric, orientalisising, sixth century and black figure grave amphorae each have one section devoted to them. The first section covers all other geometric and seventh century pottery, and the final section all other black figure pottery. Imports are discussed at the end of the first section. I have not concerned myself here with the long series of black figure, white ground and red figure lekythoi found in such numbers at Eretria, dating from the end of the sixth century onwards, or with any other pottery of the period after the Persian sack of Eretria in 491 B.C.

Previous work in this field is confined to the publications by Kourouniotes and Laurent mentioned above, a general appreciation of the Eretrian style by Prof. Dugas in *Mélanges Holleaux*, based on the vases exhibited in the National Museum, and an article (*AJA* 1941, 64 ff.) and an unpublished dissertation for the University of California by Dr. D. A. Amyx on Eretrian black figure.

## SECTION I

### GEOMETRIC AND SEVENTH CENTURY POTTERY<sup>2</sup>

Kourouniotes' excavations in the graveyard and in the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros yielded most of the pieces published in this section. The vases which he published in *AE* 1903 are now in Athens, although I have been unable to locate some fragments. The remainder are in the museum at Eretria. There is no record of provenance, although material from temple offerings can sometimes be identified.

I am deeply indebted to Mr. J. M. Cook, the Director of the British School at Athens and to Mr. R. M. Cook for their advice and help in the course of my research, and to Dr. D. A. Amyx, Dr. T. Dohrn, and Prof. H. R. W. Smith for photographs of objects I have been unable to study at first hand. My thanks are due to Miss L. H. Jeffery, Prof. Sir John Beazley, and Prof. Rumpf, whom I have consulted on various points. Mrs. Karouzou's assistance and kindness to me in such difficult times for the National Museum in Athens have been invaluable: Mr. Kontoleon kindly gave me permission to study in Mykonos Museum, and Mr. Threpsiades to study and publish pottery in Eretria Museum. I publish photographs of vases in Mykonos and the Louvre through the kindness of Mr. Kontoleon and M. Devambez. It was through the generosity of the trustees of the Walston Studentship which I held 1948/1949 and 1949/1950, the Craven Fund in Cambridge, and my college, Magdalene College, Cambridge, that I was able to undertake this research. The Craven Fund has also kindly assisted in meeting the cost of the illustrations to this article.

<sup>1</sup> Other excavations at Eretria *REG* 1895, 439.

<sup>2</sup> For convenience in the following sections vases in the Delos publication are referred to only by their published group letter and number, and published Samos vases simply by the author's name followed by page or plate reference (Technau, *AM* 1929, 6 ff.; Eilmann, *AM* 1933, 47 ff.).

The vases and fragments are grouped broadly according to their shapes. Imports are noted in the course of the description and discussed further at the end of the section.

Except in the case of these imports the quality of the biscuit is usually fine, without mica, though with occasional flecks of white chalk. Its colour varies from a pinkish-orange to buff, and it is often indistinguishable from Attic or even Boeotian clay. The normal surface colour is pale orange, as in Attic, but some vases have been fired to a light grey. It is quite unlike any island clay, though similar to that of the few archaic sherds from Chalcis.<sup>3</sup> Where a slip is used there is no noticeable difference in the clay; I have therefore not treated the slipped fragments separately.

Today Eretria has no clay of her own, or at least knows of none.<sup>4</sup> The nearest clay-beds are at Chalcis, and at Vasiliko, which would have been in Chalcidian territory in this period. There are some, however, at Batheia, about 8 km. to the east of Eretria, and clay could easily have been brought oversea from Oropos. I think it most unlikely that the potters' ovens were anywhere other than in Eretria itself.

#### PAINTED WARE

##### *Kotylai, Skyphoi, etc.*

Protocorinthian kotylai were imitated in large numbers in Eretria (FIG. 1; PLATE I A, 1-8). In two cases (PLATE I A, 1, 2) a heavy cream slip is used,<sup>5</sup> and the decoration of horizontal lines and butterfly pattern in the handle zone is most carefully executed. Alternate horizontal lines on the body were painted with thinned glaze, an affectation not met in true Protocorinthian work. The late eighth century bird-kotylai were also imitated<sup>6</sup> (FIG. 1. 5-9, 11; PLATE I A 6, 7). The maeander appears, once in connection with butterfly ornament<sup>7</sup> (FIG. 1. 4). Other imitations in a cruder linear style are paralleled in East Greece, and in the Cyclades by Parian and Naxian geometric skyphoi;<sup>8</sup> they bear motifs which we meet again on skyphoi from Eretria. Miniature kotylai with simple dot or blob decoration in the handle zone were made (FIG. 1. 12, 13). On some examples the lip turns out slightly. One fragment uses added white painted decoration—a not uncommon practice in Protocorinthian,<sup>9</sup> but the motif of upright wavy lines is unusual, and characteristically Eretrian (FIG. 1. 10).

There are many fragments of simple glazed one-handled geometric cups.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately no complete profile could be made up, but the type is sufficiently clear from the fragments to justify the reconstruction of some typical profiles (FIG. 2, not x). There are usually one or two thin reserved bands, in the consistent but dull glaze, within the lip, and occasionally another lower down within the cup. A simple X cross is the only decoration on the strap handles. It was no doubt this type of vase which was found in the incised-pithos burial mentioned by Kourouniotes (*AE* 1903, 26: cf. the pithos below, p. 11, no. 1). In a similar style are fragments of skyphoi with lines of dots at the rim; of these one complete profile is preserved (PLATE I A, 17; FIG. 2 x).

<sup>3</sup> See below, note 73.

<sup>4</sup> But see Pliny *NH* XXXV 38; Gardner *JHS* 1894, 185 n. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Similar imitations employing a slip have been found at Delphi, and cf. on the late seventh century Vari vases, *BCH* 1939, 287.

<sup>6</sup> On the type cf. Weinberg, *Corinth* VII i, 39 f.; imitated often in Attic, once on Delos, Ae73.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Delos* Ae80.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Delos* Ae and Bb groups. Both Paros and Naxos made these late geometric small vases, both occasionally employing a slip. Naxian work, on the evidence of its seventh century pottery and finds on the islands themselves, is probably to be distinguished by its darker red micaceous clay and its creamier slip. *Delos* Ae24-33, 36-47 and most of Bb may well be Naxian, Ae53-60, 75, 76 and perhaps Bb56, 58 Parian.

<sup>9</sup> Johansen, *Vases Sicyoniens* 69 f., where examples are cited; Weinberg, *op. cit.* 37.

<sup>10</sup> Young, *Hesp. Suppl.* II 203; *Thera* II 319, nos. 91, 92.

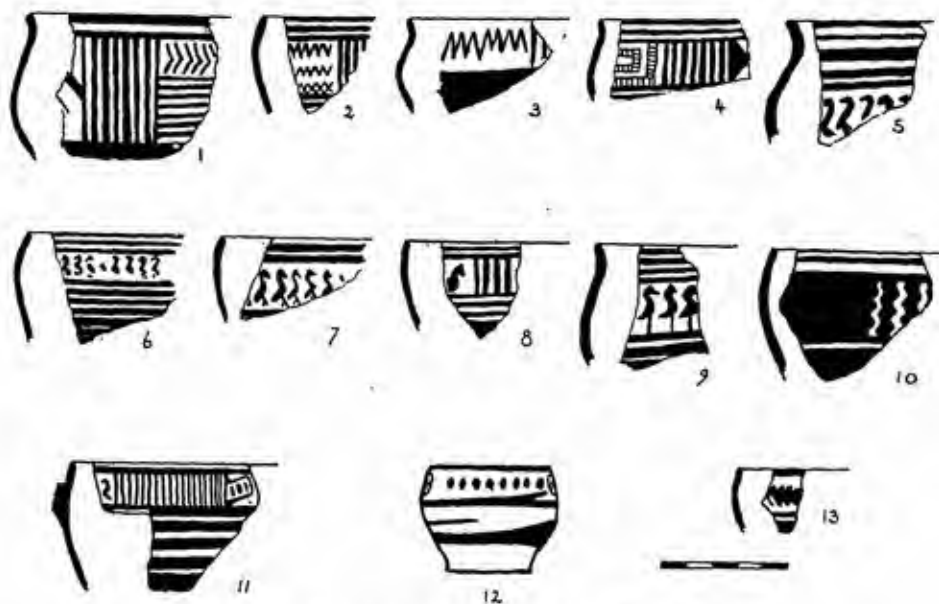


FIG. 1.—IMITATIONS OF PROTCORINTHIAN.

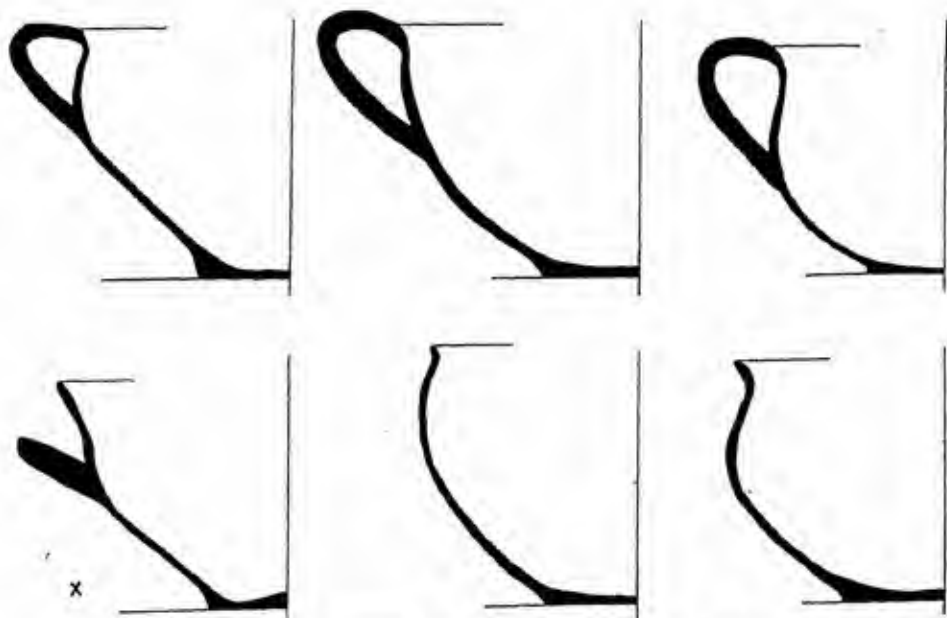


FIG. 2.—GEOMETRIC CUPS AND SKYPHOI (X = PLATE 1 A, 17).

Many fragments of skyphoi and kantharoi with offset rims employ simple geometric linear decoration, no doubt in part inspired by Protocorinthian (FIG. 3; PLATE I A, 9-16). The closest parallels are again with Cycladic geometric skyphoi, but the clay of the Eretrian examples is distinctly unmicaceous, unlike that of the Parian or Naxian vases. However, one fragment bears a characteristically Parian slip, and the clay is micaceous (PLATE I A, 9). As in the Cyclades a slip is occasionally employed (FIG. 3, 2-4, 7; PLATE I A, 11, 12). The maeander is common<sup>11</sup> on these shapes (FIG. 4, 1, 2; PLATE I A, 19-21); for the loose type of maeander on PLATE I A, 21 compare *Délos* Ae47.

There is one example (PLATE I A, 18) of a skyphos with concentric semicircles hanging from the rim, and here overlapping. It is common on Delos,<sup>12</sup> and finds on Tenos<sup>13</sup> suggested to Buschor<sup>14</sup> a Cycladic origin for the type, but it is found all over the Greek world.<sup>15</sup>

Metopal decoration with familiar Cycladic motifs is common. The dotted circles and the dots filling the corners of the panels are Parian in inspiration<sup>16</sup> (FIG. 4, 6; PLATE I A, 22, 24). A fragment with similar slip, lip profile and decoration to PLATE I A, 22 has been found in Chalcis:<sup>17</sup> the circles are not compass-drawn. The crossed-leaf motif and geometric birds in panels, familiar on much Cycladic work, are found<sup>18</sup> (FIGS. 4, 4-5; 5, 1-2; PLATE I A, 23, 1 B, 1, 2). FIG. 5, 2 bears a dull slip. The slip and redder clay of PLATE I B, 1, as well as its decoration, suggest that it could be an import from Naxos.<sup>19</sup> Rims decorated with a dotted net pattern are found on slipped fragments which may well also be Naxian (PLATE I B, 5, 6). Lines of compass-drawn concentric circles on rims are common<sup>20</sup> (FIG. 5, 3; PLATE I B, 7-9). PLATE I B, 4 offers an unusual East Greek motif,<sup>21</sup> and PLATE I B, 3 an unusual lip pattern.<sup>22</sup> Fragments of kantharos handles are decorated with thin parallel horizontal lines or a Union Jack pattern (FIG. 5, 4); some are slipped.

Finally, there is a series of fragments of distinctive fabric and style (FIG. 6; PLATE I B, 10-27), probably of local manufacture, as I know of no similar ware from any other Greek site. The clay varies from pale orange to brown. A cream slip is sometimes used on the base strip and on the lip (PLATE I B, 10, 11, 16, 19), and to fill the outline geometric devices on the body (PLATE I B, 10, 11, 20-23, 27). White paint is used in wavy lines on the lip and inside the vases over the glaze (PLATE I B, 12, 13, 17). Regular geometric swastikas, crosses, and lozenges are the elements of the decoration: they are not hatched but merely left in outline or filled with cream slip. Oval ornament<sup>23</sup> and wavy lines edged with dots also appear (PLATE I B, 18, 20, 21, 23, 27; 12, 17). The motifs are usually disposed in the field without division, except (in one case) by an upright zigzag (PLATE I B, 24) or by vertical lines (PLATE I B, 12, 17). The shapes (FIG. 6) are small straight-sided skyphoi with straight slightly inset lips, or mugs with curved profile and turned-out rims. No complete profile is preserved.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Délos* Ae36-46.

<sup>12</sup> *Ann. VIII/IX* 219 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Délos* Ae5-16.

<sup>14</sup> *AM* 1929, 159.

<sup>15</sup> On the type, Desborough, *BSA* XLIII, 264 f. The clay of the examples I have examined varies considerably. It is, however, hardly ever micaceous and bears some resemblance to that of geometric vases from Tenos—no greater resemblance, however, than it does to Eretrian or even to Attic clay.

<sup>16</sup> *Paros AM* 1917, 76. *Siphnos BSA* XLIV, pl. XIV 26. For the eight-spoked wheel of FIG. 4, 6 compare *Délos* Ae68 and our PLATE 3 A, 4.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. also Samos, Eilmann, *Beil.* XXXI 4. On finds in Chalcis, see below, n. 73.

<sup>18</sup> I have not seen the fragment *AE* 1903, 2, fig. 1; cf. Samos, Eilmann, *Beil.* XXXI. I also know only from a photograph sent me by Prof. H. R. W. Smith the fragment drawn in FIG. 5, 1. It is no longer in Eretria Museum. For the birds with star and rosette in the panels cf. *Délos* Ae85, 87, Bb39, 43, 51.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Délos* Bb51.

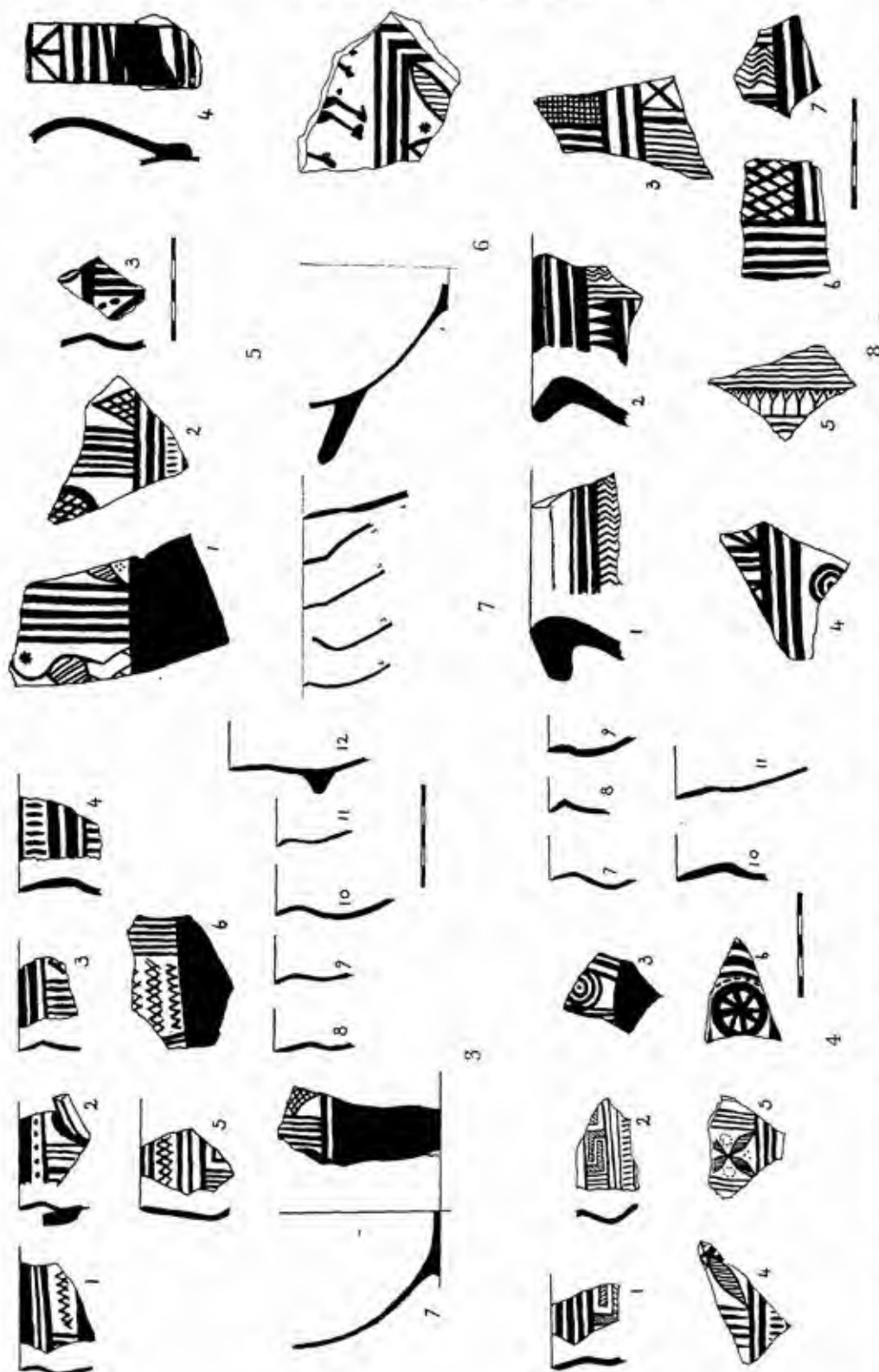
<sup>20</sup> PLATE I B, 7, 9 and FIG. 5, 2 are slipped; cf. *Délos* Bb39, 51.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Samos, Eilmann, fig. 84; *Lindos* I, pl. 38, 874.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Délos* Ae87. Samos, Technau, *Beil.* VIII 4, 5; Eilmann, *Beil.* XVIII.

<sup>23</sup> On this motif in late geometric vase painting see Nottbohm *JdI* 1943, 2 ff., 30; other examples *CVA Fogg Museum* pl. 3, 5; *CVA Musée Rodin*, pl. 8, 7; Athens, Agora P15122; double skyphos in Heidelberg.





FIGS. 3-8.—3. GEOMETRIC SKYPHOI (8 = PLATE 1 A, 12; 9 = 10; 10 = 13; 11 = 14; 12 = 14; 12 = 14). 4. GEOMETRIC SKYPHOI (7 = PLATE 1 A, 19; 8 = 20; 9 = 18; 10 = 23; 11 = 22). 5. GEOMETRIC KANTHAROI. 6. GEOMETRIC SKYPHOI AND MUGS (1 = PLATE 1 B, 20; 2 = 24; 3 = 27; 4 = 10; 5 = 12; 6 = 18). 7. KRATER FRAGMENT. 8. KRATER FRAGMENTS.

*Kraters, Dinoi, etc.*

Several fragments from a large krater (PLATE 2 A, 1) are decorated in the Attic 'Dipylon' style, and are possibly Attic work. The only motifs are macander, key pattern zigzags, and lozenge chain in the lower band, quite carefully executed.

Geometric animals are found in this group; the motif of a bird under a horse is familiar; <sup>24</sup> the upright wavy and straight lines bounding the panel are a Cycladic touch (PLATE 1 B, 28). The design of FIG. 7 is unintelligible to me; it possibly represents parts of human or animal legs.

Some krater fragments bear a heavy cream slip (PLATE 2 A, 8-10). On one a horse is grazing (PLATE 2 A, 9): the short strokes above its back are its mane. For the object springing from the ground beneath it see Roes, *Greek Geometric Art* 32,<sup>25</sup> where such are interpreted as 'sun-standards'. This is the only example of the motif which I know on a vase which is not Argive. The dotted net pattern in a broad band or panel is more common later, in the seventh century.<sup>26</sup> All three fragments (PLATE 2 A, 8-10) suggest from their slip, clay, and the profile of PLATE 2 A, 8,<sup>27</sup> a Naxian origin.

Kourouniotes (*AE* 1903, 11) mentions fragments of footed kraters in graves at Eretria, and illustrates one piece (*ibid.*, 3, fig. 2) now in Athens (PLATE 2 A, 2). The style of decoration on vases of a similar shape <sup>28</sup> is most closely paralleled in Eleusis, but the type is found all over the Greek world.<sup>29</sup> The handles are either double or single with a stirrup springing from the rim to the junction or to the top of the arc of the handles. There is one example of a vertical strap handle.<sup>30</sup> A fragment of a double handle-attachment for a stirrup has on the body of the vase beneath the handle the figure of a bird; this could equally well belong with any of the other krater fragments (PLATE 2 A, 1, 8-10) mentioned above, as could fragments of krater feet with ribbing.<sup>31</sup> Below the handles of the vase published by Kourouniotes (my PLATE 2 A, 2) are two small projections (one preserved). They resemble the painted decoration below the handles of the Cycladic krater in Munich (Dugas, *Céramique des Cyclades* 199, where they are interpreted as a prototype of the later familiar eyes beneath handles), or, more closely, the *mastoi* found on figurines and vases (not all anthropomorphic). In this position, however, this example seems unique. Fragmentary spouts from kraters are found (PLATE 2 B, 2-5). Two of these (PLATE 2 B, 2, 4) bear a heavy cream slip, and the fabric of PLATE 2 B, 4 suggests a Naxian origin. The chequer pattern beneath the spout is common on Attic and Cycladic examples.<sup>32</sup> Many other fragments are slipped (FIG. 8, 4, 5). FIG. 8, 3, 6, 7 have an apparently polished surface. PLATE 2 B, 1 has a horizontal strap handle, and the rim only is slipped. Geometric kraters with simple linear decoration (FIGS. 8, 1-2; 10, 1-5; PLATE 2 B, 9-13) are the forerunners of the Eretrian seventh century dinoi with which I deal below. PLATE 2 B, 13 is slipped, and the same scheme of decoration appears exactly on an unslipped fragment also. FIG. 10, 6-8 are from rims of bowls or pyxides.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Roes, *Greek Geometric Art* 23.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Schweitzer's review in *Gnomon* 1934, 352.

<sup>26</sup> Eighth century Argive and Thera examples, *Tiryns* I, pl. XX 1; *Thera* II 46, fig. 148.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *AM* 1929, 153 f., fig. 6, 7.

<sup>28</sup> On the type, Kenner, *Öjh XXIX* 117 ff.; Schweitzer, *AM* 1918, 104 and 39 n. 4; *Tiryns* I 140; Weinberg, *op. cit.*, 25 f.; Kontoleon, *AE* 1945/7, 17 f.

<sup>29</sup> Eleusis, *AE* 1898, pl. 3, 3. Some other parallels: *Tiryns* I 164, fig. 23, Collignon-Couve 219, pl. 12, *Corinth* VII i, pl. 12, 73, Johansen, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, 2, *CVA Oxford* II pl. 1, 1; *Clara Rhodos* VI, 101, fig. 113. For the style of decoration, *Tiryns* I, pl. 19, 5; *Musée Kalinderu*, 19, fig. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Vertical strap handles, Berlin 4490, *AM* 1918, 135; Analatos, NM 190, Wide, *JdI* 1899, 213, fig. 92; *CVA Copenhagen* II, pl. 73, 4.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Samos, Eilmann, 103 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Délos Act.* Rhomaïos discusses the type and gives references in *Délos* X 33.

Shallow bowls with side handles, like large skyphoi, and a wavy line in the reserved zone between the handles are a seventh century type, very Corinthian in character, well illustrated by an example in Athens which is almost complete. It bears a red band at the base and two on the body zone overlying the broad glazed band.

PLATE 2 B, 8 is from the lip of a bowl decorated in the polychrome style of the burial amphorae of the seventh century (Groups C and D below). Red is used in broad bands on lip and body, and in a thin band below the wavy line on the body. White lines outline the broad red bands and white is used for the wavy line on the body and for the dot rosettes.

In the museum at Eretria there is a great number of fragments from the lips of dinoi<sup>33</sup> (FIG. 9; PLATE 2 B, 6, 7, 14-18), and some fragments from bodies which can be associated with the same group. The decoration is of the sub-geometric type familiar on the grave amphorae (Groups A and B below). White paint is much used on lip and body, as on the latest examples of the sub-geometric amphorae. Apparently the upper part of the body was decorated with groups of upright wavy lines, separated by straight lines; occasionally the wavy lines are single, and in some cases broad upright bands of glaze are decorated with white paint twists or wavy lines. The lower part has narrow horizontal lines reserved in the glaze, and on the broad glaze bands there is decoration in white paint. These vases are probably from the Apollo temple<sup>34</sup> where they would be offerings, as such were at the Heraion in Samos.<sup>35</sup> It is in Samos too that we find the closest parallels to the lip profiles of the Eretrian vases.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately nowhere is enough preserved to restore a complete profile, although we may assume a rounded bottom as on the Samos vases. The diameter at the lip seems in no case to have been greater than about 30 cm. Slip is never used.

#### *Closed Vases.*

*Amphorae.* Kourouniotes published in *AE* 1903, 15 ff., fig. 7, a large neckless amphora from Eretria, now in Athens<sup>37</sup> (detail, PLATE 3 A). As he observes, the rim is preserved to its full height in one place, and there are traces of the handle attachments. The figure drawing and the lack of macander<sup>38</sup> or key pattern on the body suggest a late date, around 700. The use of the dotted lozenge chains as filling ornament is most unusual,<sup>39</sup> and the  $\Sigma$  band on the body, which touches the lines bordering the frieze neither at the top nor at the bottom, is a regular Cycladic motif, common only on the latest Attic geometric work.<sup>40</sup> Closest to the Eretria amphora in style are the amphorae in Leyden and Eleusis.<sup>41</sup> The warriors' shields bear devices in white paint<sup>42</sup> (FIG. 13a); the type of chariot with open-work upper half and step at the back to assist mounting is unusual.<sup>43</sup> The place of origin of this vase may well be Eretria, as is its provenance.

Of other fragments from large closed vases some bear a heavy creamy slip (PLATE 3 A, 2, 3).

<sup>33</sup> Better perhaps called *lebetes* (Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names* 9 f.); cf. the *lebetes gamikoi*, or *nymphikoi*, of temple inscriptions (*AM* 1907, 98, n. 1).

<sup>34</sup> *PAE* 1900, 54; 1910, 268.

<sup>35</sup> Eilmann 106. There were similar finds on the Acropolis at Athens, at Argos, and at Tiryns (*Tiryns* I 101; miniature *lebetes*).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Eilmann, figs. 51-53; and note the incised wavy line on the lip of fragments Beil. XXV 7, 8, 14 where Eretria would use white paint.

<sup>37</sup> On this vase, Cook, *BSA* XXXV 167, *BSA* XLII 149, Young, *Hesp. Suppl.* II 118, Nottbohm, *Jdl* 1943, 20 n. 2.

<sup>38</sup> The amphora in the Rodin Museum also has no macander band, *CVA Musée Rodin*, pl. 8, 7.

<sup>39</sup> Appearing thus only on Louvre A517, *Jdl* 1943, 8 figs. 5, 6 and the Eleusis amphora, Wide, *Jdl* 1899, 194, fig. 57.

<sup>40</sup> Cycladic, *Délos* Ac24, 29, Ad8; Parian, *CVA Copenhagen* II, pl. 69, 2 and frequent Attic, *CVA Musée Rodin* pl. 8, 7, and Boston, Fairbanks pl. 21, 262.

<sup>41</sup> Leyden, Brants pl. 7; Eleusis, Wide, *Jdl* 1899, 194, fig. 57.

<sup>42</sup> Cook *BSA* XXXV 168 n. 1.

<sup>43</sup> von Mercklin, *Der Rennwagen in Griechenland* I 51 no. 55; 53, on the chariot's construction; 54, on the step behind and cf. Kourouniotes, *AE* 1903, 21 f.





FIGS. 9-13.—9. FRAGMENTS OF ERETIAN DINOI (13 = PLATE 2 B, 15; 14 = 14; 15 = 16; 16 = 17, 17 = 18).  
 10. FRAGMENTS OF KRATERS AND BOWLS. 11. AMPHORA FRAGMENTS. 12. OTHER FRAGMENTS. 13. *a* SHIELD  
 DEVICE FROM AMPHORA, PLATE 3. *b* AMPHORA FRAGMENT. *c* FRAGMENT FROM CLOSED VASE.

PLATE 3 A, 1 has red micaceous clay, not unlike Naxian. PLATE 3 A, 5 from the neck of an amphora is slipped.<sup>44</sup> The object in the panel on the left may be the end of a bird's wing; <sup>45</sup> the 'epsilon' above is merely an unfinished cross-hatched triangle. A fragment from the body of an amphora is decorated in Protogeometric style with concentric compass-drawn semi-circles (FIG. 13b). Attic half circles of this type are usually based on one or two thin horizontal lines above the rest of the glazed body of the vase; compare, however, Cycladic types, *Délos* Aa21-26. The blob of paint is more probably a mistake than an attempt to imitate the Attic hour-glass ornament in this position (*Kerameikos* IV, pl. 7, 3, 4). Other fragments are decorated with a coarse chequer pattern <sup>46</sup> (PLATE 3 A, 6), an ornament akin to a popular Protocorinthian motif <sup>47</sup> (FIG. 11. 3), and an unusual pattern possibly East Greek in inspiration <sup>48</sup> (PLATE 3 A, 7); fragments from bodies of amphorae near the handle attachments are decorated with eight-spoked wheels, a Cycladic motif <sup>49</sup> (PLATE 3 A, 4). I do not understand the design on FIG. 13c. One would expect the frieze of wavy lines and the horizontal lines to lie below the figured scene, but if inverted the part of the panel preserved may be understood as showing part of the sickle wing and spiral headdress of a sphinx.

Fragments from the bodies and bases of plain glazed amphorae with reserved horizontal lines are decorated with linear motifs in white paint <sup>50</sup> (FIG. 11. 4-6). The fragment illustrated on PLATE 3 B, 1, has pale orange clay and is painted with alternate lines in powdery grey and red. No handle attachments are preserved. The fabric and quality of the paint suggest Boeotian origin, but the shape is unusual. Inverted it might be the foot of a large bird-kylix with an uncommon foot profile.<sup>51</sup> It is probably the neck of a jar.

*Oenochoi*. From an oenochoe neck comes part of a bird in a panel (FIG. 12. 2), and from the shoulders of narrow-necked oenochoi two fragments <sup>52</sup> (PLATE 3 A, 13, 14), of which the latter may be East Greek. Panels reserved in the glazed necks of oenochoi and filled with simple linear geometric patterns are familiar in Attic and Cycladic work.<sup>53</sup> From the lip of a large and elaborately decorated oenochoe is a fragment coated with a creamy slip <sup>54</sup> (PLATE 3 A, 8). Miss Roes <sup>55</sup> quotes examples of birds above or on horses' backs in Greek geometric art, but in no instance do they peck at the horse's mane, as ours seems to do.<sup>56</sup> The splaying tail-feathers of the bird are also unusual.<sup>57</sup> Another fragment from the shoulder of a slipped oenochoe bears a row of silhouette birds (PLATE 3 A, 9). In the seventh century Eretrian polychrome style are two fragments of trefoil oenochoe lips employing added white paint (PLATE 3 A, 15, 16).

A jug (H. 28 cm. PLATE 3 B, 4) with a deep cutaway neck and a single handle (missing) may be of a date quite late in the sixth century.<sup>58</sup> Kourouniotes publishes a geometric jug

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *Délos* Bb5-8.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Samos, Eilmann, Beil. XXIX 2.

<sup>46</sup> *Hesp.* Suppl. II 60.

<sup>47</sup> Johansen, *op. cit.* 49 and fig. 27.

<sup>48</sup> Louvre, Pottier A286, pl. 10; *Lindos* I, pl. 39, 906.

<sup>49</sup> *Délos*, Parian, Ab1, 2, 3, 7 and cf. our FIG. 4. 6.

<sup>50</sup> For a similar use of white paint in the Cyclades cf. *Délos* Bb10; Boeotian, Wide, *JdI* 1899, 82, fig. 37; Attic, Würzburg group of Protoattic (*BSA* XXXV 179), *From the Collections, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* II 115; Laconian, *AM* 1927, pl. 11.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *JdI* 1888, 337, fig. 10, 338, fig. 14; *BSA* XIV, pl. 8.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Attic, *Hesp.* Suppl. II 58, fig. 39.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *Délos*, Naxian, Aa44-45. Other examples of identical fabrics have been found in large numbers on Naxos.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. the similarly elaborate Attic vases, *CVA Copenhagen* II, pl. 74. 4, *Délos* XV, pl. 65, 10.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.* 23; add Samos, Technau, Beil. VIII 1; Eilmann, Beil. XXVIII 5, 6; *CVA Musée Rodin* pl. 8, 6. 'Melian' stand in Berlin with two birds facing each other on the horse's back, as on a Cycladic sherd in Heidelberg. Cf. Fürstwangler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. 4, 29, 34.

<sup>56</sup> *CVA Cambridge* I, pl. 1, 20; *Nicole Cat.* no. 774, pl. 3.

<sup>57</sup> On Boeotian geometric, Hampe, *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder* pl. 21; Würzburg 62, Langlotz, pl. 8.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Halae, *Hesp.* IX 494, no. 14.

from the Apollo temple (*AE* 1903, 25, fig. 9); its lip is pulled out into a broad trefoil. Probably from a jug is the fragment illustrated in *PLATE* 3 A, 11; it is glazed within, with lines reserved in the rim. I can only assume that a bird is figured, albeit in an unusual manner.<sup>59</sup> *PLATE*

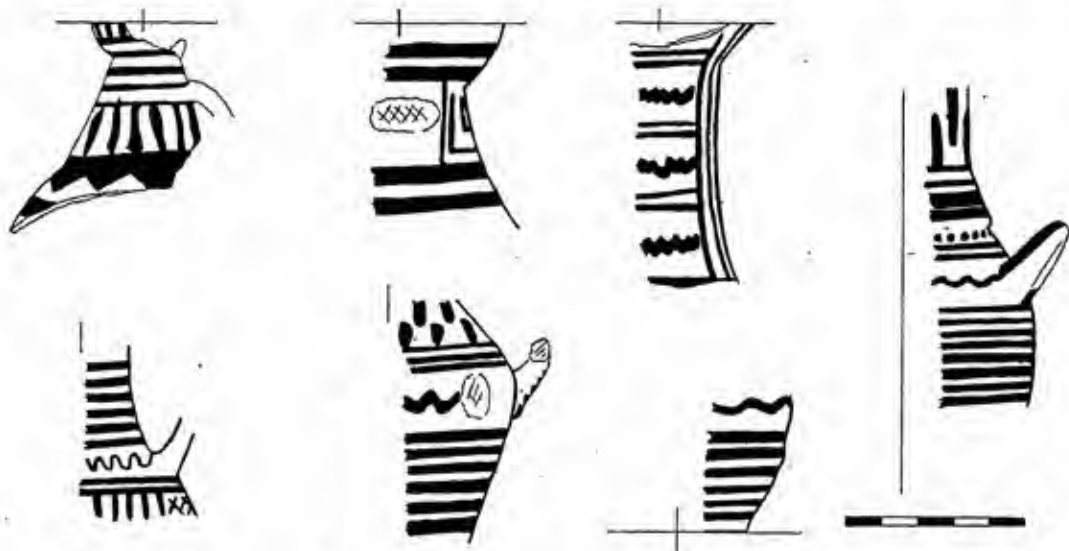


FIG. 14.—FRAGMENTS FROM HYDRIAE.



FIG. 15.—FRAGMENTS FROM HYDRIAE.

3 A, 10 could be from a jug; the sherd is almost flat, its upper edge being flattened but not straight as it rises in a curve to the left. The surface is bright, the slip deep cream, and the glaze a chocolate brown. Inside, near the rising rim, is further decoration over slip.

*Pyxides.* I cannot find the piece published in *AE* 1903, 12, fig. 3, 4 in illustrations that give little information. In Eretria there is a fragment from the ribbon handle of a pyxis

<sup>59</sup> For the crooked wing cf. Åkerström, *Der Geometrische Stil in Italien* 44, fig. 14, 18, and the body Würzburg 78, Langlotz, pl. 4.

(PLATE 3 A, 12), slipped and with the most unusual decoration of a spotted wavy-line snake motif.<sup>60</sup>

*Other Shapes.* There are some fragments from plates (FIG. 12. 3), and one from a cutout vase, or perhaps the fenestrated foot of an amphora;<sup>61</sup> it is slipped (FIG. 12. 5). Melian and Attic stands do not usually have triangular fenestrations.<sup>62</sup> FIG. 12. 4 and 7 bear horizontal grooves and are not glazed inside, except for one line on 4. I do not recognise the shape.

In *AE* 1903, 25, fig. 8, is published a small hydria from the Apollo temple.<sup>63</sup> Many fragments from similar vases are in the museum at Eretria (FIGS. 14-15; PLATE 3 A, 17-23). They were doubtless votive offerings and were certainly made locally. The fabric is uniform, but slip is used on some pieces (FIG. 15. 6-8, 11; PLATE 3 A, 21). The decoration is sub-geometric. The shapes vary considerably, the necks being tall and cylindrical, or short and almost conical (perhaps an earlier shape). Unfortunately the only nearly complete example, that published by Kourouniotes, cannot now be found, but FIG. 16a gives an impression of what was one of the most typical shapes.

#### INCISED AND STAMPED UNPAINTED WARE

In *AE* 1903, 26 f., fig. 10, is published a coarse pithos from Eretria with incised decoration, which was used for the burial of an infant. In the publication Kourouniotes mentions twenty others found whole or in pieces. The published pithos is now in Athens (NM 12132, Nicole *Cat.* no. 802). Six others remain in Eretria, five of them bearing incised decoration. The type is common throughout the Greek world.<sup>64</sup> Examples from Phaleron are dated by Young (*AJA* 1942, 31, fig. 12) to the first quarter of the seventh century; these were also used for infant burial. Apart from one unpublished example in the Kerameikos there is none with the high fenestrated foot which seems typical in Eretria; nor are there any, except from Eleusis and the Dipylon, which can match the Eretrian series for richness of incised decoration. There seems to be no regularity either in the type of foot, which may be straight-sided and conical, or broadly splaying, or in the fenestrations, which may be rectangular, oval, triangular, or broad. The neck is only once (FIG. 16c) set off from the body, and there is always a broad overhanging rim. I see no reason to suppose that these were imported from Boeotia as Kourouniotes suggests.

1. Athens, NM 12132; Nicole *Cat.* 802; *AE* 1903, 18, fig. 10. I have not seen this vase.

All others are in Eretria Museum.

2. FIG. 16c, where the fanciful neck decoration is drawn out: H. 0.44.
3. FIG. 16d: H. 0.89.
4. FIG. 16e: H. 0.66.
5. FIG. 16f: H. 0.61. No incised decoration.
6. FIG. 16g: H. 0.55.
7. FIG. 16h: H. 0.53.

There are also in Eretria two fragments of a pithos decorated with incised lines and stamped circles (FIG. 16b) arranged in a pattern not found on other Greek work,<sup>65</sup> and in Athens the crudely incised bowl *AE* 1903, 12, fig. 5.

<sup>60</sup> This type of pyxis is not found in the Cyclades; on the type, cf. Young, *Hesp. Suppl.* II 48, 205. The snake motif appears on the body of the pyxis *Jdl* 1899, 215, fig. 100, but I know of no example of it on the handle.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *Délos* Bat. 4.

<sup>62</sup> But cf. Attic in Tübingen, Watzinger, pl. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Example from Melos *CVA Stères* pl. 11, 12-13.

<sup>64</sup> Athens, Agora, *Hesp. Suppl.* II 110, 189; Phaleron, *Adelt* 1916, 26, fig. 8; *AJA* 1942, 32, grave 29, 6 and 52; Dipylon, *AM* 1893, 119 (Collignon-Couve *Cat.* 130, pl. 8); Eleusis, *AE* 1898, pl. 3, 9; Boeotia, Ure, *Classification de Céramique*, Class. i. B1; *Argive Heraeum* II, pl. 50, and from the islands, *Thera* II 81; Paros (unpublished); Naxos, *PAE* 1937, 119; Samos, Bochlau, 17.

<sup>65</sup> The commonest Attic and Cycladic type of stamped circle decoration on pithoi seems to be of sixth century date, *BSA* XLIV 55; and cf. *Olynthus* XIII 433, no. 1119, pl. 265.



## IMPORTS

I include here geometric, archaic and sixth century imports, except for imported Attic black figure which is discussed with all other black figure from Eretria in Section VI. Probable geometric and archaic imports from Attica and the Cyclades have been noted in the text above; the certainly identifiable pieces are neither numerous nor very important.

*East Greece.* Three fragments of large East Greek skyphoi of the type common on Samos, and of similar fabric.<sup>66</sup>

*Corinth.* Protocorinthian was much imitated, sometimes most competently, but I found no fragments of Protocorinthian ware in Eretria. Two Corinthian plastic vases in the shape of a ram and a crouching hare have been found.<sup>67</sup> Amongst the vases in Athens from Eretria is a Late Corinthian aryballos with typical cinquefoil decoration.<sup>68</sup>

*Boeotia.* Hutton published in *AE* 1899, 26, fig. 1, a terracotta figurine from Eretria<sup>69</sup> of familiar Boeotian type, dating to the first half of the sixth century.<sup>70</sup> The representation of a flying bird in typical Boeotian bird-kylix style on figurines is not common.<sup>71</sup> For other imports of figurines from Boeotia see Winter, *Antike Terrakotten*, xix ff. Fragments of relief pithoi have also been found in Eretria. From their description they seem to be of the typical Boeotian type.<sup>72</sup> Dr. Amyx tells me of a Boeotian vase on the Athens Market in 1936, said to come from Eretria (see below n. 80, no. 9). The Boeotian vase Athens NM 12856 has been described as from Eretria, but the museum inventory does not mention its provenance (Åkerström, *Der Geometrische Stil in Italien*, 65, fig. 46; see below n. 80, no. 3).

*Attica.* Hutton and Winter (*op. cit.*) notice Attic terracottas of late sixth century type from Eretria.

How much of the remainder of the material published above may be called Eretrian is a difficult question. The only other possible source of much of the pottery could be Attica, or perhaps even Chalcis, or the potteries which supplied Chalcis.<sup>73</sup> Some fragments are certainly not Attic (e.g. skyphoi and mugs, PLATE 1 B, 10-27 and the slipped fragments), some are undoubtedly Eretrian (e.g. the dinoi, FIG. 9; PLATE 2 B, 6, 7, 14-18). In the course of the description of the sherds I have had occasion to note as much Cycladic influence as Attic—as we might expect if the vases were made in Eretria, a powerful city with considerable Cycladic connections, if not in fact possessing an island empire at one time. Further consideration of Eretria's debt to her neighbours will be taken in connection with Eretria's most characteristic vases, the grave amphorae (Sections II, III, and IV). I believe that most of the pottery published above was made locally.

Of other artistic activity in Eretria in this period little is known, but it appears that about

<sup>66</sup> Eilmann, fig. 17, 18. Also found on Delos (*Delos* XV, Rhod. 13, 14); Thera, Thera II 371, fig. 80, *AM* 1903, 166; and Naxos *AM* 1929, 155, fig. 8, 6.

<sup>67</sup> NM 4155, 3929. Hutton, *AE* 1899, 27; Robinson, *AJA* 1906, 426; Maximova, *Vases Plastiques* 105 n. 1, 109 n. 3; Nicole, *Cat.* 862, 862 bis. In the Museum inventory only NM 4155 and 3929 are mentioned as from Eretria.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Payne *NC* 320 on no. 1263.

<sup>69</sup> NM 4159, Winter, *Antike Terrakotten* xx.

<sup>70</sup> Mentioned by Grace, *Archaic Sculpture of Boeotia* 23.

<sup>71</sup> Munich, *Mon. Piot* I 92, fig. 4 (Winter, *op. cit.* 5 no. 3); Heidelberg, Neusch, *Die Welt der Griechen*, fig. 11.

<sup>72</sup> Noticed in *BCH* 1888, 509 and *AE* 1892, 217 f. See Pfuhl *MuZ* I 125, and Courby, *Vases à Relief* 66, 81 f.

<sup>73</sup> Near the Venetian aqueduct at the foot of the acropolis of Chalcis a considerable site has been disturbed by quarry work (*JHS* 1944, 90). I have picked up archaic sherds there, and there is a small collection in the Museum of the British School at Athens. The clay seems to be much the same as Eretrian; there are slipped fragments of kraters and skyphoi decorated in a Cycladic rather than an Attic style, and some fragments akin to the 'Boeotian' seventh century amphorae. Dr. Dohrn tells me that he has picked up black figure sherds in the same area, and in Chalcis Museum there are two or three small vases from Chalcis which do not seem to be Attic, Boeotian, or distinctively Eretrian; these I know only from photographs (below p. 46 and n. 309).

700 there was a local school of gold workers and engravers,<sup>74</sup> just as in the sixth century there was a local school of bronze vase makers.

### THE GRAVE AMPHORAE

For the purposes of discussion I have divided the grave amphorae of Eretria into five groups. The subgeometric groups, A and B, are discussed in Section II, the orientalising Group C in Section III, the sixth century Group D in Section IV and the mid-sixth century Atticising black figure amphorae in Section V. In each section I give an overall description of the group and considerations of chronology and connections with other fabrics, followed by a catalogue of the important vases and fragments. In a preliminary discussion is included a brief description of the development of shapes over the whole series. Individual pieces are referred to by their group letter and catalogue number. Kourouniotes' illustrations in his article in *AE* 1903 are a necessary supplement to my own photographs and drawings of vases in Groups A and B.

The archaic amphorae from Eretria were excavated by Kourouniotes in 1897 and the following seasons.<sup>75</sup> All but one (A4) and some fragments were brought to Athens where most were given inventory numbers and exhibited, while others,<sup>76</sup> with more fragments, were kept in an apotheke. They had been used for the burial of infants who were put into the amphorae with their heads towards the vase mouth. The vases were laid in the ground on their sides, with the mouth to the north. They can hardly ever have stood above the grave, as did the Dipylon amphorae, since they were to be the graves themselves; nor is it likely that they would have been on view anywhere, except in the potter's shop before the interment. It may be that the funerary use was not originally intended, though it is noteworthy that in Eretria the ultimate use for vases of this shape known to us was the same from about 700, with the painted amphorae of Groups A and B and the incised pithoi illustrated above (FIG. 16), to about 550, when black figure vases were used, deliberately echoing in their profiles the seventh century shapes. Vases of a similar shape were, of course, used in burials all over the Greek world in the seventh century and earlier, but most were presumably intended to stand above the grave and to be seen. Child burial in vases is common from prehistoric times, but almost invariably in coarse undecorated pots. So, compared with the general Greek practice, these Eretrian child burials in elaborately painted amphorae stand out as something quite unusual. Their use, as originally intended, may not have been funerary, but it was certainly not utilitarian; the handles are useless, the feet could never have supported the vase over a fire and merely add height. If they were simply used for storage the choice of painted decoration presents a fresh problem. The animals and sphinxes on vases of Groups C and D could have some funerary connection, the women could be mourners; on the black figure examples the wedding scenes and the likeness of the vases themselves to Attic sixth century *lebetes gamikoi* might suggest another cult or domestic significance. Further aspects of the problem will be discussed below in connection with the black figure amphorae; our primary interest here is in the painting of the vases themselves. But first their shape.

In more than a century the shapes of the Eretrian grave amphorae develop very little.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup> A fine series of gold diadems discussed by Reichel, *Griechisches Goldrelief*, 32, nos. 24-28. The incised figure scenes seem decidedly non-Attic and rather in a 'Boeotian' sub-geometric style (see Kunze reviewing Reichel, *Gnomon* 1949, 3, 7).

<sup>75</sup> *PAE* 1897, 21; 1898, 98; 1900, 55; *AE* 1903, 1 ff.

<sup>76</sup> The cleaning of the large amphorae was rather too thorough in some cases (*AM* 1903, 191). On the clay of Eretrian vases see above p. 2.

<sup>77</sup> Dugas, *Céramique des Cyclades* 111, 156, 193, 234.

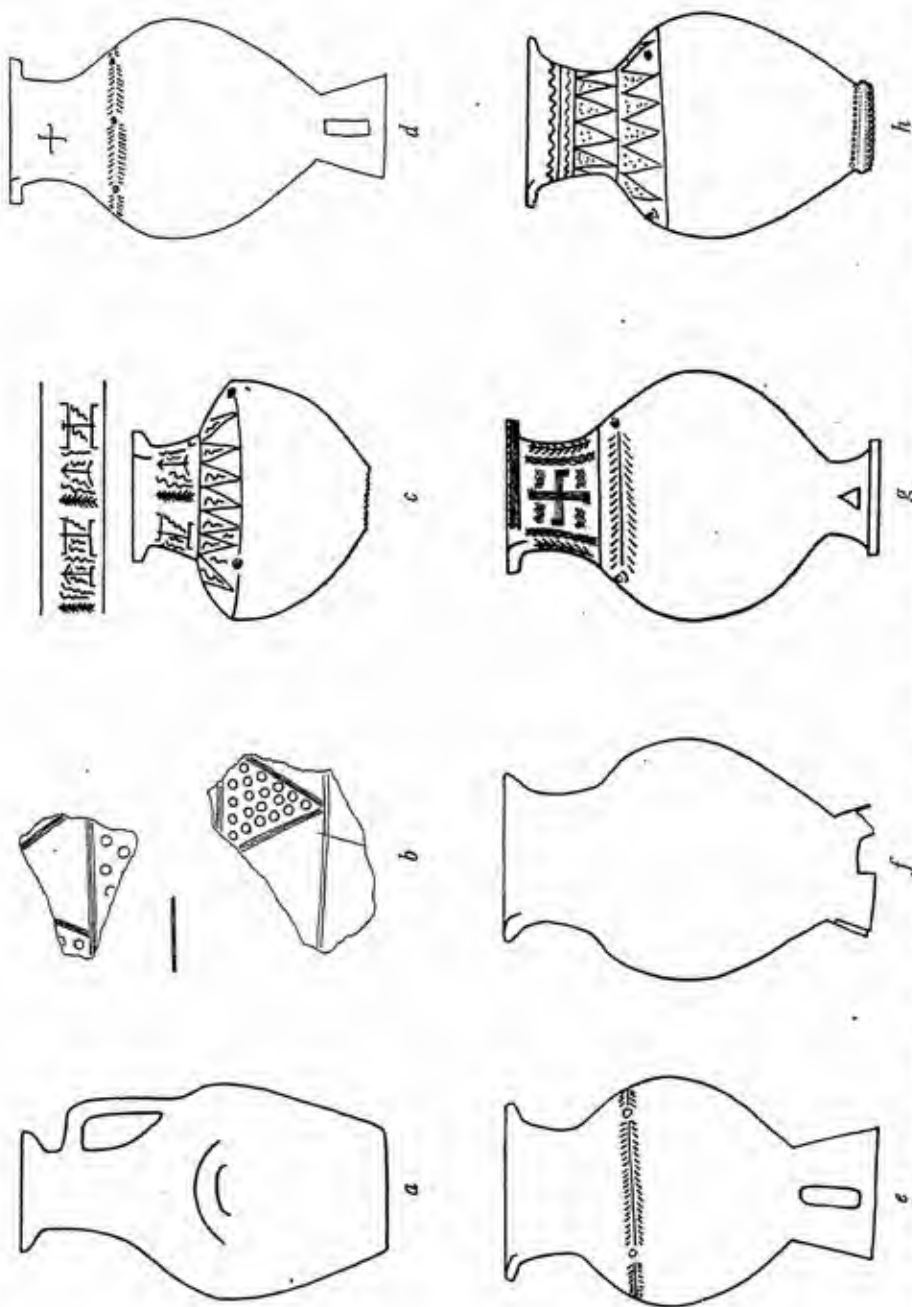


FIG. 16.—*a* HYDRIA PROFILE. *b-h* PITHOI: *b* FRAGMENTS OF STAMPED PITHOS. *c* INCISED No. 2. *d* INCISED No. 3. *e* INCISED No. 4. *f* COARSE PITHOS No. 5. *g* INCISED No. 6. *h* INCISED No. 7

I illustrate here in drawings (FIG. 17) the profiles of a typical example from each of the groups A, B, C, D, excluding any black figure example, but adding D10, which stands a little apart from the rest of its group. The general proportions remain the same, but the lip profile does show some development (FIG. 18). The concave moulding typical of most of the subgeometric series (Group B) disappears on the orientalising vases which have a simple flat strip moulding (Group C), itself later showing a marked concavity again on the crude Group D vases. The transition to the orientalising type is well illustrated by C1 with its subgeometric decoration but new lip profile. The simple lip profile of the subgeometric Group A is like that of a

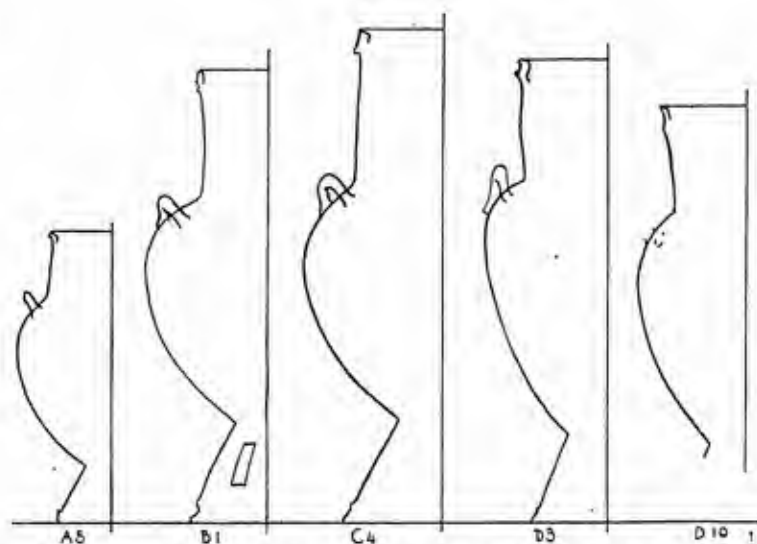


FIG. 17.—REPRESENTATIVE PROFILES OF GRAVE AMPHORAE.

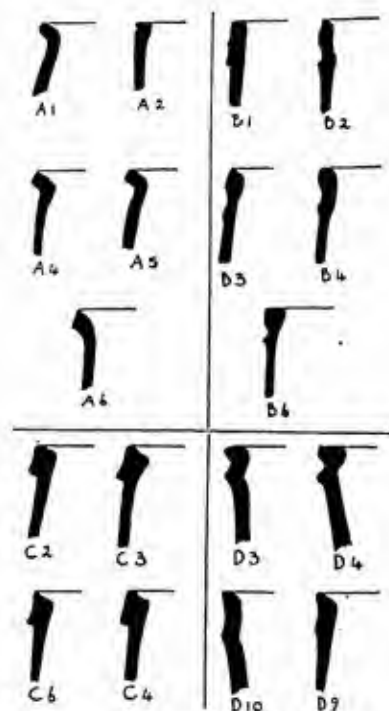


FIG. 18.—LIP PROFILES OF GRAVE AMPHORAE.

Bocotian group (see below n. 80), but the cylindrical neck is quite unlike the splaying profiles of the Boeotian vases. Most of the Group A and B amphorae have single glazed handles (double on A1, B1). Group C and D have double handles (except C3), but in Group C the two arcs of the handles do not meet in a central ridge but are attached separately to the body, whereas in Group D they do always meet and often project with a pronounced knob at the base of the join. The feet are broad and conical, except in Group A where they are slimmer; they are sometimes fenestrated. The concave moulding at the base on Group B gives place to a pronounced ridge on an otherwise straight profile in Group C, which disappears in Group D. No lids are preserved.

The shape is known in the Cyclades, Boeotia, and Attica from the late eighth to the early sixth century. The concave lip moulding of Groups B and D is commonly found on Cycladic vases, but invariably below either an overhanging or a splaying rim. The broad conical



feet are most closely paralleled on the 'Melian' amphorae,<sup>78</sup> the earliest of which must be nearly half a century later than our earliest example. Double handles are, of course, common elsewhere but the peculiarity of the non-joining handles noted in Group C seems unique.

Degenerations in the neck profile in the sixth century are noticed below (D11, D12). The black figure amphorae retain the proportions of the archaic series, but many details in their shapes, as in their decoration, were borrowed from Attica.

## SECTION II

### SUBGEOMETRIC SERIES: GROUPS A AND B

Detailed differences between the groups are explained below. Generally amphorae of Group A have low broad necks, and slim conical feet. The moulding of lip and base is simple. Group B amphorae have an added concave moulding at lip and base, and usually a broader foot. The neck profile develops from a chimney shape to a broader one less clearly set off from the body.

The groups do not follow one another chronologically, but seem to run concurrently, and in decoration many details are common to both, though it is only in Group A that figured scenes occur, and the familiar friezes of upright wavy lines are continuous in Group A but broken into groups of three or four in Group B. Freer use of added colour seems an indication of lateness, particularly the red bands on neck and body (A5, B6), and white wavy lines at the shoulder junction (A2, B5, B6). The practice of decorating the back of the vase with less care and detail is not known in Eretria until the orientalisising Group C, though regularly practised in Attica, Boeotia, and the Cyclades.

Turning to the main elements of decoration we find the continuous friezes of upright wavy lines appear first in Group A. The motif is regular on Thera seventh century amphorae<sup>79</sup> in which the necks are generally broader and lower than the Eretrian examples. It occurs also particularly on a group of Boeotian subgeometric amphorae with splaying necks and

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 105, and references below, p. 24.

<sup>79</sup> Thera II 198 ff.; *AM* 1903, 183 ff., Group J; and see Brock *BSA* XLIV 75 f. Buschor (*AM* 1929, 142 ff.) called these vases Parian and his suggestion seems to have been accepted by most who have written about Cycladic vases since that date (e.g. Karouzou *Jdl* 1937, 187 ff.; Brock *BSA* XLIV 74 ff., but contrast Blakeway *BSA* XXXIII 183, n. 4). He connects them with an earlier group of vases represented notably by the *Delos* Aa group and many of the Ae group small vases, and by particularly rich and varied finds of fragments of such vases on Paros (the material, still unpublished, in Paros Museum, and the sites at the Delion, the Zeus-Eileithyia hill and the town acropolis, which yield many sherds), which make it appear highly probable that these vases were made in Paros. They represent a popular late and sub-geometric fabric which is found wherever excavations in the Cyclades are undertaken. Buschor seeks the transition to the Thera vases in Pfuhl's 'besondere Gruppe' (*AM* 1903, 187 f.) and the similarity in style is certainly striking. But the Thera amphorae have a number of notable peculiarities. Unlike the earlier Parian vases which are found all over the Cyclades (and on Thera) these amphorae are found only on Thera. The Rheneia graves yielded examples of all known Cycladic fabrics of the eighth to the sixth centuries with the notable exceptions of the two series found in such numbers on Thera, i.e. the Thera geometric vases, and the amphorae under discussion. No sherds of these vases have been found on Paros, as Buschor admits (*op. cit.* 143) although many sites have been excavated and much pottery of the period found. Why Delos should not have favoured vases which were so popular in Thera both in the eighth and seventh centuries is a question I would not care to answer, nor, if the Thera vases are Parian, why it was only these Parian vases and the Thera geometric vases that were scorned. The Parian fabric is easily recognisable: a sandy-orange colour, usually with many small particles of mica, similar to that of Naxos but not so red. The only so-called Parian amphorae from Thera which I have examined have coarse dark red clay, not so very unlike that of the Thera geometric vases if it were better cleaned and refined. The distinction can be noted even within the 'besondere Gruppe', the 'dunkelrot' clay of J 14 and 15, and the 'orangerot' or 'braunrot' clay of J 16-21. There are considerable similarities in decoration and shape between the Thera vases and the Parian vases, but hardly more than there is between any two other near contemporary Cycladic fabrics. I think the case for calling the Thera amphorae 'Parian' is not proven, and that they are probably as native to the island of Thera as are the geometric vases.

feet;<sup>80</sup> on these vases it is often found encircling the belly also, but this is never the case in Eretria. The friezes of upright wavy lines in groups of three or four, regular around the neck and on the belly of amphorae of Group B, are equally common in the same positions on 'Boeotian' vases.<sup>81</sup> On Cycladic vases it is usually confined to the back of the vase, almost as an apology for the continuous band in the same zone on the front.<sup>82</sup> But this discrimination against the back of the vase is unknown in Eretria at this time, and the use of a multiple brush should have rendered unnecessary any labour-saving considerations.<sup>83</sup>

The narrow bands of grouped slim upright wavy lines encircling the neck (A<sub>2</sub>) or body below the handle zone (A<sub>1</sub>, 3, 4. B<sub>1</sub>) are probably inspired by Protocorinthian. It is a common motif in all fabrics, but not on large vases as in Eretria. Continuous bands of chevrons or wavy lines are more common on the large amphorae of the Cyclades or Attica.

The upright bars in the handle zone panels of A<sub>5</sub>, B<sub>3</sub>, 6 certainly derive from the lentil type of decoration found in the same position on B<sub>2</sub>. The motif is most common on geometric and archaic vases from the Cyclades and Attica, where the lentils are hollow or hatched, not usually in plain silhouette,<sup>84</sup> and in bands around the body of a vase, not in panels as here.

Many features of these amphorae are recalled on vases found in Italy, most of them certainly of local manufacture but betraying strong Greek influence. We may instance the unusual neck decoration of A<sub>1</sub>, the bands of upright wavy lines, the tall slim butterfly ornament (A<sub>4</sub>, B<sub>4</sub>), lentil friezes and the narrow bands seen on A<sub>2</sub>.<sup>85</sup> Many of these motifs are obviously borrowed from Corinth, but others find even closer parallels on 'Boeotian' amphorae and seem borrowed from a Boeotian-Euboean homeland style, and a little from the Cyclades. Eretrian vases are of this group but were not themselves particularly imitated and I can identify no certain Eretrian exports to Italy, nor for that matter to any Greek site in this period.<sup>86</sup> Closest are the 'Boeotian' vases but there seems to be no good reason why Boeotian wares should influence Italy. Chalcis and her colonies were the obvious intermediaries.<sup>87</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this study to go further into the problems suggested by the Italian

<sup>80</sup> 1. Louvre CA 824. *RA* 1899, 5, pl. 3; Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 18; Hampe, *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder*, V 47.

2. Louvre CA 825. *RA* 1899, 5.

3. Athens NM 12856. Åkerström, *Der Geometrische Stil in Italien*, 65, fig. 46; this vase was not found in Eretria as Dr. Åkerström suggests.

4. Hague, *CVA* pl. 1, 4.

5. Hague, *CVA* pl. 1, 5.

6. Munich, Sieveking-Hackl, 38, fig. 51.

7. Kiel, Inv. B. 24. I am indebted to Prof. Kraiker and Miss Sauer for notes and a drawing of this vase. It must be the amphora called Eretrian by Pfuhl, *MuZ* I 76.

8. Bonn.

9. Athens Market 1936. Said to have come from Eretria. I am indebted to Dr. Amyx for photographs of this vase.

<sup>81</sup> E.g. Hampe, pl. 19; still found on sixth century bird kylices, e.g. Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 95.

<sup>82</sup> *AM* 1903, Beil. XXVI, J2; *Thera* II 204, fig. 411; Leyden, Brants, pl. 11; note also its appearance on the back of the New York Nessos vase, Pfuhl *MuZ* III, fig. 87; *JHS* 1912, pl. 12, where it is continuous.

<sup>83</sup> Triple or quadruple brushes were in regular use in Eretria, and evidence of brushes with four or five members can be found. On the Thera amphora in the Museum of the British School at Athens (*JHS* 1902, 73—unfortunately the photograph reveals nothing) a quadruple brush was used for the upright wavy lines and the narrow bands of  $\Sigma$ . On our D 10 a quintuple brush was used for the wavy lines on the neck and in the narrow body frieze, also for the transverse lines on the top of the rim and on the foot. A sextuple brush was used on the Leyden vase, Brants, pl. 11, *JHS* 1926, pl. 9, 1.

<sup>84</sup> But cf. *AJA* 1942, 31, fig. 11.

<sup>85</sup> E.g. *MA* XXII, fig. 145; pl. 34, 2; 36, 1; *MA* XXIII 818; Åkerström, *op. cit.* pl. 12, 1; 14, 3; 17, 4, 6; 18, 1-4; 24, 1-3; 27, 6; Blakeway, *BSA* XXXIII, pl. 28, 26, 47; Vatican, Albizzati, pl. 2, 46; 3, 31; Munich, Sieveking-Hackl, pl. 25, 602, and the unusual plate in Bonn, *AA* 1936, 366, fig. 22, which is in style and technique close to our orientalisising Group C, cf. the rosettes of C3 and fragments PLATE 10.

<sup>86</sup> Corcyra was perhaps first colonised by Eretria (Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, 16, see, however, R. M. Cook, *JHS* 1946, 70, n. 32), but finds on the island have been slight (Rodenwaldt, *Kerkira* II 169, 170, 172) and though, no doubt, some of the Waterhouse Collection vases in the British Museum came from Corcyra, none show any peculiarly Eretrian characteristics.

<sup>87</sup> Dunbabin, *op. cit.*, 5.

vases, but the 'Boeotian' series are nearer home and of more immediate relevance. Of the vases discussed and listed by Hampe<sup>88</sup> the provenance of only two is certain, one from Tiryns (Johansen, *Vases Sicyoniens* 33, fig. 13; Hampe, VI4), and one from Thebes (Hampe, VI, pl. 17, 18)—an altogether exceptional piece. The others were mostly attributed by dealers to 'Thebes' or 'Boeotia'. They fall into a number of small groups<sup>89</sup> which surely represent local centres in and around Boeotia. Can some of them represent the seventh century ceramic of Chalcis? If so, it would explain the influences felt in Italy in this period, since despite a problematic Lelantine War at the end of the eighth century, Eretria and Chalcis probably still had considerable influence in the area of their Western colonies. Excavations have never yet been made on the site of ancient Chalcis but some sherds found in the area are close in fabric and decoration to the Boeotian vases.<sup>90</sup>

The dating of the subgeometric Eretrian amphorae cannot be certain. The 'Boeotian' vases which they most resemble are not securely dated, and their debt to Attica and the

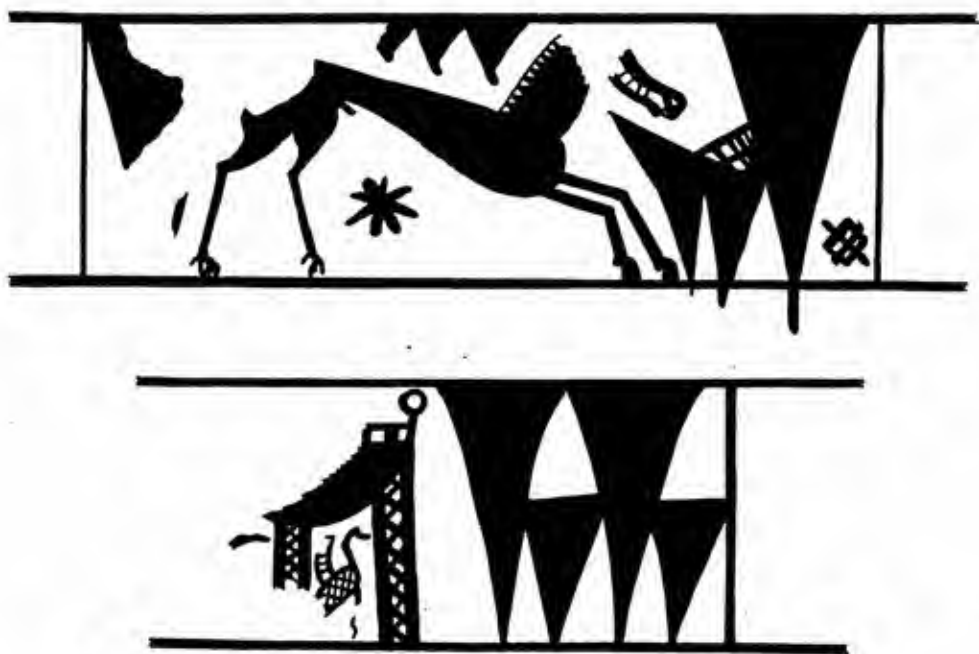


FIG. 19.—PANEL DECORATION OF SUBGEOMETRIC GRAVE AMPHORA A1.

Cyclades is not so great as to justify dates based on what is mainly only a hypothetical Attic and Cycladic chronology. I do not think that the earliest pieces (A1-3, B1) can be much, if at all earlier than 700, while the end of the series may come down some years into the second half of the seventh century.

The general impression is of a local school working in a style common to other centres in the Boeotian-Euboean circle, but also adapting and borrowing motifs from the Cyclades and Attica in its own way.

<sup>88</sup> *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder*, 20 ff.

<sup>89</sup> I list examples of one of the larger seventh century groups in note 80 above.

<sup>90</sup> See note 73 above.

## CATALOGUE: GROUPS A AND B

A1. Athens NM Apotheke. FIG. 19. H. 0.50. Kourouniotes, *AE* 1903, 35, no. 9, figs. 16-18. The vase is no longer made up in plaster and some fragments are missing. For a full description see Kourouniotes' publication. On the top of the rim appear groups of transverse lines: the spaces beneath the double handles are filled with the device of a cross and diamond. For the neck decoration compare vases from Italy<sup>91</sup> betraying strong Boeotian or Euboean influence, and some Cycladic vases.<sup>92</sup> The horse is not unlike those of the *Delos* Ad group, and that on the Boeotian amphora Wide, *op. cit.*, fig. 37. The heavy down-pointing rays are a unique method of space filling in a figured panel; those before the horse seem to have been fashioned into a sort of manger. If the object is a manger the horse's indecision whether to walk or gallop seems quite inexplicable.<sup>93</sup> On the tripod depicted on the other side of the vase see Benton, *BSA* XXXV 106, 107, 110, fig. 13a (from the drawing in *AE* 1903 in which there are minor inaccuracies). The fragment showing the dots above the rim is now missing.

A2. Eretria. PLATE 3B, 3. H. of neck 0.07. Wavy line in white on the broad glazed band at the junction of neck and shoulder, the first appearance of a motif appearing regularly on the later seventh century amphorae (Group C). The scale is much smaller than that of other amphorae of the group.

A3. Eretria. PLATE 3B, 2. H. of fragment 0.08. Fragment from the body of an amphora with part of the figured panel. Legs of a horse and filling ornament of diamond and cross as on A1, and the Cambridge vase *CVA* II, pl. 15, 8 (PLATE 4), on whose other Eretrian affinities see below.

A4. Eretria. FIG. 212. PLATE 3B, 5. H. c. 0.48. Kourouniotes, *AE* 1903, 33, no. 4. The complete profile is preserved, very similar to that of A5, but the vase is not mended. In the handle zone the panels on either side of the vase are bounded by two clusters of vertical lines with butterfly ornament in the middle.<sup>94</sup> In one panel is preserved part of a spiral and floral<sup>95</sup> ornament, in the other a star, and what may be part of a different floral design or of a horse's mane. Below appear two narrow friezes of clusters of upright wavy lines, then a broad band of thin parallel lines, the rest of the body being simply glazed but for one thin reserved line; the foot is all glazed.

A5. Athens NM. FIG. 17. PLATE 4. H. 0.47. Kourouniotes, *AE* 1903, 34, no. 7. Red is used in broad bands over the glaze on neck and body. Thin white lines outline the red bands and broader ones run up the centres of the vertical bars in the handle zone. On the red band on the belly appear short horizontal wavy lines spaced around the circumference,<sup>96</sup> and the white lines at top and bottom of the foot are joined vertically by other lines. For the style of neck decoration compare B6.

A6. Athens NM Apotheke. H. of neck 0.14. Profile and decoration as A4.

A7. Athens NM Apotheke. Kourouniotes, *AE* 1903, 35, no. 8, fig. 15. Decorated in a similar style but lacking the high neck characteristic of the series. I could find no more fragments to give a better idea of the profile. Red is used on the lip, on the band above the handle zone and in a broad band on the body.

A footed amphora without a high neck in Cambridge (*CVA* II pl. 15, 8, with lid 7; PLATE 4) could well also be Eretrian. The grouped wavy lines in narrow friezes on lip and body are not a usual Attic or Boeotian practice,<sup>97</sup> though common in Eretria as we have seen. The unusual foot profile is closely paralleled by the Eretrian incised pithos *AE* 1903, 18, fig. 10 (our no. 1 above, p. 11). Most striking is the similarity in the drawing of the horse and choice of filling ornament to our amphora A1 and sherd A3.

B1. Athens NM 12078. FIG. 17. H. 0.72. Kourouniotes *AE* 1903, 29, no. 1, fig. 11. Nicole,<sup>98</sup> *Cat.* 803. The decoration is the same on either side. Kourouniotes quotes exact Attic parallels for the diamond pattern in the central panels, and Boeotian parallels for the upright herring-bone pattern. A similar diamond pattern is met in the Cyclades<sup>99</sup> and in the herring-bone frame to panels on orientalisising amphorae from Eretria (Group C) and Cycladic vases.<sup>100</sup>

B2. Athens NM 1005. PLATE 4. H. preserved 0.48. Kourouniotes, *AE* 1903, 33, no. 3; *BCH* 1898, 278 f., fig. 2; *Adelt* 1890, 52, no. 2; Collignon-Couve, *Cat.* 213. The depth of the four fenestrations in the foot cannot be determined. Over each handle a horizontal wavy line, below them three silhouette birds, a position in which a bird is often found on geometric vases. White paint is used in a wavy line at the shoulder junction and on the broad glazed band on the belly.

B3. Athens NM 12131. H. 0.60. Kourouniotes, *AE* 1903, 31, no. 2, fig. 12 (*MA* XV 680); Nicole, *Cat.* 804. Clusters of transverse lines on the rim. Single handles with clusters of thin upright wavy lines below them.<sup>101</sup> The central panels bear five upright bars on one side, six on the other.<sup>102</sup> The glaze has fired red.

B4. Athens NM Apotheke. Kourouniotes *AE* 1903, 34, no. 5, fig. 13. Fragments of an amphora. The decoration is the same as that on B3, even to the device below each handle, but the decoration between the handles is different. Instead of the isolated upright wavy lines we have a butterfly ornament as an A4, and for the row of central bars we have down-pointing rays with  $\zeta$  between each. Similar rays in this position appear on Group D Eretrian amphorae, some (D 1, 2, 3, 5 and cf. 7) with crude silhouette birds between them.<sup>103</sup>

B5. Eretria. Fragment from neck. H. 0.13. Decoration as B2, 3, 4.

<sup>91</sup> Vulci, *BSA* XXXIII, pl. 28, 60, and oenochoc, Munich, Sieveking-Hackl 602, pl. 25.

<sup>92</sup> *Delos* Ab 12, 13, Bb 14, 15; and Argive geometric vases in Nauplion Museum.

<sup>93</sup> Young, *Hesp. Suppl.* II, 185; cf. *Jdl* 1943, 15, fig. 8, *AJA* 1940, pl. 25.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. B4; Naxian orientalisising *Delos* C9; Ithacan, *BSA* XLIII, pl. 20, 329; Theran, *AM* 1903, Beil. XXVII 1.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Attic amphorae in Otago, and the Empedocles Collection, Athens.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Protoattic amphora Copenhagen, *From the Collections, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, II 115, and *Delos* Ac1.

<sup>97</sup> Attic exceptions, an amphora on the Paris market, and one in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge.

<sup>98</sup> The inventory numbers of vases from Eretria are not always correctly quoted by Nicole.

<sup>99</sup> Theran amphorae, Copenhagen *CVA* II, pl. 69, 2; *AM* 1903, Beil. XXVIII, J7, and *Delos* Ba2, 15.

<sup>100</sup> E.g. Melian, *JHS* 1902, 69.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Berlin, *CVA* I, pl. 40.

<sup>102</sup> For the isolated wavy line between the clusters of upright lines at either side of the central panel cf. *AJA* 1942,

31, fig. 11.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. *Delos* orientalisising C24, 27 b.



B6. Athens NM 12073. PLATE 4. H. 0.64. Kourouniotes *AE* 1903, 34, no. 6, fig. 14. Clusters of transverse lines on top of the rim. Two broad red bands on the neck outlined by thin white lines, white wavy line over the glazed band at base of neck, thin white lines on the lower part of the body and foot. I group this vase here by reason of its lip and foot profile. The style of neck decoration is paralleled on A5, a close cousin, as is the bar decoration which is more characteristic of Group B. This vase and A5 must be about contemporary at the end of subgeometric series.

To this list may be added two fragments in Eretria from lips of vases in this group.

### SECTION III

#### ORIENTALISING SERIES: GROUP C

On the latest examples of the subgeometric series we have noticed the use of red and white paint (A5, B6). On a fragment in Athens (C1) just these features appear, with the familiar friezes of upright wavy lines in groups, but with an entirely new lip profile. It illustrates the transition to the orientalising Group C amphorae discussed in this section. The proportions of the amphorae are unchanged and the broad conical foot is familiar from the earliest of the subgeometric series (B1). The double handles of three of the four complete examples (C2, 3, 4, 6) do not meet in a central ridge (above p. 15). The lip has now lost the concave moulding and is no more than a broad flat strip projecting at the top of the neck.

Colour is used extensively on vases of this group, but unfortunately has not been well preserved. Red appears in a broad band on the lip (C3, 4), on women's dresses, as inner markings on animals and for the whole body of the sphinx on C6. It is laid directly on the clay in some rays on the lip of C6, the filling crosses of C3 and the 'girdle-ends' of the women on this vase. I use the word 'white' to describe the painted rosettes and other details. This is merely a convenient expression as I believe that a thin clay wash was usually used which was expected to fire lighter than the background.<sup>104</sup> Its appearance varies, being sometimes quite white, sometimes yellow, often barely distinguishable from the biscuit except where it accidentally overlies the glaze. Wavy lines in this 'white' appear on or above the shoulder junction of the vase (C2, 4, 6, 8)<sup>105</sup> and on the foot (C4). Laid directly on the clay it is found in the outlined rays on the lip of C6, 7, and on the wing feather of the sphinx on C6; and I suspect the use of a fine wash on the skirts of the women on the same vase. It is used for the inner details of animals on C3, 4, 6, 8. Dot rosettes occur everywhere, on the lips of C3, 4 separated by vertical lines, covering the women's dresses<sup>106</sup> on C3, 4, 6 and the bodies of the animals on C3, 6, 8.

Incision is found on only one vase in this group, C6, where it is employed freely to outline the figure on the body and for details. Other vases use thin white lines only. The fragments C8 illustrate the two styles well when compared with C6, a vase painted by the same hand and with the same patterns, but with details and outline incised and not in white as on C8. The painter of these pieces (and of C4, 5, 7), who was certainly the most competent painter in the group, seems responsible for the introduction of the use of incision in Eretria, with what results we shall see in Group D. A similar parallel use of incision and mock incision in white is met on Attic and Cycladic vases.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>104</sup> The practice is known in Attic vase painting from the late Geometric period, when such a wash was often used for details on the plastic snakes attached to vases.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. subgeometric A2, B5-6.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Melian, Pfuhl *MuZ* III, fig. 109, 110. Protoattic *CVA Berlin* I, pl. 23.

<sup>107</sup> Attic: Cook, *BSA XXXV* 199. White lines, *AA* 1934, 217, fig. 13; Kübler, *Altattische Malerei* figs. 11, 16; and his other illustrations point the parallel well. Incised outlines and details to 600: Siren amphora *BSA XXXV*, pl. 60, Menidi, *Jdl* 1899, 110, *BSA XXXV*, pl. 55, 54f, *AA* 1934, 209, 1943, 409, *AJA* 1936, 544, *Berlin CVA* I, pl. 4, 24, 36 and Kübler *op. cit.* The unpublished Melian vases in Mykonos Museum offer closer parallels, and cf. the use of white *Delos* XV, pl. 5, 33.

The scenes of standing female figures, invariable on the neck and occurring once on the body (C2) of amphorae, are characteristic of Group C. They are grouped in various ways. Usually two face each other, each holding one branch while others attend, either one with a branch (C4, 6), or two with wreaths (C3). There were certainly further variations; for instance, on C8 the figure scene with women seems to have stretched over the handles of the vase, and the triangular ornament on the upper border of C7 suggests that the painter of C4, 6 did not always favour the same arrangement.

These figures must surely be of mourners, despite the inscription on C2 which I discuss below. On late Geometric and early Protoattic vases the women (and men) on the necks of vases bearing other funerary scenes of *prothesis* or funeral games often carry branches.<sup>108</sup> Some sort of ritual dance is no doubt intended. Later, women hold stylised flowers or branches (CVA Berlin I, pl. 23; Vari, BCH 1939, pl. 51) but, except perhaps for the latter, we cannot be certain of any funerary significance. We might rather have expected scenes of women raising their hands to their heads to tear their hair.<sup>109</sup> For the grouping of two women with attendants compare the Eleusis loutrophoros (Kourouniotes, *Guide to Eleusis* 110, fig. 56, Jdl 1903, 148, fig. 14) and the women on Attic vases by the Polos Painter.<sup>110</sup> C2 presents a different grouping. On the neck and body are three women to the left, holding wreaths or flowers, possibly raising one hand to their heads, possibly with one hand on the shoulder of the woman in front. Unfortunately the condition of the vase leaves in doubt the most interesting features. Behind the last woman of the three on the body appears the inscription ΘΕΑ (FIG. 21e). It cannot possibly refer only to the figure to which it is nearest, i.e. the hindmost of the group. If it describes all three we are left with a number of possible identifications among the numerous triads, divine and semi-divine, none of which, however, is really appropriate in a funerary context. And then, what of the women on the other vases, sometimes grouped in fours, and the three on the neck of the same vase graced only with the single letter Ε? I believe the inscriptions are rather evidence of the pride of the painter in his literacy and command of letter forms. His is a hand we do not find again on vases of this group. He possibly misunderstood the motif—or could he have had in mind the three Goddesses before Paris, a scene which appears on an Eretrian grave amphora of the mid-sixth century (PLATE 9)?

As we have seen, in the subgeometric series the back of the vase was painted with no less care than the front. In Group C only the front is decorated with figured scenes (possible exception on C8), while the back is covered with characteristic Eretrian loop ornament,<sup>111</sup> painted in the generous, careless manner equally characteristic of Eretrian painting in this period. Three types of this ornament appear on Eretrian vases (FIG. 20). Type γ appears only on vases of Group D. On Cycladic vases this style of decoration is not uncommonly met, particularly on Naxian vases (Délös Ba group and the amphora Thera II 212), but here the ornament is a simple net with no loops. Examples of our types β<sup>112</sup> and γ<sup>113</sup> can be found but they never play such a large part. On Attic vases types α and β are rare, only type γ is at all common.<sup>114</sup> Nilsson suggested that Athens learned the motif from Eretria, but the only

<sup>108</sup> Hahland, *Corolla Curtius*, 125 and references.

<sup>109</sup> E.g. *AM* 1928, Beil. X. Possibly so on our C2, see below p. 26.

<sup>110</sup> Beazley, *Hesp.* XIII 52, e.g. nos. 20, 21, 33, 67; the central groups often appear to be holding something. Many were found in the Rheneia Purification grave.

<sup>111</sup> Johansen, *Vases Sicyoniens*, 117; Bochlau, *op. cit.* 111; Nilsson, *Jdl* 1903, 142. Robinson lists examples, *Olynthus* XIII 40 f.

<sup>112</sup> Délös C13: Mykonos Museum Inv. IA 558, 400, Johansen *op. cit.* fig. 70, BCH 1911, 409, fig. 67.

<sup>113</sup> Délös Ba 5: the back of *Jdl* 1937, 169, fig. 2, miniature Naxian.

<sup>114</sup> Type β, a Kerameikos krater. Very common in Attic are the large floral interlaces which play the part of the large Eretrian loops, e.g. BSA XXXV, pl. 44 and kraters in the Kerameikos, Kübler, *op. cit.* fig. 5 and in the plates, nos. 22, 58, and others unpublished.

type  $\gamma$  at all common on Attic vases appears there long before it is used in Eretria. Only Eretrian painters use these motifs regularly on such a scale, and they may even have adopted the idea independently of Corinth or the East,<sup>115</sup> where types  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  are to be found—but it is little to their credit. Type  $\alpha$  is peculiar to C2, a vase which in other respects also, as we have seen, stands apart from the rest of this group. In Attic it occurs on the back of the much earlier Burgon krater,<sup>116</sup> a Kerameikos oenochoe,<sup>117</sup> and a Berlin krater.<sup>118</sup> There are some fragments in Eretria from vases like our amphorae decorated with coarse net pattern and dots,

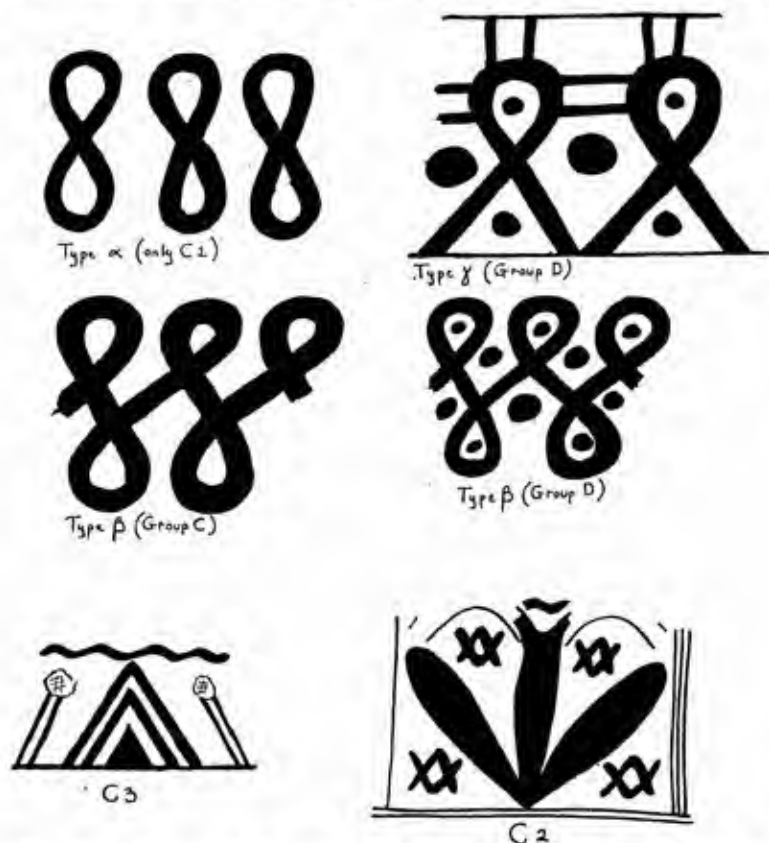


FIG. 20.—TYPES OF INTERLACE ORNAMENT AND UNDER-HANDLE DECORATION OF GRAVE AMPHORA OF GROUPS C AND D.

a motif not found on any complete Eretrian vase, and which possibly did not cover the whole of the back of the vase.<sup>119</sup>

The magnificent sphinx on C6 is entirely a child of the painter's imagination. Attica and the Cyclades offered models enough for fine striding or crouching sphinxes with slim tall necks and full sickle wings. Our painter has simply spread an animal body across the panel,

<sup>115</sup> Corinth: Würzburg 756, Langlotz pl. 226; *MA* XXII 385, fig. 139. East Greece: *Larisa am Hermos* III, pl. 23, 3; *Clara Rhodos* VI 507, fig. 33. Also cf. Crete, *Hesp.* XIV, pl. 22, 23; Ithaca *BSA* XLIII, pl. 25, 382.

<sup>116</sup> Bochlau, *op. cit.* 111, fig. 62, 6.

<sup>117</sup> *AA* 1943, 341; Kübler, *op. cit.* pl. no. 23.

<sup>118</sup> Berlin, *CVA* I, pl. 7, 3.

<sup>119</sup> From these fragments it also appears that the vases had an added small moulding at the junction of body and foot, not found on other Eretrian amphorae.

placed it in a seated position at the rear and left it standing at the front. He then added a large female head and a small sickle wing with a single row of large feathers rising incongruously from the small of the creature's back. The whole is sprinkled liberally with white rosettes in a manner which would have startled even the boldest Attic painters,<sup>120</sup> and would have seemed but little less out of place in the Cyclades. The lion on C4 is of the style of those on the Attic Burgon bowl,<sup>121</sup> and might suggest a mid-seventh century date had it appeared on an Attic vase.<sup>122</sup> The great mane is peculiar, perhaps suggested by the large painted or reserved shoulders of Cycladic lions.<sup>123</sup>

Turning now to the subsidiary ornament the influence of both Attica and of the East<sup>124</sup> (no doubt via the Cyclades) can be detected. Quite Attic is the contrast of dark and light in the lip rays of C6, 7, and the use of small dot rosettes for filling ornament.<sup>125</sup> Commoner, and with a longer tradition in Attica than in the Cyclades is the diamond motif below the lion on C4.<sup>126</sup> We have seen that the loop patterns are a peculiarly Eretrian adaptation of a motif neither specifically Cycladic nor Attic. The elaborate double spiral pattern below the sphinx on C6 and before the lion on C4 is common only on East Greek and Cycladic work of the end of the seventh century,<sup>127</sup> but in Attic it is seldom so elaborate.<sup>128</sup> The lip pattern of C3, 4 is common on all fabrics,<sup>129</sup> while the herringbone borders of C4, 6 are Cycladic, not Attic.<sup>130</sup> Hanging cross-hatched triangles in the field do not usually survive long into the seventh century,<sup>131</sup> and in the Cyclades triangles in this position are usually not so filled, but dissected into triangles and 'diamonds' as in our Group D. The figure drawing offers few parallels. The shape of the animals' bodies is Attic of the mid-seventh century; Cycladic creatures, mostly later, bear more plausible proportions. The women are not unlike those on a Boeotian relief pithos,<sup>132</sup> and in Attic work of the last decades of the century;<sup>133</sup> the heads are close to those on the Melian Apollo amphora, and the Berlin fragment.<sup>134</sup>

The vases of this group, then, offer us some details and styles in figure drawing which we might well expect of mid-seventh century Attic, but beside them other characteristics more fitting for painting of the end of that century. The same juxtaposition of new motifs with others long out of fashion on the mainland can be observed on Cycladic vases of this period, and just as we have found so many Cycladic touches in Eretrian work, so it is with an eye to Cycladic chronology that the Eretrian orientalising series should be dated. The dating of Cycladic vases, and for that matter of East Greek pottery also, has usually been determined by their relation to Attic and Corinthian chronology, themselves still disputed. This procedure I believe to be unjustifiable. Cycladic vase-painting went its own way in the seventh century. Parallels can be drawn with mainland work, but they are slight and unimportant; the whole

<sup>120</sup> BSA XXXV 195. Melian polychromy in Mykonos Museum, and cf. the plates *Délos* X, pl. 7, 57, 58.

<sup>121</sup> Pfuhl *MuZ* III, fig. 82.

<sup>122</sup> Cook, BSA XXXV 190. Angular head beginning to be rounded, the teeth, the lumpy paws.

<sup>123</sup> JHS 1926, pl. 10, *Délos* C1.

<sup>124</sup> Eretria was probably still on good terms with Miletus who helped her in the Lelantine War, and who later received help from her in the Ionian revolt of 499.

<sup>125</sup> Common, of course, to most seventh century fabrics, particularly Transitional Corinthian, but their appearance thus in figured panels is best paralleled by the Nessos vase, Pfuhl *MuZ* III, fig. 85, 89, the Berlin Harpy bowl, *CVA Berlin* I, pl. 46, the Vari vases Kübler, *op. cit.* pl. nos. 76, 77, and cf. no. 62, *Hesp.* VII 368 ff.

<sup>126</sup> In Attic till late in the seventh century, Kübler, *op. cit.* figs. 18, 70, cf. *Délos* C1 and group D.

<sup>127</sup> Many East Greek examples. The Cycladic are mainly Melian, e.g. Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 108.

<sup>128</sup> Cambridge *CVA* I, pl. 2, 7; *Hesp.* Suppl. II 129; Piraeus amphora, Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 88.

<sup>129</sup> Euphorbos plate, Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 117; common on Attic and Corinthian; on Melian, Mykonos IA 493.

<sup>130</sup> Very common on the large Melian amphorae.

<sup>131</sup> Profuse on the Boeotian amphora in Bonn AA 1935, 411, figs. 2-4 (Cook, BSA XXXV 170, n. 4).

<sup>132</sup> Hampe, *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder*, pl. 37—there surely dated too high.

<sup>133</sup> Aegina, Kübler, *op. cit.* pl. no. 62 (*Berlin CVA* I, pl. 23); Kerameikos, Kübler *ibid.* pl. no. 68; Boston pinax, *AM* 1928, Beil. X.

<sup>134</sup> Pfuhl *MuZ* III, fig. 108; Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 16 (and see below p. 26).



spirit and principle of decoration of the Cycladic vases is totally different from that of any Attic or Corinthian work of the same period. It kept to its own way into the sixth century when Corinthian influence and eventually Attic production drove it even from its local markets—in Delos. The Rheneia finds tell the story quite clearly. It borrowed details and motifs which were often long out of fashion in their mainland homes, but the technique and style of figure drawing remained quite Cycladic. In fact the Attic work of the seventh century was so unruly that it never favoured one clear style long enough for it to be imitated by its neighbours, and was in fact hardly at all exported. Features borrowed by Boeotia and the islands, more conservative in their vase painting, might linger there for as much as fifty years after they ceased to be popular in Athens. The last successful Cycladic fabric before the Attic invasion was 'Melian', and as our Group C (and D) Eretrian vases fall chronologically within the period of the popularity of this fabric, it would not, I think, be inappropriate to look to Melian chronology to suggest dates for Eretrian work.<sup>135</sup>

'Melian' vases have been found on very many Greek sites,<sup>136</sup> but the greatest body of material is from the Rheneia Purification graves. These vases, in the Mykonos Museum, are still largely unpublished, but the larger grave amphorae,<sup>137</sup> which illustrate the series from its beginning until nearly its close, and some of the Mykonos examples, are published and suffice to give an overall picture of the fabric.

I suggest below an approximate chronological sequence of some of the published pieces.<sup>138</sup>

1. The Riders Amphora. Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 105. Subgeometric zig-zag filling ornament; a little later is *Delos* Bc19.

2. The Apollo Amphora. Pfuhl, *ibid.*, fig. 108. Already some incision.

3. Mykonos Amphora. *AM* 1932, Beil. XXXI. Possibly by the same hand as the Apollo Amphora, cf. scale pattern on wing base etc. Note the difficulty over fingers resolved by giving Apollo, Artemis, and the sirens on this vase, mittens with thumbs only separate (cf. Naxian, *Jdl* 1937, 177, fig. 12).

4. *Delos* X, pl. 1. Possibly again by the same hand.

5. Bochlau's Amphora. *Jdl* 1887, 212, pl. 12. Female heads and goats show an advance.

6. Berlin F 301. Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 16, *Jdl* 1937, 178 f., figs. 13, 14. Incision employed, and more careful anatomical details, e.g. elbows and toes.

7. Heracles Amphora. Pfuhl, *op. cit.* figs. 109, 110. No incision.

8. Amphora in the British School of Archaeology, Athens. *JHS* 1902, 69, pl. 5. Possibly by the same hand as the Heracles Amphora, but incision is employed.

This last stage is illustrated more fully by vases in Mykonos Museum employing either white lines or incision for details. After them come vases with incised Corinthian type animals on the bodies, though the traditional outline female heads in the neck panel remain without incision throughout the series.<sup>140</sup>

The subsidiary decoration of linked spirals with triangular or floral additions, so charac-

<sup>135</sup> Most recently discussed by Brock, *BSA* XLIV 80 and Karouzos, *Jdl* 1937, 191 f. Cf. Kontoleon, *AE* 1939, 17; Payne, *JHS* 1926, 208 ff.; Buschor *AM* 1929, 160 ff.; Dugas, *Céramique des Cyclades*, 255 ff.; and the description of the Mykonos vases *JHS* 1902, 46 ff.

<sup>136</sup> Finds in Delos, *BCH* 1911, 408 ff., *Delos* X, nos. 1-36, and unpublished; Ikaria, *PAE* 1939, 137; Kavalla, *AE* 1938, 114, *PAE* 1937, 61; Lindos, *Lindos* I, pl. 46, 991; Naxos, unpublished; Paros, *AM* 1917, 85, *AA* 1923/4, 121 and unpublished; Rheneia, in Mykonos Museum unpublished (cf. *JHS* 1902, 46 ff., Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, pl. 55, *AM* 1932, Beil. XXXI, *AE* 1939, 17); Siphnos, *BSA* XLIV 48 f.; Thasos, *Études Thasiennes* I 117 ff. Sardis, *AJA* 1922, 395, and Delphi, *Fouilles* V, 145, nos. 142-4 (*BSA* XIX 62, n. 3) seem unlikely.

<sup>137</sup> Large grave amphorae in Athens, Collignon-Couve, *Cat.* nos. 473-477, pl. 21; Conze, *Melische Thongefässe*; *AE* 1894, pl. 12-14; *Jdl* 1887, pl. 12; Pfuhl *MuZ* III, figs. 104-110; *JHS* 1902, 69. Fragments in Berlin (F301), Neugebauer, *Führer* pl. 16, *Jdl* 1937, 178-9, figs. 13, 14, and in Bonn, and from excavations in Delos, Ikaria, Kavalla, Lindos, Naxos, Paros, Rheneia, Siphnos, Thasos. See note above.

<sup>138</sup> Most of the Poulsen-Dugas 'Proto-Melian' fragments (*BCH* 1911, 381 ff.) seem to me to be either sub-Melian, or imitations of Melian or other Cycladic fabrics: in the same style is *CVA Providence* I, pl. 4, 2 (Brock *BSA* XLIV 79, n. 92) and Boston, Fairbanks, *Cat.* 318, 2, 319, 8 (from Naucratis). The Delos fragment, *BCH* 1911, 410, no. 76, Kunze, *AM* 1932, pl. 5, 5, and Haspels *ABL* 158, n. 2, has a lip profile quite unlike that of any Melian vase I have seen, but is quite close to that of the Naxian 'Heraldic' amphorae (Delos group Ba and *Thera* II 212; a fragment from a vase of this type has been found on Naxos by R. V. Nicholls).

<sup>139</sup> Described by Hopkinson *JHS* 1902, 46 ff.

<sup>140</sup> Represented by an amphora in Mykonos with octopus and dolphin in silhouette in the reserved body panel, a hydria with the same device in Mykonos, and a similar larger hydria in Munich.



FIG. 21.—*a* PANEL DECORATION OF AMPHORA A4. *b* PALMETTE PLANT BY SIREN ON HERAKLES AMPHORA. *c* DETAIL FROM AMPHORA C3. *d* FRAGMENT OF AMPHORA C8. *e* DETAIL FROM AMPHORA C2. *f* DECORATION BEHIND HANDLES OF HERAKLES AMPHORA.

teristic of the 'Melian' series, hardly develops at all, nor do the vase shapes. The series seems to represent a considerable ceramic activity for hardly more than half a century, at a time when the Cyclades were producing practically nothing else.<sup>141</sup>

In so far as parallels can be drawn with mainland work, the heads on the human figures of the latter vases of my list above bear a closer resemblance to Middle or Late Corinthian work<sup>142</sup> than to Early Corinthian,<sup>143</sup> wherein the sharper profiles are more like the drawing on such Melian pieces as the Apollo Amphora. The magnificent lion on the Berlin fragment would hardly disgrace the Chimaera Group,<sup>144</sup> while the fine proportions of the deer held by Artemis on the Apollo Amphora ill accord with a suggested dating to the first half of the seventh century. The small dot rosettes in the field and the frieze above the body scene on the Apollo Amphora are a feature of Transitional Corinthian, in Attic of the Nessos vase (Pfuhl *op. cit.*, figs. 85, 89), and of our C6 which is probably a contemporary. The most Corinthianising Melian animals meet their opposites on Middle Corinthian vases. But these similarities may be only echoes or coincidence. The earlier 'Melian' animal style learned much from East Greece where pottery is still insecurely dated. A fuller chronological analysis of East Greek ornament would also help. The elaborate double spiral motif as filling ornament seems to have been affected in the East (the earliest 'Rhodian' plates) at about the same time as in Attica (the Piraeus amphora, Pfuhl, *op. cit.* fig. 88), in one 'Melian' style (the Apollo Amphora), and probably in Eretria (C4 and 6 and *cf.* D1).

Where then do the Eretrian Group C amphorae stand in relation to the Melian series which probably flourished from about 630 to 580 or even later? The central pieces of the group, C4, 6, suggest, from their use of incision, dot rosettes, and sharp profiles, the time of the Apollo Amphora, *i.e.* the Nessos Painter's period in Athens. The vases were probably all made in the last quarter of the seventh century, late pieces such as C2 are possibly to be dated after 600. The further possibility, that the earliest examples of Group D (D1) chronologically overlap the latest of Group C, is discussed below.

Of the following list C4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 are by one hand, and perhaps C3 is an earlier work by the same man. The Louvre jug, C12, is added here to the list of grave amphorae for its obvious similarities in style.

#### CATALOGUE: GROUP C

C1. Athens NM Apotheke. PLATE 5. H. 0.24. Broad red band on lip and below the first decorated zone. A single row of white dots on both red bands spaced at about 0.015. From the body, part of a wavy line probably running over the handles. Transverse lines in clusters on the rim.

C2. Athens NM 12128. FIGS. 20, 21c. PLATE 5. H. 0.81. Nicole, *Cat.* no. 880. The top of the rim is decorated with groups of transverse lines. Nearly all colour has disappeared. Red was used on the headdresses of the women and probably on their cloaks; white, in a wavy line at the base of the neck, possibly outlining the body rays and the leaves beneath the handles, and on the foot which is very carelessly painted, the glaze in places not entirely covering the surface. The surface has suffered considerably and appears a pale buff beside the orange-red of the other amphorae. To the right of the body panel is the inscription ΘΕΑ; the exact form of the last letter is not distinct (FIG. 21c). A four-stroke epsilon appears in the field behind the head of the second woman in the neck panel.<sup>145</sup> The leading figure on the neck holds a dot wreath. Similar rosettes before the other two women may also be taken as wreaths, while the lines running obliquely across the neck of the first and second women may be their arms. The second and third figures also seem to be resting one hand on the shoulder of the woman before them. In the body scene the leading woman again holds a wreath and her other arm may be represented by the line across her neck. The second woman raises her arm in the same way, and the last seems to be holding a flower. The rosettes and lines of dots between the figures are only filling. This vase stands somewhat apart from the rest of Group C, and is not the earliest in the group. Its figure style, representation of women on both neck and body, rays,<sup>146</sup> handle decoration, and loop ornament on the back (type α, above p. 22) are not met on other

<sup>141</sup> Except perhaps in Naxos, *e.g.* the Aphrodite vase (*Jdl* 1937, 166 ff.), probably not much earlier than the Apollo Amphora.

<sup>142</sup> *Cf.* Payne *NC* pl. 31, 6, 7, 11; 34, 4; 40, 1, 2 and figures *ibid.* 102-113.

<sup>143</sup> Kontoleon *AE* 1939, 17. Early Corinthian heads *NC* 100.

<sup>144</sup> A Boeotian form: *cf.* Tanagra, *IG* VII, 612, 630 (*AZ* XXXIII, 159, nos. 6, 7), and once in Eretria, *IG* XII, 9, 285.

<sup>145</sup> *Cf.* the Naxian vase *Jdl* 1937, 167, fig. 1 which is not very much earlier than our vase.

<sup>146</sup> *Cf.* *NC*. pl. 30, 8.

amphorae of the group. The painter was an imitator of the painter of C4-8, in whose work we also find our only other Eretrian necklaces (on the sphinx in C6).

C3. Athens NM 12130. FIGS. 20, 21c. PLATE 5. H. 0.53. Nicole, *Cat.* 881. Probably to be restored with a high foot. Rosettes and lines in white on the red of the lip as on C4. Red on the women's dresses and hair, and for their 'girdle-ends'. White rosettes on their dresses. Thick red wavy lines, white dot rosettes and lines on the animal on the body, very poorly preserved (FIG. 21c). Filling ornament in red and black with white dots on some rosettes. The wavy lines at the waists of the women may be girdle-ends or ῥοσσοί,<sup>147</sup> the tassel-ends of belts, mentioned by Homer (*Il.* XIV 181). The animal on the body may well have been a sphinx.

C4, 5, 6, 7, 8 are by one hand.

C4. Athens NM 12077. FIG. 17. PLATE 6. H. 0.75. Nicole, *Cat.* 888, *Peinture des vases grecques*, pl. 7, Pfiuhl, *Muz.* III, fig. 101. For the distribution of red and white on the vase see the plates published by Nicole, but add a wavy line in white at the shoulder junction, and in the concave moulding at the base. Note also that the triangle between the forelegs of the lion is in fact cross-hatched, and that the height quoted by Nicole is not correct. His coloured plates are not exactly fair to the piece and could even merit criticism of his choice for illustration.<sup>148</sup>

C5. Athens NM Apotheke. Fragment from the shoulder of an amphora almost identical with C4, but the triangle above the lion's back is not hatched. Traces of white paint at the shoulder join.

C6. Athens NM 12129. PLATE 6. H. 0.72 (without restored foot). Nicole, *Cat.* 882,<sup>149</sup> Dugas, *Mélanges Holleaux*, pl. 3. On the lip down-pointing rays in black, red, black, white framed with black etc. repeated around the vase. Red dots on the women's headdresses and upper part of dress, which was decorated with white dot rosettes. White on the women's skirts and in a wavy line at the base of the neck. The body of the sphinx is painted red as are the wing feathers. White on one wing feather, and in dot rosettes over the entire body of the sphinx; some can be distinguished in the photograph. The sphinx wears a flat polos or headdress with a small palmette ornament to the front.<sup>150</sup>

C7. Athens.<sup>151</sup> PLATE 7. The lip decoration is identical with that of C6. In the frieze below two women move to the left, one holds a branch. Behind her is the beginning of the triangular ornament such as is found on the body of C6, but never in this position on any other Eretrian amphora.

C8. Athens NM Apotheke. FIG. 21d. PLATE 6. Three fragments from an amphora almost identical with C6, but where incision is employed on C6, white paint is used here.

(a) From the shoulder. On the neck of the vase the feet of two women to the left facing another. Below them a broad band with a white wavy line superimposed. From the body the forepart of the sphinx's headdress with palmette in front as on C6, with details in white paint. From the handle panel part of the wavy line over the handles.

(b) From the body. Part of the sphinx's tail, wing and filling as on C6. One wing feather has white paint over the glaze.

(c) From the body. The foreshoulder and part of the legs of the sphinx. White dot rosettes on its red body.

Almost certainly from one vase but note that at least two of the women on the neck stand over the handle so possibly the procession continued around the vase. Also there are panel boundary lines before the sphinx's head on (a) but none before her body (c). Perhaps these boundary lines go no lower than the line appearing at the bottom of (a), or was this vase decorated on both sides and we have fragments from each side?

C9. Eretria. Fragment from the shoulder of an amphora. Apparently part of a triangular ornament before the woman on the neck. From the body scene, possibly part of an animal—its ears?

C10. Athens NM Apotheke. Corner of a panel. Part of a spiral decorated with a line of white dots.

C11. Athens NM Apotheke. Part of hind-quarters of an animal with linear filling ornament between its legs. White dots on its body.

There are fragments in Athens and Eretria of the interlacing loop ornament from the backs of amphorae in this group.

C12. Louvre CA 2365.<sup>152</sup> PLATE 7. H. c. 0.24. No record of provenance. Horizontal transverse lines on the handle. Red on the women's dresses and a broad band on the belly of the vase. White rosettes and dotted border to the women's cloaks and the red band, white dots and eyes on the snake, single lines over the glazed wavy lines and filling blobs on the body, on the lip and on the base in two horizontal lines enclosing a wavy line. The women each raise an arm in a gesture of adoration towards the snake. The painter forgot to give the woman on the right any feet. The upright wavy lines behind the women would have suggested themselves naturally to any Eretrian painter. The shape derives from the familiar geometric jug with broad high neck and, usually, no foot.<sup>153</sup> The shape is known in Attic down to the middle of the seventh century, but recurs again once in a black figure example of about 600 in the Kerameikos.<sup>154</sup> Our vase is probably a provincial contemporary from a hand which had not yet learned the new black figure technique. The vase was certainly a grave offering. For the significance of the snake as the soul or double of the dead person, here apparently being worshipped, see Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechische Religion*, I 183.

<sup>147</sup> Poulsen, *Der Orient* 177 for references. Compare as the common Argive geometric motif: *Argive Heraeum* II 114, pl. LVII 15-18; *Tiryns* I 146 n. 4, pl. 19, 2; Asine; Tegea, *BCH* 1921, 410, fig. 56, no. 324; Corinth, *AJA* 1930, 411, fig. 5 (a very Argive piece, cf. *AH* II, pl. LX 18). In Protoattic, *PennMusJ* 1917, 16 and *RendPontAc* 1941, 151; Laconian, *BSA XXXIV* 111, pl. 23 f.; a Berlin gold band, Bruns, *Schatzkammer der Antike* 6, fig. 1.

<sup>148</sup> Beazley, *JHS XLVII* 141, 'an Eretrian daub'.

<sup>149</sup> The sphinx is called a siren.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. Attic, *CVA Berlin* I, pl. 5, 1, 34, 2. It is a feature common on the headbands of the female protomes on the necks of Melian hydriai and amphorae.

<sup>151</sup> I know this fragment and D7-8 only from photographs in the British School at Athens and sent to me by Dr. Amyx. They were seen in 1936 in the National Museum, in the apotheke where Perachora pottery was stored. They certainly are not from Perachora and can only be strays from the other sherds from Eretria housed nearby. They cannot now be found.

<sup>152</sup> M. Devambez kindly gave me permission to publish this piece. It is mentioned by Burr in *Hesp.* II 608, as Boeotian.

<sup>153</sup> On the type cf. *BSA XXXV* 170, 217, *Hesp.* Suppl. II 207, *AJA* 1942, 49, *AA* 1934, 211, fig. 9 a late example.

<sup>154</sup> *AA* 1932, 196. Kerameikos Painter, no. 1 in Beazley's list, *Hesp.* XIII 43. Now mended and restored with its low splaying foot and single handle.



## SECTION IV

## THE SIXTH CENTURY: GROUP D

The last group before the black figure amphorae is represented by vases of a familiar shape, but somewhat smaller than those of Group C. The almost 'flat lip-moulding' of the preceding group has degenerated into a deep concave groove. Incision is now employed freely and carelessly, but the traditional style of outline drawing is retained for lions' heads, and red paint is applied lavishly both on the bodies of the animals, and directly on the surface of the vase.<sup>155</sup> On D2 alone is incision only used for the details on the animal's bodies, and D10 is in a simple silhouette style.

The figure decoration consists of animals, lions, sphinxes, or swans, grouped heraldically in pairs over a rosette or a half palmette. Above the body panel there is often a band of red and black rays, the interspaces being either left blank (D4, 6), or filled with crude silhouette birds<sup>156</sup> (D1, 2, 3, 5) or rosettes<sup>157</sup> (D7). The back of the vase is decorated, on the neck with upright wavy lines, on the body with crude loop patterns liberally interspersed with dots, both of type  $\beta$  (D1, 2, 9, 10) which is common in Group C, and type  $\gamma$  (D3, 4, 5). Wherever the foot is preserved it is decorated with a band of large hanging hooks.

On most of these vases the drawing is so gross as to make comparison with the animals of any respectable fabric impossible. However one vase, D1, shows that there was in Eretria at least one painter competent to hold a brush at this time. The elaborate double spiral filling devices and the spiral and palmette complex between the lions on the body suggest that this piece (PLATE 8) is probably the earliest of the group, and may well be a work of the last years of the seventh century, in other words possibly earlier than the latest vases of Group C. The neat incision and drawing of the animals, palmettes and filling ornament is not met again in Group D, the other vases of which are simply degenerate variations on the same theme.

Animals grouped heraldically in pairs over a central floral motif are common on Melian vases, and the quarter palmettes in the corners of the panels are found most often on East Greek work. The bands of alternating red and black rays are paralleled on Boeotian bird kylixes<sup>158</sup> and in the Cyclades.<sup>159</sup> The crude loop decoration of both types  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ <sup>160</sup> have been discussed above (p. 21 f.). The rows of heavy hooks on the feet of Eretrian Group D amphorae are most unusual; similar ornament appears on some vases found in Attica, but not certainly Attic,<sup>161</sup> and on a Cycladic group which I mention further below. The filling ornament is met commonly in the Cyclades, but the hanging triangles, the double spiral patterns (e.g. D1) and framed dots and crosses all own more respectable Cycladic and mainland counterparts.<sup>162</sup>

The group is probably of the opening decades of the sixth century, corresponding to the

<sup>155</sup> A habit often considered barbarous, but one which invariably seems to have ensured the better preservation of the colour. Used much in Boeotia (e.g. the bird kylixes) and cf. *Délos* C23-27.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. in the subgeometric series B4.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Mingazzini, *Vasi delle collezioni Castellani* pl. 17, 4.

<sup>158</sup> E.g. Würzburg 70, Langlotz, pl. 8.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. *Délos* C24, 27b.

<sup>160</sup> For elaborate seventh century Attic examples of type  $\gamma$ , cf. *CVA Berlin* I, pl. 3, 5; 14; 15; *Hesp. Suppl.* II 167. Protocorinthian, Cumae, *MA XXII* 385, fig. 139. Cycladic, *Délos* Ba5.

<sup>161</sup> *CVA Athens* pl. 11, 7, a krater from the Marathon tumulus containing ashes and bones, thought by Pfuhl perhaps to be Eretrian (*Muz* I, xi, and cf. Vanderpool, *Hesp.* XV 330, and Haspels, *ABL* 92). In the Athenian Agora are two bowls (P 13270, P 12605) with similar coarse hooks rising from their bases, which may not be Attic; cf. some Boeotian bird kylixes, e.g. in Bonn, *AA* 1933, 5, fig. 2.

<sup>162</sup> *Délos* X, pl. 7, 15. In Attic, Acropolis 351 (Graef, 35 f.) and a tripod kothon in the Empedocles Collection, with rough hooks and framed crosses as filling. Cf. also the Boeotian orientalisising lekane, *MetriMusStud* IV (1932), 18.

'Melian' Corinthianising animal style (see above p. 26). Beyond this and in this style Eretrian painters could not, and fortunately did not, attempt to go. Other styles were affected (D10, PLATE 8), but the evidence of excavation so far has revealed no other ceramic activity in Eretria until its Atticising black figure and the fine mid-century amphorae dealt with in the following section.

A small group of vases from Rheneia call for some attention here by reason of their similarity to Eretrian work of this period. They are nos. 23-27 of *Délos* group C,<sup>163</sup> and stand apart from the rest of that group in many respects. Their clay is buff-orange, some vases show a very little mica in the clay, and no slip is used. We have seen already in Eretria the use of red paint in bands and on alternate palmette leaves, applied directly on the surface of the vase, the rows of hanging hooks, the white rosettes along a dark band (e.g. on C12), the rays with birds in the interspaces and the absence of slip. I do not suggest that these vases are Eretrian; they are more carefully painted than any vases of this period found in Eretria, but they stand closer to Eretrian work in technique and motifs than to the earlier Naxian work with which they are associated in the publication, and they may hail from a nearby centre.

## CATALOGUE: GROUP D

D1. Athens NM 12436 γ.<sup>164</sup> PLATE 8. The use of red paint seems to be the same as on other amphorae of this group.

D2. Athens NM 1008.<sup>164</sup> H. 0.62. Collignon-Couve, *Cat.* 665, p. 13 and pl. 28 (the back); *BCH* 1898, 280 f., fig. 3. 'Ce n'est point, à coup sûr, le mérite esthétique qui fait le prix de ce monument' (Couve).

D3. Athens NM 12436 δ. FIG. 17. H. 0.72. Nicole, *Cat.* 886; Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 102; Dugas, *Mélanges Holléaux*, pl. 2; *Céramique des Cyclades*, pl. 11. Red bands above and below the neck panel, and above and below the frieze of hooks on the foot. Red for alternate palmette leaves, on lions' manes, sphinxes' faces, necks and wing feathers, but not for filling ornament. Much painted restoration, e.g. the right sphinx and the muzzle of the left lion.

D4. Athens NM 12436 α. PLATE 8. H. 0.65. Nicole, *Cat.* 883. The foot is missing. Red bands above and below the neck panel, and above and below the body panel. Red on alternate rays and palmette leaves, and on most of the filling ornament, also for lions' manes and swans' wings and feathers. Much painted restoration, particularly the head of the left lion, and rear half of the left swan.

D5. Athens NM 12436 β.<sup>164</sup> In almost every detail a replica of D4, but the foot with a row of hooks, as on D1, 2, 3 is preserved, and the palmette leaves between the lions on the body hang more as a bunch of grapes than radiate from one point, as on D4. Below the right lion is a black cross enclosed by a red line as on D9.

D6. Eretria. Fragment from the shoulder of an amphora. Alternate black and red rays with no decoration between them (as D9) and part of the top corner palmette of the body scene.

D7. Athens.<sup>165</sup> Fragment from neck and shoulder of an amphora. From the neck, part of the body of a swan and the central palmette. From the shoulder, down-pointing red and black rays, between them dot rosettes, the only example of this motif in Group D.

D8. Athens.<sup>166</sup> PLATE 7. Fragment from the body of an amphora. Part of a lion, the usual triangle from the ceiling, and a half palmette, in this case rising from the floor, contrary to usual practice.

D9. Athens NM 12436. H. (restored) 0.72. Nicole, *Cat.* 885. The foot is missing. Red on bands above and below neck panel, on broad glazed band at base of neck, below body panel for alternate rays and palmette leaves, on swans' wings and lions' manes and bodies. White wavy line in the concave moulding at the lip—this motif may well occur on other amphorae of the group but no clear traces remain.

There are fragments in Athens from the body of an amphora in this group with part of palmette, fragment in Eretria of a lip, and in Athens fragments from the loop ornament (type γ, FIG. 20) from the backs of such amphorae.

Note D10-13 are not really of this group but represent variations and degenerations of the Eretrian series in the sixth century.

D10. Athens NM 1006. FIG. 17. PLATE 8. H. 0.60. Collignon-Couve, *Cat.* 666; *BCH* 1898, 279. The full depth of the foot is nowhere preserved, though the frieze of upright wavy lines was possibly no deeper than shown on the photograph. The glaze has fired red. On the use of the quintuple brush see above n. 83. Red is used over the painted lip and in three bands directly on the surface of the body of the vase. There is no incision nor any trace of details in white paint. The shape and loop pattern on the back of this vase link it with Group D. The lip profile has a less marked concave moulding, and the style of figure drawing is quite new. Sphinxes of this type with high square poloi appear on Middle Corinthian vases<sup>166</sup> with similar coarse filling ornament, and in the early sixth century in Athens we have also the work of

<sup>163</sup> Buschor, *AM* 1929, 146, noted Eretrian affinities in this group which he calls 'Parian' (see above n. 79). Brock rightly identifies the rest of the group as Naxian, *BSA* XLIV 76.

<sup>164</sup> D1, 2, 5: I know these pieces only from photographs sent me by Dr. Amyx; D1 is here illustrated from a new photograph.

<sup>165</sup> D7, 8: on the whereabouts of these fragments see above under Catalogue C7, n. 151.

<sup>166</sup> Payne, *NC* pl. 28, 9.

the Polos Painter and his Group.<sup>167</sup> The East borrowed the style from Corinth, but used incision; <sup>168</sup> the Cyclades used white paint for details.<sup>169</sup> In Boeotia in the first half of the century a silhouette geometricising style <sup>170</sup> was in fashion, but offers nothing on this scale. The eyes below the handles are a common Cycladic motif from the early seventh century, and in the 'Melian' series appear still some time after 600.<sup>171</sup>

D11, 12. Fragments from the necks of amphorae. From their unusual lip profiles and the unnatural and ugly bulge at the centre of the neck I take them to be examples of a degeneration of the usual Eretrian amphora shape, and certainly of the sixth century.

Also in Athens, fragments from the lower part of amphorae decorated with rays, in one case with rays in two tiers, and from the feet of amphorae with clusters of crudely drawn upright wavy lines.

## SECTION V

### BLACK FIGURE

Laurent, in *AE* 1901, 175, published a full description of the three black figure grave amphorae excavated by Kourouniotes in 1898. To his description I need add little. They do, however, merit further discussion on their shape, figured decoration, and position in the history of Greek vase painting of the sixth century. I shall refer to them as the Wedding Amphora (PLATES 9, 11), the Herakles Amphora (PLATES 10, 11), and the Peleus Amphora (PLATE 9).<sup>172</sup>

The Herakles and Peleus Amphorae were found to contain the skeletons of children; a form of burial which, as we have seen, was practised in Eretria at least from the beginning of the seventh century (see above p. 13). The shapes of the vases also illustrate their debt to seventh century practice, for they have the same high necks, feet and double handles which appear on the subgeometric amphorae of Groups A and B, and which were, of course, features of a vase-form popular in many Greek archaic fabrics.<sup>173</sup> Only in Eretria, however, does this form live so long, and among vases decorated in the Attic black figure style of the sixth century it is only in Eretria that it is found. But by this time Attic vase painting has swept nearly all other individual fabrics from the market, and has imposed its own black figure style on most other provincial vase-painting schools. So, in Eretria, these vases are painted, possibly by an Eretrian hand, but in a purely Attic style, distinguishable from true Athenian work only in details. These, the most important and valuable vases made in Eretria at this period, are also probably for that reason the most Attic in style; other black figure work of Eretria published in Section VI below betrays the provincial hand more clearly. Eretrian features in the painting will be discussed later; for the moment consider the shapes of the vases. Their debt to earlier Eretrian wares has been noticed, but now, just as the decoration has become Attic, so many details in the shapes of the vases remind one of an Attic sixth century vase form, the so-called *lebes gamikos*, a name which might well be applied to the Eretrian amphorae, had they not the characteristically Eretrian high necks. Two of the amphorae also depict wedding scenes, which are almost the rule on *lebetes gamikoi*. A vase shape, then, popular all over Greece in the seventh century in connection with burial practice, survives still in Eretria in the middle of the sixth century, when it shows characteristics peculiar to an Attic vase shape especially associated with marriage, whose history can be traced back some little way independently of the Eretrian series. This is not really paradoxical, but the problem does suggest some points which deserve notice.

Marriage scenes with a divine couple in a chariot, appearing on footed amphorae with high necks and double handles, are known from the last decades of the seventh century in

<sup>167</sup> Beazley, *Hesp.* XIII 52.

<sup>168</sup> *Délos* X, pl. 5, 33.

<sup>169</sup> Dugas, *Céramique des Cyclades* 199 f.: *Délos* Ba, Bc2, 16, 17, C21.

<sup>170</sup> Other literature, Pfuhl, *MuZ* I 206; Dugas, *Mélanges Holleaux* 76.

<sup>171</sup> *MonPiot* I, pl. 4; Bochlau, *op. cit.* pl. 12, 4, 5.

<sup>172</sup> *JHS* 1929, 160 ff., pl. 9-13.

<sup>173</sup> See above p. 13 f.



Cycladic, Melian and Naxian work,<sup>174</sup> and perhaps even on the Protoattic Kynosarges Amphora.<sup>175</sup> In Attic black figure such scenes are common, and are discussed further below (p. 34 f., 39).

The earliest complete example of an Attic *lebes gamikos* is of the Sophilos period. It was found in the British School excavations at Smyrna in 1949.<sup>176</sup> The shape is very similar to that of the later *lebetes gamikoi*, but it has only single handles. It bears the scene of a wedding procession. There are few and fragmentary examples only as far as the middle of the century. They seem most popular with black figure painters in the red figure period at the end of the sixth century. Red figure examples appear first in the Early Classical Period and are popular throughout the fifth century.<sup>177</sup> The name and purpose of this vase shape is still uncertain. The name was given on the evidence of temple inscriptions of the second half of the fourth century referring to bronze vessels.<sup>178</sup> It has been suggested that it held water for the bridal bath, scented water, or breakfast for the newly wedded couple.<sup>179</sup> No suggestion seems compatible with quite all the varied representations of it on red figure vases, where it appears being carried in the bridal procession on the wedding day,<sup>180</sup> with the *Epaulia* on the following day,<sup>181</sup> standing outside the closed door of the bridal suite,<sup>182</sup> used as a flower pot,<sup>183</sup> wrapped in a rug,<sup>184</sup> held by the bride on her lap,<sup>185</sup> and in one case piled one on top of another before the bride by a servant.<sup>186</sup>

Two of the Eretrian vases, the Wedding and Peleus Amphorae, bear wedding scenes, which are regular on Attic *lebetes gamikoi*; and one, the Wedding Amphora, has also a scene of the Judgement of Paris, which appears on the Petit Palais *lebes gamikos*.<sup>187</sup> The Eretrian lip mouldings are similar to those of the earliest Attic *lebetes gamikoi*.<sup>188</sup> The upright double handles close to the neck, the moulding at the base of the body and the high feet are the same.<sup>189</sup> The diamond-shaped lozenge added at the junction of the double handles of the Peleus Amphora is found on *lebetes gamikoi* from Delos and in the British Museum,<sup>190</sup> and on many red figure examples.

These Attic vases are predominantly connected with marriage. As treasured family

<sup>174</sup> Melian, British School, Athens, amphora, *JHS* 1902, 69, pl. 5; Berlin F301, *Jdl* 1937, 178 f., fig. 13, 14; Herakles Amphora, Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 109, 110; Mykonos IA 582, and cf. the Apollo Amphora, Pfuhl *ibid.*, fig. 108, the interpretation of which is uncertain. Naxian, *Jdl* 1937, 166 ff.

<sup>175</sup> *BSA* XXXV, pl. 56-8. Though this has not double handles.

<sup>176</sup> *JHS* 1950, 10. Mr. J. M. Cook kindly gave me permission to examine this vase.

<sup>177</sup> Attic black figure *lebetes gamikoi*: Smyrna; Menidi fr., *Jdl* 1899, 109, fig. 11-13; British Museum B 298, Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names* fig. 72; Petit Palais, *CVA* pl. 9, 1-4; Delos X, Heraion 594, pl. 48; Agora P 7897, *AJA* 1936, 412, *ÖJh* 1939, 92, *ARV* 949; Tübingen, Watzinger, pl. 10; Vlasto Coll., Zervos *L'Art en Grèce* 143; Athens Market; Kalebajian fr. by Acheloos Painter, Beazley *Panmler* under Catalogue no. 83; Acropolis fr., Graef nos. 1206, 1207, 1209-1211, 1213, 1214, 1220; Eleusis fr., and *PAE* 1937, 51; Kerameikos, *Jdl* 1946/7, 74, nos. 78, 79, pl. 23; perhaps Vienna 698, *CVA* I, pl. 5, 8, and cf. Swan Group miniatures, *Hesp.* XIII 55; Collignon-Couve, *Cat.* 654, pl. 27; Agora P 7237, *Hesp.* VI 345, fig. 9; Acropolis 567, Graef, pl. 25; Louvre MNB 2042, *MonPiot* IX 177, n. 1.

From the seventh century some of the footed Attic vases from Aegina in *CVA Berlin* I may be associated here. For red figure *lebetes gamikoi* see Robinson's list, *AJA* 1936, 516 ff.

<sup>178</sup> Richter and Milne, *op. cit.* 11; Brückner, *AM* 1907, 98. I think the use of the name on the strength of these inscriptions only is not justified. A case could be made for calling it a type of *loutrophoros*, see below n. 192.

<sup>179</sup> Refs. by Robinson, *op. cit.* 507, n. 1.

<sup>180</sup> *ARV* 767, no. 15, Marlay Painter, *JHS* XLI, pl. 6; Agora P 15259.

<sup>181</sup> Berlin 3373, *Jdl* 1900, pl. 2.

<sup>182</sup> *ARV* 726, no. 25, Eretria Painter, *FR* pl. 57, 3.

<sup>183</sup> *ARV* 726, no. 27, Eretria Painter, *AM* 1907, 95.

<sup>184</sup> *ARV* 706, no. 27, Naples Painter, *AM* 1907, 98, n. 2.

<sup>185</sup> *ARV* 552, no. 30, Amymone Painter; *ARV* 355, no. 4, Mykonos Painter.

<sup>186</sup> *ARV* 795, no. 1, Painter of Athens 1454, *AM* 1907, pl. 5, 2.

<sup>187</sup> *CVA* pl. 9, 1-4; see further on the connection of these two scenes, below, n. 215.

<sup>188</sup> E.g. Smyrna; and cf. Attic hydria lips.

<sup>189</sup> The feet of the Eretrian vases are not pierced at the top as are many Attic examples.

<sup>190</sup> Delos X, pl. 48; Richter and Milne, *op. cit.* fig. 72; and a new Acropolis sherd in Athens of the first half of the sixth century. A palmette is in this position on Louvre MNB 2042, see above n. 177.



possessions they are naturally also found in the tomb, probably of the bride. Hence, no doubt, the late fragments from the Kerameikos cemetery<sup>191</sup> with mourning women depicted, vases certainly not originally carried in any marriage procession, but perhaps made for the funeral of an unmarried girl.<sup>192</sup> Two of the three Eretrian amphorae were found to contain the bodies of infants. Savage the mother who interred her unfortunate or unwanted young in a vessel which once held the water for her bridal bath—or breakfast!

The explanation must be that the potter threw a vase shape, Attic in all details but for the traditionally high Eretrian neck, and the painters, Attic trained, decorated it with scenes they knew to be appropriate on similar vases made in Athens, without regard to the eventual use of the amphora in Eretria.

In the course of the individual description of the amphorae which follows, the details in the painting and in the mythological scenes which suggest that the work is not by Athenian hands will be noted. In Section VI these details, and others suggested by other black figure vases from Eretria, will be considered in the light of the possibility of a recognisable local Eretrian school of vase painting. I believe that these three vases were painted by men who were trained or had worked in Athens, or if not in Athens, in some other Attic vase-painting centre. The non-Athenian elements in their work are their own, and in so far as they are manifest in each vase and in other black figure work from Eretria, they are Eretrian.

#### THE WEDDING AMPHORA (PLATES 9, 11)

Athens NM 1004. Collignon-Couve, *Cat.* 667, pl. 28. *Adelt* 1890, 50, no. 1. Laurent, *AE* 1901, 175 ff., pl. 9.

The vase is described at length in the Collignon-Couve Catalogue but the ivy branch held by Dionysos and the wreath carried by the bride are not noticed. The colours are remarkably well preserved, and the lavish use of white and red lends an effect of polychromy rivalled in Attic work only by the gaudier Tyrrhenian vases. Incision is employed only in the scenes involving human figures on the neck and body on the front of the vase.

The painting is an essay in the Athenian style by an artist who did not fully understand his originals, and who at the same time introduced details which are not Athenian into his work. The himatia of Hermes, Dionysos and Peleus hang at back and front in an un-Athenian manner,<sup>193</sup> the proportions of the siren, filling the panel on the back of the vase, have suffered with her enlargement. The fearless and colourful procession of three and a half bulls below the main scene, the friezes of birds above the neck panel and the rear body panel,<sup>194</sup> and the use of white paint everywhere for the inner markings of animals, add to the non-Athenian appearance of the vase, while yet other unfamiliar details are matched also on other black figure vases from Eretria—the white sepals in the floral chains on the lid and body,<sup>195</sup> the ivy leaves springing from the floors of friezes or panels, even the indecision of the heraldic lions on the back whether they should be *sejant* or *passant*.<sup>196</sup> Add to this the shape of the vase and its unusual details in the figured scenes, and the Wedding Amphora offers a compendium of Athenian styles of decoration executed in the Eretrian manner—two major figured scenes,

<sup>191</sup> *Jdl* 1946/7, pl. 23, 78, 79.

<sup>192</sup> Hesychius and others say that *loutrophoroi* stand above the graves of unmarried people. Judging by the number of *loutrophoroi*, terracotta, marble and in relief, found in Attic cemeteries the proportion of the population who died unmarried might seem a little strange. So-called *lebetes gamikoi*, found in tombs and with scenes of mourning upon them, might better qualify for the name *loutrophoros*, which is also associated with marriage by Hesychius and others. But further enquiry into this problem is beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Thiersch, *Tyrrhenische Amphoren* 113, 115.

<sup>194</sup> Rare in Attic but cf. Louvre F 51, *BSA* XXXII, 12, no. 2, pl. 5, 2.

<sup>195</sup> On the Herakles Amphora, and Gorgon Amphora (p. 40, no. 3).

<sup>196</sup> Eretrian indecision, subgeometric A1 (fig. 19), orientalising C6 (PLATE 6) and Group D animals (PLATE 8).

animal friezes of ducks and bulls combined with panel decoration to the discomfort of one bull who is thereby cut in half,<sup>197</sup> heraldic compositions in friezes and panels, a single large siren in a panel, and a variety of incidental decoration including linked buds, tongues, linked lotus and palmette and a lotus-palmette cross—and all on one vase, and that of heroic proportions.

To turn to details. The naive manner in which the glaze outline to the cloaks of the three women beyond the horses follows the profile of their faces instead of dropping straight down is paralleled by the similar glaze outline to the gorgons' ears on the Gorgon Amphora and Hydria (p. 40, nos. 2, 3).<sup>198</sup> Their 'bun' hair style<sup>199</sup> and red dot eyes<sup>200</sup> are Attic. Compared with such horses as those of Acr. 610 and 627 those of this vase are less lively animals but as well proportioned.<sup>201</sup> The heraldic lions on the back of the neck are purely Attic in conception,<sup>202</sup> but the lack of incision and extraordinary and lavish use of colour give them a most un-Attic appearance. The form of the siren in the body panel below is like that on an oenochoe in the Agora,<sup>203</sup> and the paddle tail is quite Attic. The way in which the feathers on her body are represented by small curved lines in white is unusual, though similar incised decoration is found in Attic,<sup>204</sup> and particularly in Etruscan black figure vases.<sup>205</sup>

It appears again in Eretria on the siren below the left handle of the Herakles Amphora. The ivy leaves which spring on stalks from the floor of the rear body panel and the foot frieze are again most easily paralleled on Etruscan vases.<sup>206</sup> Similar decoration on Chalcidian, pseudo-Chalcidian<sup>207</sup> and some Attic vases<sup>208</sup> consists usually of a lotus bud or bloom on a stalk, as on the Herakles Amphora (FIG. 22); on the foot of this vase also appear two ivy leaves like those on the Wedding Amphora. The degenerate floral chain above the body scene, with its members connected by links not tendrils, and with lotus and palmette in pairs and not alternating, seems in a more advanced style than that in the same position on the Herakles vase (PLATE 10). The lotus-palmette cross on the foot shows Tyrrhenian proportions, and the white dot fringe to the palmette is quite Attic.<sup>209</sup> A central sepal may be represented by a white paint line, but a complete lack of incision makes it difficult to assign it its position in the known Attic development of the type.<sup>210</sup>

The scene of the Judgement of Paris<sup>211</sup> is remarkable mainly for Paris' patient attitude

<sup>197</sup> Note also that the body scene is not accurately centred, but on the right extends under the handles.

<sup>198</sup> Amyx, *AJA* 1941, 69.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. *CVA Brussels* III, pl. 28, 15.

<sup>200</sup> Cf. Rumpf, *Sakonides*, pl. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. Rumpf, *Sakonides*, pl. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>202</sup> From the Vari vases (e.g. Kübler, *Altattische Malerei* pl. no. 76), to the Acropolis dinos 606, Graef pl. 31 and the baby

siren *Fouilles de Delphes*, V 156, fig. 646.

<sup>203</sup> Especially on work of the Siren Painter (Dohrn, *Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen* 151 ff.), e.g. Munich, Sieveking-Hackl nos. 842 (202), 845 (218a), 851 (227), 895 (214), 898 (215), 909 (224)—Dohrn's catalogue numbers are in brackets;

Beazley calls this painter the Micali Painter, *La Raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi* 77 ff.

<sup>204</sup> Again often on work of the Siren Painter, cf. Munich examples, Sieveking-Hackl 845 (218a), 853 (237), 895 (214), 898 (215), 909 (224) (Dohrn, *op. cit.* numbers in brackets), and 'Pontic' vases, Ducati, *Pontische Vasen* pl. 5, 14, 23 (Dohrn nos. 115, 72, 104).

<sup>205</sup> Chalcidian, Rumpf, *CV*, pll. 90, 116, 141; pseudo-Chalcidian *CV* pll. 197, 198, 207, 214, 217, 220 and figs. 12, 15.

<sup>206</sup> References in Dohrn, *op. cit.* 108 f., n. 100; cf. Acr. 471, Graef pl. 18, the only good Attic parallel. Attic blooms e.g. Rumpf, *Sakonides*, pl. 17a, Brit. Mus. *CVA* III, pl. 23, 2. For occasional dot rosettes and lines of dots in the field in Attic as on this vase, cf. Rumpf *Sakonides*, pl. 2, 5gh, 6, 9a, *AJA* 1944, 253, fig. 2.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Louvre E 810, Pottier pl. 57 (Zahn thought this vase Eretrian, *PhW* 1902, 1261), and Thiersch, *Tyrrhenische Vasen* 83.

<sup>208</sup> Smith *Hearst Hydria*, 246 and n. 45.

<sup>209</sup> Harrison, *JHS* 1886, 196 ff.; Prühl *MuZ* I 326; Dugas, *Antiquité Classique* VI 6; Schulze, *Das Paris-Urteil*, Diss. Würzburg 1921; latest on these scenes is Wüst, in *RE*, s.v. 'Paris', where our vase (his no. 1a) is described as 'Altatt. Amphora d. spät. Phaleronstils'; to his list add, Type A, Mykonos KZ 1125; Type B, Mykonos KZ 1489; Acr. 725, Rumpf, *Sakonides* pl. 17b; Payne *NC* 135, fig. 48; *CVA* Louvre VIII, pl. 77, 12, Beazley *JHS* 1933, 310; Louvre CA 616 and another tripod pyxis; *Corolla Curtius* pl. 51, 1; *MA* I 906; *CVA Fogg Museum*, pl. 9, 1; *CVA Brussels* III, pl. 22, 1; Type C, *CVA Petit Palais*, pl. 9, 1-4; *CVA Gallatin Coll.*, pl. 37, 2; *CVA Brussels* III, pl. 26, 2; and Louvre F 43, New York GR 349 (*BSA XXXII* 14, no. 42), and caricature, Watzinger, Tübingen, pl. 15 (Haspels *ABL* 117).

before Hermes and the goddesses. In all contemporary and earlier representations he displays no little reluctance. On Chalcidian<sup>212</sup> vases he seems diffident, and only on the Corinthian Chigi<sup>213</sup> vase does he seem at all contented or resigned to his lot. We should probably identify Hera with her sceptre as the foremost of the goddesses.<sup>214</sup> The scene of the Judgement of Paris is not rarely found on Attic vases which also bear scenes of a wedding procession.<sup>215</sup>

Scenes of a wedding procession,<sup>216</sup> with the groom carrying his bride home in a chariot, are common on Attic vases. In some details the representation on this vase differs from the usual Attic type. Neither here nor on the Peleus Amphora (PLATE 9) appear the booted Hermes or lyre-playing Apollo, the two most regular attendants in Attic scenes, who, however, never appear on similar Corinthian scenes. On the other hand the woman playing the flutes does not appear on Attic vases.<sup>217</sup> The two small sirens flying below and before the horses may be regarded as birds of good omen.<sup>218</sup> On some black figure examples the bride and groom can be identified as a divine or heroic couple, and Peleus and Thetis, whose marriage was so often celebrated in song and art (cf. the François Vase), were most popular.<sup>219</sup> Many scenes we may regard as already secularised, as of a mortal couple, and identify the figures of the Gods as those of mortal guests and attendants; thus, Hermes the προηγυτής, Artemis holding torches as the mother of the bride or groom,<sup>220</sup> lyre-playing Apollo the accompanist to the marriage hymn, Dionysos a satisfied father-in-law. But other deities sometimes appear who cannot be so easily explained—Zeus,<sup>221</sup> Hera,<sup>222</sup> Athena,<sup>223</sup> Poseidon,<sup>224</sup> Herakles,<sup>225</sup> and others.<sup>226</sup> Peleus and Thetis were popular in Eretria and we may identify them as the newly wedded couple here.<sup>227</sup> Possibly it is Aphrodite<sup>228</sup> who follows Dionysos as wedding guest, and Artemis-Hekate or Hera who holds the torches.<sup>229</sup> The group of three women is common

<sup>212</sup> Rumpf *CV* 108, pl. 114, 150 and pl. 134. He waits patiently on a black-figure vase in Mykonos, KZ 1125, which may not be Attic.

<sup>213</sup> *CVA Villa Giulia* I, pl. 4, 3.

<sup>214</sup> Gerhard *AV*, pl. 71. Wreaths are commonly carried, cf. Louvre F 13, Pottier *Cat.* pl. 64; F 31, *ibid.* pl. 66.

<sup>215</sup> On the *lebes gamikos* in the Petit Palais (above n. 177), and on two tripod pyxides in the Louvre. On Gerhard *AV* pl. 72, 171 and Munich 1392, *CVA Munich* I, pl. 26, the marriage scene is of a warrior leading away his bride by her mantle (Haspels, *BCH* 1930, 437, Type A; Dugas, *BCH* 1936, 159 ff.). As the dispute between the goddesses which occasioned the Judgement was initiated by Eris while they were attending the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and as that dispute directly caused the Trojan War, the connection, with the Judgement, of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, or of the warrior (Menelaos?) leading away his bride (Helen?) is easily understood.

<sup>216</sup> Haspels, *BCH* 1930, 431 ff.; Payne *NC* 114, nn. 3, 4, 5.

<sup>217</sup> Acr. 2203, Graef pl. 93 seems to be of a later stage in the ceremony when the bride is being led to her nuptial bed.

<sup>218</sup> Laurent, *op. cit.*, notices only one siren; *ADelt* 1890, 50, no. 1 mentions only birds. Cf. Brit. Mus. *CVA* III, pl. 24, 1, and in Corinthian, Payne *NC* Cat. no. 1197. Similar baby sirens over a warrior's chariot in Brit. Mus. *CVA* III, pl. 38, Louvre *CVA*, III pl. 19. On their significance see Buschor, *Die Museen des Jenseits*, 27 ff.

<sup>219</sup> Peleus and Thetis on our Peleus Amphora (PLATE 9) and on Florence 3790. Helen and Menelaos on the Smyrna *lebes gamikos* (above, p. 31). Kadmos and Harmonia on Louvre CA 1961, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter* C, pl. 7, 3, Haspels *ABL* 239. Herakles and Hebe, on Goluchow pyxis, *CVA Poland* I, pl. 16, 1; on Gerhard *AV* pl. 325; on Cabinet des Médailles, *AZ* 1866, pl. 209; on New York 14. 105. 10, *BullMetMus* 1915, 123, fig. 2: on such scenes, cf. Luce, *Philadelphia Mus. Journal* 1916, 269-276, where others are doubtfully identified.

<sup>220</sup> When two women with torches are present we may suppose that both mothers are intended, one bidding farewell, the other greeting the bridal couple on arrival at their new home; cf. Acr. 2195, Graef pl. 95; Munich 1406, *CVA* pl. 38; *CVA Brussels* II, pl. 57 (R 310).

<sup>221</sup> Zeus and Hera on a pyxis in the Vlasto Collection, Haspels *ABL*, 43 n. 1.

<sup>222</sup> On the Goluchow pyxis *CVA Poland* I, pl. 16, 1.

<sup>223</sup> Brit. Mus. *CVA*, pl. 38; Munich no. 432 in Jahn, *Beschreibung*; probably on Florence 3790 with Amphitrite.

<sup>224</sup> On Berlin 1998, Gerhard *AV* pl. 326.

<sup>225</sup> Florence 3790, Heydemann 88: a key piece on which the names of guest deities are inscribed; no photograph has been published.

<sup>226</sup> On the Peleus Amphora (PLATE 9) they are identified by inscriptions. The famous pedimental group from the Apollo temple at Eretria may be of Peleus and Thetis, *AD* III, pl. 27, 28. Cf. Casson, *Journ. Intern. Archéol. Numism.* XX, 1920-1921, 89 ff.

<sup>227</sup> With her husband on Florence 3790, see above n. 225.

<sup>228</sup> In Eur. *Troades* 323 Cassandra calls on Hekate. In Apoll. Rhod. IV 808 it is Hera who carries the σάλας νυμφίδιον for Thetis' marriage. Strangely Athena in aegis and helmet bears torches on *CVA Poland* I, pl. 16, 1.



on similar Corinthian scenes and some Attic;<sup>229</sup> on the François Vase Muses, Charites and Moirai visit Peleus and Thetis on the morning after their marriage.

I would date this vase to about the middle of the sixth century. Dr. Amyx has suggested that the Herakles Amphora should be earlier than this vase, and such details as the more degenerate lotus and palmette chain on the Wedding Amphora might support his contention. In my opinion they are near contemporaries, and inasmuch as the Wedding Amphora imitates an earlier Athenian style of painting, more Sakonidean than Exekian, it was probably made earlier.

Two fragments from Eretria,<sup>230</sup> one, PLATE 10, are from a grave amphora painted in a similar style to that of the back of the Wedding Amphora (the least Attic part of the vase in appearance), but more crudely and no doubt of an earlier date. They are from the neck of the amphora; in a panel reserved in the glaze appear the tail and legs of a bird, possibly another siren. Note the similar use of white paint on the tail in the fragment, and on the siren of the Wedding Amphora. I cannot identify the object on the smaller fragment; in the field is part of a swastika.

#### THE HERAKLES AMPHORA (FIGS. 21*b*, *f*, 22, 23*a*, PLATES 10, 11)

Athens NM 12075, Nicole, *Cat.* 889, *Suppl.* pl. 8, 9; *PAE* 1898, 96, Laurent, *AE* 1901, pl. 10, 11, Nilsson, *JdI* 1903, 138, Pfuhl, *MuZ* III 206.

Laurent describes the vase fully; most of the traces of colour are still visible. It was found containing the bones of an infant, with two lekythoi and two kyathiskoi which cannot now be identified. Of the lid all that is preserved is the knob, the band of rays, and at one point the semicircular stalks linking the buds in the band below; the rest is restored in plaster, perhaps with rather too low a profile.

The slender proportions of the Wedding Amphora are now lost. The neck is shorter and the shoulder set off more markedly, while the handles stand very close to the neck. Incision is employed only sparingly on the back of the vase and not at all on the foot. The lowest zone of the body probably by oversight lacks the rays found in that position on the other two black figure grave amphorae.<sup>231</sup>

The painting is a far more convincing imitation of Attic of the period of early Exekias or the E Group. A comparison between the head of Herakles on our vase and on the Attic Louvre F53<sup>232</sup> (FIG. 23*b*) shows that the Eretrian painter copied his models closely but not carefully, and in his very lack of care imparted a considerable vigour to his work. The execution of the lion and bull standing in the animal frieze below Herakles (PLATE 11) may not be precise, but is confident and most successful, and the proportions of the monster and composition of the main scene on the vase make it the most satisfactory representation of Heracles and the Hydra in black figure painting.<sup>233</sup>

Unusual characteristics shared by other vases from Eretria are the use of white for the sepals in the floral chain on the body and the chain of buds on the foot,<sup>234</sup> the ivy leaves and lotuses on stalks rising from the floors of the animal friezes, the debased tongue ornament above

<sup>229</sup> Payne *NC* nos. 1188, 1452. Attic, Louvre *CVA* VI, pl. 62, a Louvre tripod-pyxis, and Acr. 610, *Hesp.* IV 216.

<sup>230</sup> Athens NM Apotheke. H. of largest fragment 0.155 m. The glaze has fired red and the surface of the background is dull. Traces of red in a broad band on the smaller fragment; white lines on the tail of the bird or siren, and white dots on the rosette in the field.

<sup>231</sup> Cf. *AJA* 1944, 253, fig. 2 and a krater in Naples, *MA* XXII, pl. 56, 5.

<sup>232</sup> The amphora inscribed 'Ερως ἰσχυρὸς, Ἐρετρίαν καλὸς, which fits uneasily into the E Group, Beazley *BSA*, XXXII 3, no. 31, by Technau's 'Maler der Athena-Geburt', *Exekias* 18, n. 46, 23 no. 6.

<sup>233</sup> Nearest rival the Tyrrhenian amphora Louvre E851, *CVA* I, pl. 5, 5, 13; 7, 4, a scene like ours in many details; see below n. 249.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. the Wedding Amphora and Gorgon Amphora (p. 40: no. 3).

the floral chain on the body <sup>235</sup> (where the Wedding and Peleus amphorae have a band of red and black tongues), and the row of unlinked buds on the foot. <sup>236</sup>

The animals on the vase are Attic in type: The fine lion and bull on the back of the vase are difficult to match, as at this time Athenian painters seldom drew such large animals though an occasional Nemean lion <sup>237</sup> offers a parallel. The smaller animals in subsidiary friezes



FIG. 22.—SHOULDER DECORATION FROM BACK OF HERAKLES AMPHORA.



a



b

FIG. 23.—HERAKLES FROM (a) HERAKLES AMPHORA.  
(b) LOUVRE F53.

on hydriae and the lips of amphorae <sup>238</sup> of the Exekias period are of the type of the bulls and lions on the Herakles vase, though the painter's rather freer style, particularly in the animals on the foot of the vase where no incision is employed, lends them some individuality. Sirens with outspread wings stand beneath each handle; <sup>239</sup> the feathers on the body of one are drawn as short curved incised lines, as the painted lines in white on the siren of the Wedding

<sup>235</sup> Cf. the Gorgon Hydria and Amphora (p. 40: nos. 2, 3).

<sup>236</sup> Cf. the Gorgon Hydria (p. 40: no. 2), Mykonos and Tanagra amphorae, and Delos plate, below pp. 45-46, PLATE 14.

<sup>237</sup> E.g. Würzburg 248, Langlotz, pl. 80, 84.

<sup>238</sup> E.g. Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 30.

<sup>239</sup> On sirens in this position cf. Jacobsthal, *Orn. gr. Vasen*, 30, n. 45.



Amphora.<sup>240</sup> The pairs of panthers and rams with lotus buds between them on the neck and shoulder of the back of the vase are quite Attic, though for the single lotus between the rams (FIG. 22) a Chalcidian vase<sup>241</sup> offers the closest parallel. The device between the panthers, where both parts are a lotus, is less usual, the normal Attic formula being lotus and palmette.<sup>242</sup>

Two ivy leaves on stalks such as appear on the Wedding Amphora,<sup>243</sup> rise from the floor of the frieze on the foot, but lotuses on stalks, a more Attic motif,<sup>244</sup> also appear on this vase, two by the siren below the right handle. Their angular buds could not be more unlike Chalcidian. By the legs of the siren beneath the other handle a palmette plant grows (FIG. 21*b*), an unusual motif at this date but met on pseudo-Chalcidian and Chalcidian vases.<sup>245</sup> The neck decoration above and behind each of the handles (FIG. 21*f*) seems a half-hearted attempt at the more elaborate floral and spiral motifs by the handles of Attic vases. The birds below were awkwardly painted through the loops of the double handles which frame them.<sup>246</sup> The white sepals to the lotuses in the floral friezes will receive attention later.<sup>247</sup> The row of unlinked lotuses and buds on the foot are most closely paralleled by the neck decoration of amphorae in Mykonos and from Tanagra; cf. also a Delos plate, whose other Eretrian affinities are discussed below (p. 45, PLATE 14).

In the scene of Herakles' fight with the Hydra<sup>248</sup> there are some variations from the usual Attic type. The woman with the branch may well be Athena, but neither she nor Hermes appears often in such scenes on Attic vases;<sup>249</sup> nor are the other women spectators met, and though Herakles often wields a sword Iolaos does so only once.<sup>250</sup> The Eretrian Hydra is one of the finest monsters Herakles had ever to face.<sup>251</sup> We miss the traditional crab, but for the chariot which von Massow would associate with the scene we need look no further than the neck of the vase.<sup>252</sup> Admittedly it already carries its charioteer<sup>253</sup> while Iolaos is helping Herakles. But this Iolaos is no mere 'chauffeur', witness his fine armour with the panther heads at the shoulders; in all probability the heads are really at the front but the painter prefers to make them visible on Iolaos' back.<sup>254</sup>

The Herakles Amphora is of around the middle of the sixth century, probably only a little after the Wedding Amphora.<sup>255</sup>

<sup>240</sup> See above p. 33.

<sup>241</sup> Rumpf *CV* pl. 63, cf. pl. 82.

<sup>242</sup> Two lotuses: Attic, *AJA* 1944, 253, fig. 3 (this piece is an uneasy addition to the Sakonidean vases: the palmette device behind the sirens' wings is most uncommon at this period—it appears on a vase in Mykonos), *Fouilles de Delphes*, V 144, fig. 596 (upside down: a siren), Thiersch, *op. cit.* 85, fig. 28; Boeotian, Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Cent. Pottery from Rhitsona*, pl. 13, 49, 257; Chalcidian, Rumpf *CV*, pl. 60; Corinthian, Payne *NC* 145.

<sup>243</sup> See above, p. 33.

<sup>244</sup> See above, p. 33.

<sup>245</sup> Pseudo-Chalcidian, Rumpf, *CV*, pl. 209, 213, 220; Chalcidian, Smith, *Origin of Chalcidian Ware* pl. 20, 21, Rumpf *CV*, pl. 160, 162; Attic, e.g. Acr. 464, Graef pl. 16, common as handle ornament, cf. Jacobsthal *Orn. gr. Vase* 23 ff., 111 ff.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. subgeometric B2 (PLATE 4).

<sup>247</sup> P. 45.

<sup>248</sup> Latest literature, Brommer, *Marburger Winckelmannsprogramm* 1949, to which add Attic, *CVA San Francisco* I pl. 13, Agora P 8964, Agora P 20029, Mykonos KZ 1134. On Corinthian types cf. Amandry, *Mon Piot* XL 23 ff., to which add Bonn fr. AA 1936, 362 and Perachora fragment, Hopper, *BSA* XLIV 219.

<sup>249</sup> Holding a branch on the Tyrrhenian amphora Louvre *CVA* I, pl. 5, 5, 13; 7, 4, where Hermes is also present.

<sup>250</sup> *CVA, Copenhagen* III, pl. 112.

<sup>251</sup> The forked tail and twist at the base of each neck distinguish the best Hydriai. Contrast the weakly creature on the Diosphos Painter's lekythos, Perrot-Chipiez X 689, 690.

<sup>252</sup> Frontal chariot of typical Attic type, Hafner, *Viergespann in Vorderansicht* 5, no. 30.

<sup>253</sup> He wears a tall conical cap, or possibly a turban as there appears to be a fold. Cf. Louvre *CVA* II, pl. 9, Rumpf, *Sakonides* pl. 12c, the archer from the Aegina pediment, Welter, *Aigina* 74, fig. 64, and Beazley, *Lewis House Gems*, 83.

<sup>254</sup> The charioteer wears a panther skin on the Sparta relief pithos, *Artemis Orthia*, pl. 16. Cf. the presumably engraved decoration *Hesp.* XV, pl. 18, and the Ariston stele. Iolaos' back is turned to us; note the position of the sheath and the sword.

<sup>255</sup> See above p. 35.

## THE PELEUS AMPHORA (PLATES 9, 10)

Athens NM 12076, Nicole, *Cat.* 890; Laurent, *AE* 1901, pl. 12, *PAE* 1898, 97; Haspels, *BCH* 1930, 432, pl. 23 (a good detail of the body scene); Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce* 144. Preserved height 0.55, not as recorded by Laurent and Nicole. Athens NM 16184; Nilsson, *Jdl* 1903, 138, fig. 10; Amyx, *AJA* 1941, 69, n. 38.

The foot NM 16184 which was published by Nilsson as from Eretria has now been joined to the Peleus Amphora which Laurent published. Laurent wrote<sup>256</sup> that the foot could not be found at the excavation, and its independent arrival in the National Museum therefore remains a mystery. The amphora contained the bones of an infant.

The drawing on the vase is a stiff and less successful imitation of good Attic work of 550-540. Compare the horses by Lydos,<sup>257</sup> and note the way the Eretrian painter has disturbed their proportions. It is, however, a more slavish imitation of Attic, and there is little beyond the shape of the vase which is not Attic in inspiration. The splaying tail to the siren in the animal frieze on the lid is unusual.<sup>258</sup> The geese in the bottom frieze on the foot are reminiscent of an earlier animal frieze style,<sup>259</sup> while the other animals are more in the style of those on Attic band cups. The diagonal folds in the mantles of the figures on the neck run in either direction.<sup>260</sup> The step decoration on the lip is more Corinthian or even Chalcidian in origin than Attic. In the floral frieze the lotus type (best seen in *BCH* 1930, pl. 23) may betray a slip in the painter's Atticism. In all black figure fabrics the calyx of a lotus of this type is usually boxed off from the sepals by a transverse line or lines.<sup>261</sup> When the outer sepals run straight to the stem there is usually a simple central sepal between them, and not a palmette as here. This is perhaps an oversight or a misunderstanding on the part of the painter.

In the inscriptions the second stroke of the *lambda* in Πελ(εύς), as read by Laurent, sprang from the bottom of the first stroke, the form regular on most known Eretrian archaic inscriptions.<sup>262</sup> The break is parallel to and just beside the first stroke of the letter, and the position of the second stroke cannot now be seen clearly. The first letter of the preserved part of the name of the man greeting the wedded couple presents some difficulty. As it stands it is an Ionic *lambda*. The name clearly should read Νερεύς, the father of Thetis, who on the François Vase stands with his wife Doris welcoming the wedding guests. Various things may have suggested the name Neleus to the painter, apart from the simple possibility of his ignorance, which no doubt helped. There is a river Neleus in Euboea;<sup>263</sup> Peisistratos who was ruling in Athens, perhaps while the painter was learning his trade there and who himself came to Eretria,<sup>264</sup> claimed descent from Neleus. Or this spelling may perhaps be a misguided attempt to avoid the local habit of rhotacism. In any of these cases the letter form is deliberate. If the painter intended to write Νερεύς and this is a misspelling the form is still deliberate; only if it were an unfinished letter, a *lambda* for a *P*, could the appearance of the unusual *lambda* form in Eretria be explained. Of all explanations the misspelling seems most likely and the nationality of the painter is perhaps thereby called into question.

<sup>256</sup> *AE* 1901, 178. I have not seen the complete vase as the foot had not yet been unpacked from its place of wartime storage when I left Athens. Mrs. Karouzou kindly sent me the photographs, which I publish here (PLATE 9), confirming my assumption.

Amyx had noted that the animals on the foot were painted by the same hand as those on the lid of the Peleus Amphora. The knob on the lid is missing. For the lozenge attachment between the double handles see above p. 31, n. 190.

<sup>257</sup> E.g. *AE* 1937, 16, fig. 4. *JHS* 1931, pl. 13.

<sup>258</sup> But cf. Louvre F 53, *CVA* III pl. 19.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. Gorgon Painter, *AJA* 1938, 446, fig. 1, *AJA* 1933, 292, fig. 1, frr. in Eleusis.

<sup>260</sup> So the vase should be dated soon after the change from the 'Hearstian' type of drapery (Smith, *Hearst Hydria* 245 ff.) on this type of figure.

<sup>261</sup> But cf. Louvre F 31, Pottier pl. 66.

<sup>262</sup> But cf. *IG* XII 9. 285. Kourouniotes on the Eretrian alphabet *AE* 1897, 155.

<sup>263</sup> Strabo X 449.

<sup>264</sup> Herodotos I 62; Aristotle *Ἀθ. πολ.* 15; Adcock *CQ* XVIII 174 ff.

The identification of the couple and the man greeting them on wedding scenes of the type seen on the body of this vase, has been dealt with above (p. 34). The *lebetes* carried by the two women are interesting.<sup>265</sup> Perhaps these are in fact the *lebetes gamikoi*, as it is difficult to see what presents they might hold, although they could of course be presents themselves—cooking utensils.<sup>266</sup> Presents were usually brought on the day following the wedding, the *Epaulia*,<sup>267</sup> while in the procession as figured here were carried flat boxes,<sup>268</sup> no doubt containing linen, or the symbolic *λίκνον*.<sup>269</sup> The *lebetes* appear large and it is tempting to suppose that they are empty, and that their value was sentimental on account of their previous use possibly at the bridal bath.

This is the latest and least inspired of the extant Eretrian grave amphorae. It belongs to the decade 550–540, and probably not late in it.

## SECTION VI

### A. OTHER BLACK FIGURE POTTERY FROM ERETRIA

In this section is published a list of all important black figure vases and fragments found in Eretria with which I am acquainted; also one attribution by Dr. Amyx which I regard as certain (no. 3).<sup>270</sup> Non-Athenian and possibly local characteristics are mentioned in the course of the description of the vases, but I have reserved for the end a discussion of the possibility of a recognisable Eretrian school of black figure vase painting, and the existence of other vases akin to the non-Attic black figure vases found in Eretria. Except for the two fragmentary pieces (nos. 11, 12) I have ignored all black figure lekythoi in Eretria or in the Eretria apotheke in the National Museum.<sup>271</sup>

#### 1. *The Silen Amphora* (PLATE 12). H. 0.50.

Athens NM 1007; Buschor, *FR* III 215, fig. 104; Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce* 137; Stais, *ADelt* 1890, 52, no. 4; Collignon-Couve, *Cat.* 660; von Lücken, *AM* 1919, 73; <sup>272</sup> Rumpf, *CV* 146; Pfuhl, *Muz* I 126; Brommer, *Satyroi* 57, n. 30, no. 4.

A. A silen leaping upon a doe,<sup>273</sup> whose head he pulls back. B. Two warriors standing facing each other.

All outlines are incised. Red is used on the silen's face, the doe's head and neck, the filling rosettes, the helmets, corselets, greaves and shields. The rays whose slim points are still preserved at the bottom of the surviving part of the vase were not noticed by Stais. The foot is entirely restored. The background to the figured panels seems to have been covered with a light glaze wash <sup>274</sup> from which the figures do not stand out at all boldly. Stais notes

<sup>265</sup> As on the Petit Palais *lebes gamikos* CVA pl. 9, 1–4; Brit. Mus. CVA III, pl. 38; Agora P 2612; Vienna 698, CVA I, pl. 5, 8; Gerhard *AV* pl. 313; from Selinus, *MA* XXXII, pl. 90, 3; in red figure, *Ausonia* IX 65.

<sup>266</sup> On '*lebetes gamikoi*' see above p. 30 f.

<sup>267</sup> Deubner *Jds* 1900, 144 ff.

<sup>268</sup> See references in next note, as they are always carried in scenes in which *λίκνα* appear.

<sup>269</sup> Harrison, *JHS* 1903, 315 f., Minto, *Ausonia* IX 68. On Brit. Mus. CVA III, pl. 31, 34; Louvre CVA VI, pl. 64, 7, 65; Naples, Heydemann 2498, *Ausonia* IV 134; Italy, Private Coll., *Ausonia* IV 130, fig. 1, 3; Boston, vase figured in Loeb ed. of Athenaeus, vol. V (an amphora also is being carried in the procession).

<sup>270</sup> In this section I am indebted to Dr. D. A. Amyx for advice and information (I was not able to study his unpublished dissertation on Eretrian black figure for the University of California before writing the present study), and to Dr. T. Dohrn for some photographs.

<sup>271</sup> See further below p. 45. The latest work on Eretrian black figure is by Amyx, *AJA* 1941, 64 ff.

<sup>272</sup> Where the composition of silen and doe is compared with that of Herakles and Nessos on the Athens Nessos vase, Pfuhl, *Muz* III, fig. 85.

<sup>273</sup> I think our creature is a doe. For the silen's behaviour compare satyrs with mules in Athenian scenes of the Return of Hephaistos and CVA *Villa Giulia* III, pl. 50, 4.

<sup>274</sup> As on Eretrian grave amphorae and 'Andrian' vases; see below p. 44 f.

white filling in the incision which may not be the work of the vase mender, and would certainly have been of some value in bringing up the outlines.

The high neck, flaring lip, angular handles and large field for the figured panels are not quite Attic, but, judged by Attic standards, and in view of the rays at the base, this vase could hardly have been made before 570.

The awkward style of figure drawing does not permit any close parallels with Attic work, and the painter clearly was not very familiar with the Attic vase painting which he was laboriously imitating. We have seen how skilfully painters working in Eretria could imitate and adapt Athenian models of about 550, so it seems probable that the vase was made before the three great grave amphorae, though probably only a little before. The doe with its head pulled back suggested to Rumpf the animals on the Berlin Lydos oenochoe,<sup>275</sup> and it is certainly the most advanced feature on the vase.

In the silen's head, to which the painter has imparted strikingly brutish features, Buschor sees the father of the François Vase silen. It is more of a distant cousin, I think, or even in a more direct relationship with the Ionian type of Silen with human legs but horse's hoofs, which is almost unknown in Attic work,<sup>276</sup> but regular on Chalcidian vases.<sup>276a</sup>

Horse *protomai* with forelegs showing, as on the shield device on this vase, do not appear on Attic work until later; coins, however, with this device, of the period of our vase or even earlier, have been associated with Euboea and some found in Euboea.<sup>277</sup> Not Attic: probably Eretrian.

2. *The Gorgon Hydria* (*AJA* 1941, 65, figs. 1, 2).

Athens NM 1146; Kraiker, *Gnomon* 1934, 244, n. 2; Amyx, *AJA* 1941, 64 ff.

A Gorgon runs to the right holding wreaths in her hands. Amyx, *op. cit.*, fully publishes this vase, pointing out the non-Athenian peculiarities in drawing and technique. Note the poor glaze, the bold use of colour, particularly white, the general carelessness of the drawing and incision. Eretrian work.

3. *The Gorgon Amphora* (*AJA* 1941, 65, figs. 3, 4).

Vienna 136; Masner 12, pl. 3; Amyx, *AJA* 1941, 67 ff. Provenance unknown.

A. A Gorgon running to the right. B. Two cocks face each other; three stemless lotuses in the field. Ivy pattern on the neck. Amyx, *op. cit.*, associates this with the Gorgon Hydria (no. 2 above). Very similar style of drawing and lack of care. Two of the lotuses have white painted sepals. Eretrian work.

4. *Gorgoneion Kylix* (FIG. 24a, PLATE 13). Eretria.

Hair and nose of Gorgoneion are incised; white is used for ears and teeth, red for the tongue, and red on the moulding at the base of the low stem. Athenian Gorgoneia in kylixes almost never have white ears,<sup>278</sup> and their beards are invariably indicated by incision or an irregular outline. Probably Eretrian work.

<sup>275</sup> Rumpf, *Sakonides* no. 44, pll. 29-31, and cf. the Chalcidian stag Rumpf, *CV* no. 112, pl. 122.

<sup>276</sup> Gerhard, *AV* pl. 52. Met in the Peloponnese, Brommer *op. cit.*, n. 26, nos. 12-14. Common on Ionian gems, Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen* pl. 6, 53; 8, 4, 24; 15, 17. An Etruscan parallel, *BullMetMus* 1925, 301 (Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting* 11, Ivy-leaf Group). The head is a wilder version of the Lydos satyr head *MetMusStud* IV 170, pl. 1.

<sup>276a</sup> Smith, *Origin of Chalcidian Ware*, 134 f.

<sup>277</sup> *AM* 1884, 354. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage* 146, pl. 1, 2, A 9-13, 19-22 where they are identified as of an Athenian mint (*op. cit.* 24 f.). But on Eretrian fondness for the horse see Wallace, *Hesp.* 1947, 128 f., and references there.

<sup>278</sup> Exceptions in the Kerameikos, *JdI* 1946, 7, pl. 2, 7, and in the Agora, P 12653. Also a trick of the Amasis Painter, *JHS* 1931, 269.



5. *Lid* (PLATE 14). Diameter 0.33. Eretria.

Red is used in three bands on the knob, and in three on the surface of the lid. It is certainly of the sixth century, though not necessarily to be associated with a black figure amphora. The knob is typically Eretrian (*cf.* the Wedding and Herakles amphorae (PLATES 9, 10)), and unlike the usual Attic, Corinthian or Chalcidian types.<sup>279</sup>

6. *Fragment* (PLATE 13). Eretria.

Head and neck of a panther with head turned back. Red used on the nose and in carelessly incised flecks on the neck. The outline is incised. The panther's neck is peculiarly long, and meets the body at an awkwardly sharp angle. Probably from an amphora. Not Attic; possibly Eretrian.

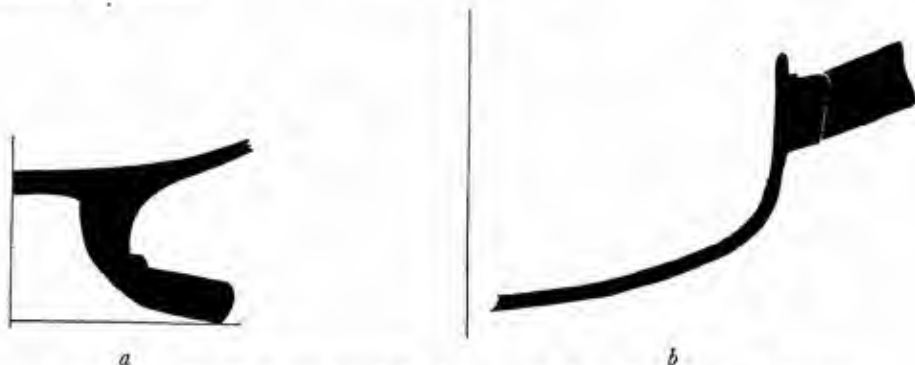


FIG. 24.—PROFILES OF (a) B.F. No. 4, (b) B.F. No. 16 (PLATE 13).

7. *Fragment* (PLATE 13). Eretria.

Lower part of a warrior wearing short chiton and greaves, striding to the left. A draped figure stands behind him. The surface of the fragment is so poorly preserved that I cannot be certain that outline incision was not employed. Possibly from a kylix. Perhaps not Attic.

8. *Fragment* (PLATE 14). Eretria.

A human foot is all that is preserved above the linked buds and the rays. The heavy and crude up-pointing buds and lotuses in a chain are quite un-Attic.<sup>280</sup> This could perhaps be from a grave amphora. Probably Eretrian.

9. *Fragment* (PLATE 13). Eretria.

Part of a four-horse chariot driven by a draped figure holding a long whip. Beyond, a man moving to the right, possibly looking back, wearing a sword, and raising one hand which seems to be open. The outlines are incised. White is used on the chiton of the charioteer, on the straps on the chest of the other figure and on his sword hilt; two red dots on his chiton. There are flecks of white in the clay. Perhaps not Attic.

<sup>279</sup> The nearest in Attic are on the Swan Group e.g. *CVA Petit Palais*, pl. 6; Corinthian are usually conical; Chalcidian are distinctive, Rumpf, *CV* pll. 32, 127, Smith, *Origin of Chalcidian Ware* 140.

<sup>280</sup> *Cf.* Boeotian, Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Cent. Pottery from Rhitsona*, pl. 12, 80. 8.



10. *Fragment*. Eretria.

Two joining fragments. A draped female figure with arms raised runs to the right. Traces of red bands between the incised lines of her drapery. The glaze to the left may represent the irregular edge to the panel. Careless work of the end of the century. Probably not Attic.

11. *Lekythos Fragment* (PLATE 13). Eretria.

Two joining fragments. Greatest height of figured scene as preserved, 0.053 m.; approximate diameter at the base of the scene, 0.090 m. About two thirds of the circumference at the base of the figured scene is preserved. The linked bud decoration ends at the left of the fragment, so the figure above must be at the extreme left of the scene. Four draped figures stand to the right; before the leader the leg of a couch, beyond which appears the foot of another figure standing facing the left. White paint on the feet and in palmette designs on the leg of the couch. This must surely be a scene of prothesis, a natural motif for the decoration of a lekythos presumably offered at the grave, but otherwise not known on this shape. Probably Attic.

12. *Lekythos Fragment* (PLATE 14). Eretria.

H. of fr. 0.095 m. From a large white-ground lekythos with almost straight walls. Part of a scene of Herakles fighting Geryon. Parts of the giant's six legs are preserved, and the arm of the collapsing figure of the shepherd Eurytion.<sup>281</sup> The style is quite Attic although the scene is not common on lekythoi. It could be from the hand of the Edinburgh Painter who used this scene on a white ground lekythos.<sup>282</sup> Attic.

13. *Fragment*. Eretria.

Apparently from the neck and shoulder of a *loutrophoros*.<sup>283</sup> Lower part of draped male figures moving to the left; below them a macander frieze. From the shoulder of the vase, part of a frieze of tongue ornament. Red on the bottoms of the cloaks, and on alternate tongues in the shoulder ornament. Attic.

14. *Cup Fragment*. Eretria.

Fragment of the plain rim and part of the handle palmette from a Little Master cup. Attic.

15. *Fragment*. Eretria.

Fragment from the body of an amphora. On it warrior with helmet and shield wielding a spear. Behind him a draped figure. White dot on shield and rosette on drapery; red rim to the shield. Attic.

16. *Lekanis Fragment* (FIG. 24b, PLATE 13). Eretria.

Vases with this profile and decoration in Würzburg (163, Langlotz, pl. 120, from Arezzo), Copenhagen (CVA III, pl. 100, 3, from Nola), and Cologne University (from Italy) have been declared Chalcidian by Johansen and Rumpf.<sup>284</sup> An Athens Acropolis fragment with a

<sup>281</sup> Cf. Louvre CVA III, pl. 20, where he holds a sword, not a stone as on our fragment.

<sup>282</sup> Berlin 1999, Beazley BSR XI 12, no. 22; Haspels, ABL 217, no. 21.

<sup>283</sup> Cf. examples listed and illustrated in AM 1928, 40 ff., Beil. 12-14.

<sup>284</sup> CV ix. I have seen only the Cologne vase which seems quite Chalcidian in fabric.

similar profile is surely Attic,<sup>285</sup> and there is a complete example with lid from Camirus, now in the British Museum, which also appears to be Attic.<sup>286</sup> All but the Acropolis fragment, which bears figured decoration, have horizontal red lines running below the handles; these are lacking on the fragment from Eretria. The shape is known in Attic from the first half of the sixth century.<sup>287</sup> Attic and Chalcidian vase shapes seldom correspond so closely. The fabric of this fragment seems Attic.

#### B. INSCRIBED VASES (UNFIGURED)

##### 17. *Amphora with Painted Inscriptions* (FIG. 25, PLATE 13).

Eretria Museum. Height 0.38 m. There are two painted inscriptions on this vase; both were obscured by heavy incrustation which had to be removed with acid.



FIG. 25.—PAINTED INSCRIPTIONS ON AMPHORA NO. 17 (PLATE 13).

(a) under the handle (to the left in PLATE 13), in black paint,

καλλιμνς καλx

(b) just below the reserved band of the handle zone, on the far side of the vase in PLATE 13, and on the right of that side so that the end of the inscription lies beneath the handle, in white paint,<sup>289</sup>

κ . . . . ελεικ[α]λx

The *mu* (presumably inverted) in (a) has only four strokes, a form which in other known Eretrian inscriptions was not used before the fifth century; archaic inscriptions employ the five-stroked *mu*. If the inscription were in the Euboean dialect it should read καλε, and in

<sup>285</sup> Langlotz, *op. cit.*, and Kraiker (*Gnomon* 1934, 244) call it Chalcidian. Amyx (*op. cit.* 64, n. 4) declares it Attic.

<sup>286</sup> Mr. P. E. Corbett kindly drew my attention to this vase which is not published.

<sup>287</sup> E.g. Rumpf, *Sakonides*, pl. 6 (*cf.* Würzburg and British Museum examples with lids). <sup>288</sup> Omitted.

<sup>289</sup> Height of letters in (a) about 0.017 m., in (b) about 0.019 m. I am deeply indebted to Miss L. H. Jeffery for her comments on these inscriptions.

(b) -ΕΛΕΙΚΟΛΕ, but the ΚΟΛΑ form would be in order in Boeotia<sup>290</sup> and Attica.<sup>291</sup> Καλός inscriptions were clearly intended, but the writer was only barely literate. The first name might have been intended to end -νις, and (b) could well be an addition κ(αι . .)ελεία. I do not think this vase was imported from Boeotia, but it is quite possible that the inscription was copied from a Boeotian vase. If so, Boeotian influence in Eretrian ceramic at this time was epigraphical only, cf. no. 18 below. The shape of the vase tells nothing. Probably sixth century.

18. *Oenochoe with incised Inscriptions.*

CVA Bonn 47, pl. 40, 1, 3. There seems no reason to doubt that this was found in Eretria, and in the absence of any figured decoration there is no objection to assuming it to be of local manufacture. The red bands at the widest point of the belly and the coarse painting serve to confirm the possibility. ΗΕΜΙΤΡΙΤ . ΝΠΤ . Ι . Δ . Ρ is incised on the handle. Rehm (CVA Bonn 47) notes the Boeotian affinities in the inscription, and discusses the measure suggested by ΗΕΜΙΤΡΙΤ(ΟΝ).

These black figure fragments and the grave amphorae offer few features which are so unlike Attic that they might be called distinctively Eretrian. Only the less important and so less deliberately Atticising parts of the grave amphorae, e.g. the back of the Wedding Amphora (PLATE 9), may betray the provincial hand: and among the other vases the Gorgon Amphora and Hydria (nos. 2 and 3 above). Particularly noteworthy is the persistent use of white paint for the sepals of lotuses, the pairs of sepals being linked in one continuous line—admittedly known but by no means common in Attic painting. Other characteristics are the ivy leaves in the field on the Wedding and Herakles Amphorae, and the unlinked row of lotuses and buds on the foot of the Herakles Amphora. In technique the use of a glaze wash over the background of figured scenes, as on the Silen Amphora (and I suspect its presence on the grave amphorae), is not uncommon on Boeotian vases; the clay also, with occasional flecks of chalky white, is close to Boeotian. On the most distinctive shape of the grave amphorae see above p. 13 f.; vases of a very similar type are known from fragments from the Athenian acropolis<sup>292</sup> and in Eleusis,<sup>293</sup> but there is no evidence for the characteristically Eretrian high neck.

Of Chalcidian influence there is really no sign,<sup>294</sup> and the few points of similarity are probably coincidental.<sup>295</sup> If Chalcidian vases were made in Chalcis this is certainly to be wondered at. The close Chalcidian parallels to the lekanis fragment (above p. 42 no. 16) are interesting but not significant.

The connections with Etruscan black figure are reminiscent of the earlier Euboean-Italian problems noted above p. 17. Any direct influence, one way or the other, between Eretria and Italy is most unlikely at this period, and the similarities<sup>296</sup> are again probably only coincidental.

A considerable number of attributions to Eretrian black figure have been made, in particular soon after the discovery of the grave amphorae.<sup>297</sup> A measure of the popularity of

<sup>290</sup> AE 1896, 244 ff. It is interesting to note that this type of skyphos has been connected with Eretria by Amyx, cf. Bonn AA 1935, 471, no. 37, Mannheim Cg 149.

<sup>291</sup> Kretschmer, *Gr. Vasenschriften*, 79. The -εα would normally be -α in Attic, but there are exceptions, Kretschmer, *op. cit.* 130. The doubling of the λ, as in (a), occurs in Attic only on the later vase inscriptions.

<sup>292</sup> E.g. Acr. 474, Graef pl. 17 and cf. the text to Acr. 472.

<sup>293</sup> Certainly Attic though not necessarily Athenian. Called Eretrian by Thiersch, *Tyrrhenische Amphoren* 92, n. 3.

<sup>294</sup> Rumpf, *CV* 44 f.

<sup>295</sup> Cf. pp. 33, 37, 38, 40, 42 above.

<sup>296</sup> Cf. p. 17-18 above.

<sup>297</sup> References in Amyx, *AJA* 1941, 69, n. 38.

this sport is the fact that of the one hundred and eleven Attic 'Sakonides' vases listed by Rumpf no less than thirteen have at one time or another been associated with Eretria or a hypothetical 'Euboean' school of black figure. Zahn, in *PhW* 1902, 1261 ff., suggests an Eretrian origin for a number of the Louvre vases which are either Attic or perhaps local Italian imitations of Attic.<sup>298</sup> In the Graef-Langlotz publication of the sherds from the Athenian acropolis attributions are made by Zahn and others. Acr. 471<sup>299</sup> is the best Attic parallel to the ivy leaves on the Wedding and Herakles Amphorae (p. 37), and Eretrian work might be suspected in the peculiar silhouette style, interlace ornament and use of glaze wash on Acr. 413.<sup>300</sup> The fragments Acr. 2400,<sup>301</sup> called Eretrian by Zahn, illustrate well the Attic style closely imitated by the painter of the Wedding Amphora (PLATE 9). The other attributed Acropolis sherds may well not be Athenian, but bear no particular resemblance to any black figure from Eretria.<sup>302</sup>

Of other vases, at other times both in *CVA* and museum catalogues called Eretrian or of the 'Euboean circle', most interesting are the so-called 'Andrian' vases.<sup>303</sup> These are a small class of alabastra with unusual cylindrical profiles employing much colour and a glaze wash over the background, as do some Boeotian and Eretrian vases. They seem not to be Boeotian, and are closely allied to Eretrian work.

The other most reasonable attributions are mentioned by Dr. Amyx.<sup>304</sup> They are an amphora in Mykonos from the Rheneia Purification grave<sup>305</sup> (Inv. KA 1028; PLATE 14), an amphora from Tanagra (Athens NM 2635; PLATE 14), and a plate from the Delos Heraion (Delos X, no. 637, pl. 52).

The Mykonos neck-amphora<sup>306</sup> (PLATE 14) bears on the neck an unlinked row of red buds and black lotuses with white sepals painted directly on the background. This background is very dull and probably covered by a thin glaze wash. On either side between the sirens and the panthers is a simple lotus and palmette complex.

The neck-amphora from Tanagra (PLATE 14)<sup>307</sup> has similar neck decoration to that on the Mykonos vase, with the same white-painted sepals in the lotuses. In the crude floral chain on the body the lotuses again bear white sepals.

The plate in Delos (Delos X, no. 637, pl. 52) has a similar row of lotuses with white sepals, in an unlinked chain with alternate buds, running around its rim. Its profile is not a common Attic one,<sup>308</sup> and the only example of this type among the Delos plates. The style of figure drawing is very close to that of the Gorgons on the Gorgon Amphora and Hydria.

The white-painted sepals on these three vases have been noted as a feature of Eretrian painting also, and the rows of unlinked buds and lotuses are paralleled only by those on the

<sup>298</sup> Louvre E 735 is interesting. Zahn called it Chalcidian. See also Pfuhl, *MuZ* I 206, Rumpf *AM* 1921, 175, *CV* 44 f. Smith, *Origin of Chalcidian Ware* 119, n. 82.

<sup>299</sup> Graef pl. 18.

<sup>300</sup> Graef pl. 21, Pfuhl, *MuZ* I 130. Cf. our D 10 (PLATE 8).

<sup>301</sup> Graef pl. 98.

<sup>302</sup> Note especially Acr. 470, 2388, 2391, 2421. Amyx (*AJA* 1941, 69, n. 38) mentions also Acr. 1344: he also suggests, *ibid.*, Boston 13. 75 (Smith, *Origin of Chalcidian Ware* 106, n. 49) which is Attic, and Mannheim Cg 129 which may be Boeotian (cf. Bonn, *AA* 1935, 471, no. 37, *AE* 1896, 244 ff.).

<sup>303</sup> Full literature by Smith in *CVA California Univ.*, 23. Four examples are known, one in California, one in New Haven and two in Heidelberg (two other vases in Heidelberg from Andros are Boeotian, *AA* 1936, 398, fig. 55). On the connection of Andros with Eretria, see Strabo X 448, *CAH* III 617, Sauciuc, *Andros* 57.

<sup>304</sup> *AJA* 1941, 69, n. 36; on the Delos plate *ibid.*, 68.

<sup>305</sup> Mr. Kontoleon kindly gave me permission to publish this vase.

<sup>306</sup> Cf. Smith, *ibid.*, 106, n. 49. Restored height 0.26 m.; no part of the foot is preserved. Red: alternate buds, base of neck, panthers' ribs, sirens' fillets, middle petal of palmette between the sirens, three bands on the body. White: lotus sepals, sirens' faces, necks and dots on wings, panthers' bellies and faces. Very badly thrown. The clay seems darker and redder than Attic and the glaze has little lustre.

<sup>307</sup> The photograph is by Prof. H. R. W. Smith.

<sup>308</sup> Feytmans, *L'Antiquité Classique* XVII 187, Type 'E', pl. 2.



foot of the Herakles Amphora (PLATE 10). Such decoration is not found on Attic amphorae or plates, but is met on some smaller vases, mostly lekythoi, which may not be Athenian or even Attic (below p. 47). These features, the drawing of the figure on the Delos plate, the carelessly un-Attic drawing of the animals, particularly the panthers on the Mykonos vase, and the use of a glaze wash on the same vase, all suggest an Eretrian origin, or at least a nearby centre for the origin of these three vases.

Other finds in nearby Boeotia or the islands might prove to be Eretrian. In Boeotia local styles can be distinguished and much Attic work was both imported and imitated (on lekythoi see below p. 47), but the occasional vase such as *BSA* XIV, pl. 17, 50. 267 suggests with its colour and scant incision a style neither Boeotian nor Attic. Some of the plates on Delos, other than no. 637 (above), seem non-Attic, the white sepals in the lotuses of the exergue of *Délos* X, no. 630, pl. 51 being noteworthy. Of the vases from Rheneia in Mykonos, four, apart from the neck amphora PLATE 14, bear these same characteristic white sepals in the lotuses, one in an unlinked floral chain. But these examples, with the 'Andrian' vases mentioned above, may only represent the work of other non-Attic centres, perhaps close to Eretria geographically and imitating Attic painting in a style similar to that affected by Eretria. In Chalcis have been found some Attic vases, now in Athens. Other black figure vases in Chalcis Museum<sup>309</sup> seem neither Attic, Boeotian nor Eretrian, and certainly not 'Chalcidian'.

Further excavation in Eretria may help to make clear other distinguishing features of Eretrian work, but a fuller examination of the black figure from other sites outside Athens and Attica is also necessary before any convincing identification of non-Athenian vase painting centres can be made. Finds in Boeotia have revealed a few groups which illustrate local fashions in sixth-century painting. The less like Attic these vases are, the more easily are they identified, and in Boeotia there is the added help afforded by the known non-Attic vase shapes, the kantharos, etc., which are found in large numbers. But in Boeotia, as in the rest of Greece and in all periods, vases were being made in many places and almost invariably receiving painted decoration in the potter's workshop. Local traditions often dictated the style of this decoration, sometimes so strongly that the ware can be easily distinguished from the Athenian pottery which reached almost every known site. Thus it is with many Boeotian wares. Sometimes it is only in some details and shapes, as in Eretria, that the local ware can be identified. Often the work must have followed Athenian models so slavishly that it can scarcely be distinguished and indeed need hardly be distinguished from vases made in Athens or Attica. The work of these smaller centres, both in and outside Attica, was probably hardly ever exported but kept for the local market, and may sometimes naturally be found on neighbouring sites. Lekythoi offer a good test case. They are regular grave furniture in the sixth century, and as cemeteries have been so much plundered by excavators and others the finds have been peculiarly rich.

Lekythoi have been found in very great numbers in Eretria. The better vases are in Athens,<sup>310</sup> or have found their way into European and American collections, but scores of poorly decorated lekythoi lie in Eretria Museum and the Eretria Apotheke of the National Museum. I have not studied these vases, as most of them are later than the proposed limits

<sup>309</sup> I know these vases only from photographs. Haspels, in *ABL*, mentions four as Attic, Museum Inv. 562, 563, 567, 569. Kraiker speaks of one as Chalcidian (*Gnomon* 1934, 244, n. 2), which Amyx (*AJA* 1941, 64, n. 4) assumes to be Inv. 569. There is, however, another lekythos in Chalcis bearing on the shoulder unlinked buds (alternate ones showing white sepals) and on the body an ill-drawn panther, which may be the one referred to by Kraiker. There is also an unusual jug with red and black zig-zag decoration in the body zone. On other finds from Chalcis see above n. 73.

<sup>310</sup> Of the inventoried lekythoi in the National Museum at Athens 255 are from Eretria.



in time of this study. It would also be necessary to trace all other lekythoi from Eretria which are no longer in Greece. I feel sure that they cannot all be imports from Athens or Attica. On some lekythoi from the well-published Boeotian graves at Rhitsona the motif is found of white sepals in lotuses, sometimes in unlinked chains,<sup>311</sup> and again on lekythoi from Delos<sup>312</sup> and Chalcis.<sup>313</sup> I quote examples of this motif in particular for its appearance on Eretrian vases, and because I believe it may be non-Athenian. Other motifs could doubtless be found, and though the identification from them of vase painting centres producing inferior Atticising work might seem a thankless task, it might yet lead to the attribution of some of the many better painted not-quite-Attic vases which can claim no known workshop or hand. It should be possible in time to speak of Athenian or Eleusinian vase painting rather than Attic, and of Theban or Tanagran or Thespian rather than the all-embracing 'Boeotian' which has long and uneasily served such a variety of geometric, archaic and black figure vase groups.<sup>314</sup>

In the fifth century very many of the known white-ground lekythoi are from Eretria. Gardner<sup>315</sup> once suggested that many of them are of Eretrian origin, and serious attempts have been made since to prove that some of the leading white-ground vase painters of the fifth century worked in Eretria.<sup>316</sup> An Eretrian or Euboean origin for later fifth century work found in Boeotia has also been suggested.<sup>317</sup>

We know that Athens was not the only city in which vases painted in the black figure or red figure styles were made. Evidence has been offered for a local school in Eretria in the sixth century as in the seventh; that one still existed there in the fifth century seems not unlikely, and the eventual publication of pottery which has been excavated on other sites in Greece may reveal vase painting centres which had a record as long as Eretria, and perhaps at times more distinguished.

### GENERAL SUMMARY

The earliest excavated pottery from Eretria is of the eighth century. Two sherds decorated in a Protogeometric style are probably not earlier than 800 B.C. (FIG. 13*b*; PLATE I A, 18). The eighth century geometric pottery is decorated in a style which owes much to both Athens and the Cyclades. That the vases were made locally is suggested by the uniformity of the fabric of fragments bearing, some Atticising, some Cycladic-type decoration, and some slipped, others unslipped surfaces. A group of late geometric skyphoi and mugs (PLATE I B, 10-27) seem peculiar to Eretria, and from the seventh century a group of dinoi (FIG. 9; PLATE 2 B, 14-18). Elaborately incised pithoi were made about 700 B.C., and used eventually for child burials (FIG. 16*c-h*). At about this time too begins the series of Eretrian footed grave amphorae with high necks, used for the same purpose, whose development can be traced from their subgeometric beginnings to after 550 B.C., when vases of a similar shape were decorated in an Atticising black figure style. The earliest groups of these amphorae (Groups A and B) bear subgeometric decoration, occasionally figured (PLATES 3, 4). The style is

<sup>311</sup> Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Cent. Pottery From Rhitsona*, pl. 13, 51. 229; 16, 80. 256, *BSA* XIV, pl. 9 f.; cf. kylix *AE* 1915, 123, fig. 12 and bowl *AA* 1933, 18, fig. 15. On the possible connections between Eretria and Rhitsona cf. *BSA* XIV 236 ff., *JHS* XXIX 332.

<sup>312</sup> *Delos* X, nos. 562, 570, pl. 42, no. 563, pl. 43, and cf. the plate no. 630, pl. 51.

<sup>313</sup> Above, n. 309.

<sup>314</sup> On archaic groups see above pp. 18 ff.

<sup>315</sup> *JHS* XIV 184 f., and n. 36.

<sup>316</sup> Prof. Wallace has kindly told me of some of the interesting results of pursuing this line of study. If, after the sack of Eretria and deportation of its people by the Persians (Herodotus VI 101) the city was soon resettled from Attica, as the finds of pottery in Eretria seem to suggest, and if, say, an Athens-trained Achilles Painter and others worked regularly for potters in Eretria, and probably export their work also, is their painting then Athenian or Eretrian?

<sup>317</sup> Ure, *Classification de Céramique* 17, *BSA* XLI 27 f.

close to some Boeotian and Cycladic work, but quite distinctive. In the last quarter of the seventh century outline figure drawing appears, and eventually the use of incision, on gaudily colourful grave amphorae (Group C), bearing groups of women, and animals, still in a distinctive and Eretrian style which owes more to the Cyclades than to Attica (PLATES 5, 6). One bears an inscription ΘΕΑ (C2: PLATE 5) which can hardly apply to the women who are probably mourners (p. 26). The backs of these vases, as of the later Group D amphorae, are covered with characteristic coarse interlace ornament (FIG. 20). From the first quarter of the sixth century are grave amphorae (Group D: PLATE 8) bearing pairs of animals grouped heraldically. The Cycladic outline style is retained for some animals' heads, but incision is used very freely now, and but for one early example (D1: PLATE 8) the painting is extremely gross and careless. A variety is an amphora painted in a simple silhouette style (D10: PLATE 8).

Of about 550 B.C. and soon after are three large grave amphorae (PLATES 9-11), painted in a competent black figure style at first sight quite Athenian. These vases represent the end of the series which began over a century and a half earlier with the subgeometric amphorae Groups A and B. The vases retain the high necks and feet of the seventh century, but show details in shape and choice of figured decoration which are paralleled in the Attic *lebes gamikos* shape. The figure drawing is competently Atticising and often most successful (PLATE 11), but details betray the provincial hand and offer evidence for a local school of black figure. Other black figure pottery from Eretria includes a belly amphora of the end of the first half of the sixth century in an extraordinary provincial style (PLATE 12), and other vases (notably nos. 1-5 above, pp. 40-41), from which further information about the local Eretrian style in the sixth century can be gained. From these some tentative attributions of vases from nearby Boeotia and Delos can be made (PLATE 14), which, if not Eretrian, must be from some closely allied vase painting centre.

JOHN BOARDMAN

# LATE HELLADIC TOMBS AT KHALKIS

(PLATES 15-25)

## I. EXCAVATION OF THE TOMBS

DURING excavations in Euboea from 1906 to 1911, the late G. Papavasileiou opened twenty Late Helladic tombs near Khalkis, the contents of which are in the museum at Khalkis. He published the finds from two of these, Trypa I and II, in his *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων* (1910), 21 ff., but the contents of the remaining eighteen were not published owing to the excavator's death in 1917.<sup>1</sup> At the suggestion of Professor A. J. B. Wace I applied for, and in 1939 was given, permission to photograph and publish them. To Professor Wace, who has very kindly read the catalogue and made valuable corrections in dating some of the pots, I owe my grateful thanks for inspiration and encouragement, and I thank the Greek Ministry of Education (particularly Professor Marinatos) for assistance in giving me access to the material. I have not been able to check the catalogue at Khalkis.

The hillside where the tombs were found is about forty minutes' walk N.E. of Khalkis towards Dhokos through the area called Ambelia. Almost no recollection of the excavation and very few signs of the tombs remained in the locality in 1939. A few holes beside the road from Vromousa to Dhokos were said to be tombs, but there were no practical indications to pinpoint the site. Further search at ploughing time might reveal more traces, but as the tombs were cut in soft limestone they have probably disappeared, and any stones used in their construction carried off for building purposes.

The first discoveries were in 1906, when Papavasileiou excavated two chamber tombs at Trypa. They were circular in plan with no dromos, and with a doorway blocked with stones, two courses of which remained in place in Tomb II (Papavasileiou, 21 ff.). They contained the following objects:

The following abbreviations are used:

- Chamber Tombs: A. J. B. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, *Archaeologia* LXXXII.  
Fimmen: D. Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*.  
Furumark, *MycPot*: A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery*. 'Furumark' followed by a number refers to his catalogue of vessel types in *MycPot* 583-643. Furumark, *Chronology*: A. Furumark, *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*.  
Graef: B. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Heft I.  
Korakou: C. W. Blegen, *Korakou*.  
Mycenae: A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae, An Archaeological History and Guide*.  
Papavasileiou: G. A. Papavasileiou, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων*.  
Persson, *New Tombs*: A. W. Persson, *New Tombs at Dendra near Midea*.  
Prosymna: C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna*.  
Schachtgräber: G. Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*.  
Sieveking and Hackl: J. Sieveking and R. Hackl, *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, Band I.

<sup>1</sup> Papavasileiou excavated and published (in *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων* (1910), 21 ff.) the following tombs (L.H.) in Euboea. (i) At Velousia, near Aliverion, one tholos tomb containing sherds, a button, and bones. (ii) At Enoria, near Kimi, one tholos tomb already looted and the contents lost. (iii) At Katakoulou, near Aliverion, one tholos tomb containing a L.H. III kylix and sherds. (iv) At Oxyliothos, near Kimi, one tholos tomb containing two piriform jars, five alabastra, one jug, one cup, a sealstone, beads of cornelian glass and rock crystal, twenty-six buttons, a piece of lead, and a knife. L.H. III. The finds are in the museum at Khalkis, Inv. nos. 387-400. There was no trace left of the Oxyliothos tomb in 1939; that at Katakoulou is in a very good state of preservation (1950). (v) At Trypa, near Khalkis, two chamber tombs containing the finds listed in p. 49 of my article. (vi) Papavasileiou reported (in *PAE* 1909, 207) a chamber tomb at Livadia, near Aliverion, containing sherds and a button. (vii) He excavated, but did not publish, eighteen more tombs at Trypa and Vromousa. The finds from these tombs have been in the museum at Khalkis since 1911 and are now published by me. I could find no useful trace of the Trypa and Vromousa tombs in 1939.

Fimmen and Furumark both refer to the unpublished pottery in Khalkis from Trypa and Vromousa (the pottery now published by me) in their books listed among my abbreviations above. Fimmen, 6, gives a list of prehistoric finds from Euboea; in 140, note 2, he mentions the rhyton 401; 91, fig. 77 is the alabastron 438 A'. Furumark, *MycPot* 583-643, mentions 401, 437, 438 A', 468, 491, 517, 539.

## Tomb I.

Two undecorated piriform jars, Papavasileiou, fig. 15; one flat-topped stirrup-jar, *ibid.*, fig. 16; 'razor' (one), knife (one), pair of tweezers (one), bodkin (one), pin (one), all in bronze, two steatite buttons, *ibid.*, fig. 17.

Furumark, *Chronology*, 41, 67, dates the tomb Myc. III B in his sequence.

## Tomb II.

Straight-sided alabastron, Papavasileiou, fig. 18; alabastron, *ibid.*, fig. 19; two piriform jars, *ibid.*, figs. 20, 21.

The two jars, according to the Inventory (nos. 382 A', B'), were given to the Museum before excavation began, by the owner of the property, so it is not certain that they came from this tomb at all. One of the piriform jars (Papavasileiou, fig. 20) is almost identical in shape and design with the jar from the *bothros* behind the dromos of the Treasury of Atreus (cf. *Mycenae*, fig. 48b).

In 1910 and 1911 eighteen tombs were excavated in the same cemetery. The following notice of them is given by the excavator in *PAE*, 1910, 266, and 1911, 237-8. 'On the property of K. Mantalou, near Vromousa, we opened eight Mycenaean tombs cut in soft limestone, and one tomb on the Kallimani property. In them we found some forty almost whole Mycenaean vases of different shapes and sizes and a quantity of others, broken but capable of restoration. The following objects were also found <sup>1a</sup>:

1. A quantity of glass beads, blue, white and black.
2. Three gold beads like an olive kernel ('Grain of wheat beads' Inv. no. 500 (2-4)).
- One gold *bucranium* bead (Inv. no. 500 (1)).
- Three amber beads (Inv. no. 436 (four listed)).
- Twelve steatite beads (possibly Inv. nos. 445, 449 Γ', 478 (buttons)).
- Other beads of amethyst (probably Inv. nos. 499 (13), 502 (1)), rock crystal (none in Inventory, unless some of the glass beads are rock crystal), and one of agate (Inv. no. 500 (8-10), three beads listed) shaped like an olive kernel.
3. Five black glass *bucranium* beads (Inv. no. 499 (1-5)).
4. Many steatite whorls, conical, biconical and shanked (Inv. no. 498, twenty-nine listed).
5. Bronze spearhead (Inv. no. 410).
6. Bronze sword, knife and chisel (not identified).
7. Fragments of a silver earring (no trace of this).
8. Three bracelets of lead covered with discoloured white glass paste (possibly Inv. no. 507, the only lead among the finds).
9. Greenish dust inside two of the smaller vases, possibly paint.
10. Three clay idols (Inv. no. 459, 476 A'-Δ' and 477 must include these).
11. Two whetstones, one with a hole for hanging (Inv. no. 432).<sup>2</sup>

In *PAE* 1911, 237, it is stated that near Trypa 'we found nine Mycenaean tombs (three in the field belonging to the brothers Mantalou, four in the field of Sophocles Lembesi, and two by the public road at Katsiviri). Both the tombs by the road were half-opened, as the upper part of the doors had been removed when the road was made. One of these was well-shaped and empty, the second one contained many broken vases. All the Mycenaean tombs on the Lembesi property were found at a depth of one and a half metres; the roofs had collapsed and therefore not a single vase was whole. As well as the vases we also found two bronze knives, each in two pieces (Inv. no. 516), one double-edged bronze dagger (Inv. no. 536), beads of glass and amethyst (Inv. nos. 538, 552), and sea-shells (Inv. no. 550). There were seven Christian burials above the first three tombs.<sup>2</sup> . . . The three tombs on the property of the brothers Mantalou were in line with those found last year.<sup>3</sup> These too were full of earth but

<sup>1a</sup> Inserted in brackets are the Inventory numbers (see below) and other comment.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the tombs on Mantalou property.

<sup>3</sup> When the site was called 'near Vromousa'.



contained some whole vases and other objects—clay idols (among Inv. nos. 459, 476 A'–Δ', 477), glass beads, one bead like an owl,<sup>4</sup> others like a nautilus,<sup>4</sup> one of rock crystal engraved with two fishes swimming in opposite directions (Inv. no. 510), one of agate engraved probably with a stork (Inv. no. 509), one of amethyst, steatite whorls, bronze knives and pins.<sup>5</sup>

In the Khalkis Inventory, nos. 401 to 455 have their provenance described as 'Vromousa, Mantalou's field' covering five tombs; nos. 459 to 538 come from 'excavations at Trypa' (nos. 512 to 516 are particularly listed as 'Tomb IX, Kallimani'); nos. 539 to 557 come from 'excavations at Vromousa, on property of Lembesi'. From this confusion of provenance it is clear that, as in the case of Hagia Anna and the Ismenion at Thebes, Trypa and Vromousa are the same site. This area provided a burial ground for the people of Khalkis from the beginning of Late Helladic to early Christian times. Sherds from the excavations are predominantly Late Helladic, with a sprinkling of Middle Helladic,<sup>6</sup> Protogeometric and Geometric, Hellenistic and Turkish. Papavasileiou also excavated tombs of Classical, Hellenistic, and Christian date on the same site.<sup>6a</sup>

## II. THE CONTENTS AND PERIOD OF USE

Vromousa, Tomb I, nos. 412–424, and possibly nos. 499, 500 (which are labelled 'Tomb I' without indicating which group).

Thirteen pots, one bronze arrowhead and ring, thirty-six beads, one button.

This tomb was in use from the transitional period between L.H. I and II until early L.H. III. The beads, if indeed they do belong to this tomb, date from early and late burials, and the arrowhead is an early type.

Vromousa, Tomb II, nos. 437–445.

Thirteen pots, three buttons.

This tomb was in use from the end of L.H. I to well into L.H. III. Five of the pots are decorated with some version or other of the ivy-leaf pattern.

Vromousa, Tomb III, nos. 425–436.

Nine pots, two whetstones, two buttons, shells, four amber beads, and probably a bronze pin and a ring (Γ' 13).

The tomb was in use from the end of L.H. I or the beginning of L.H. II until about the beginning of L.H. IIIB. The whetstones would be useless objects without something to sharpen. It seems, therefore, that the better contents, including most of the beads, were removed either by robbers or the later burial parties.

<sup>4</sup> Not identified.

<sup>5</sup> Some of the finds, including the more important vases, are listed in *AA* 1911, 122.

<sup>6</sup> So far the Middle Helladic cemetery has not been located. There is an Early Bronze Age cemetery near Khalkis at Manika, about one hour's walk north of Khalkis on a spit of land jutting into the sea, where Papavasileiou excavated a series of tombs containing a large proportion of Early Cycladic objects (Papavasileiou, 1–20). On this flat unprotected site Early and Middle Helladic sherds have been found. The change of site from the seashore to the broken hilly land behind Khalkis suggests a change of living conditions or a change of population. The Middle Helladic sherds from Trypa and Vromousa are specifically mainland in character (*i.e.* Grey or Yellow Minyan).

<sup>6a</sup> In the discussion here following and in the catalogue the numbers given are those of the Khalkis Museum Inventory. Cf. p. 61, n. 15 below.

## Vromousa, Tomb IV, nos. 446-455.

Seventeen pots, four buttons, one bead.

The tomb was in use from the end of L.H. I until the transition from L.H. IIIA to L.H. IIIB.

## Vromousa, Tomb V, nos. 401-411.

Fourteen pots and one spearhead.

The tomb was first made in L.H. I and continued in use until shortly after the beginning of L.H. III. The *ryhton* (401) should belong to a fairly important burial<sup>7</sup> which was plundered when the tomb was re-opened for later use.

## Trypa, Tomb VI, nos. 479-486, 488 (?), probably 501-503. 488 has no tomb number, 501-503 are labelled '6' without a place reference.

Seven pots, six buttons, probably ninety-three glass beads, ten of faience, one of agate, one of amethyst, and one bronze ring.

This tomb must have been in use from L.H. I until late in L.H. III. It is not certain that the small finds belong to it.

## Trypa, Tomb VII, nos. 468-478, and possibly 489.

Sixteen pots, five figurines, four buttons, six bronze rivets, and possibly two whetstones.

The tomb was in use from the end of L.H. I or the beginning of L.H. II until well into the middle of L.H. III.

## Trypa, Tomb VIII, nos. 487, 491-497, 498(?), possibly 504-511.

Seven pots, twenty-nine buttons, and possibly the numerous ornaments under nos. 504-511 (which have no tomb number).

This tomb was first used in L.H. I, re-used in L.H. II and again in L.H. III. The early burials, to judge by the good state of the early pots, appear to have been reasonably undisturbed, but the L.H. III burials, represented chiefly by fragments, appear to have been much disturbed. It is not certain that the small finds belong.

The finds from Trypa Tombs VI, VII, VIII are extremely sketchily listed in the Inventory, and it is a pity that we cannot assign the sealstones and necklaces numbered 504-111 to any tomb.

## Trypa, Tomb IX, nos. 459-467.

Twenty-two pots and one figurine.

This tomb was in use throughout most of L.H. III.

## Trypa, Tomb IX (Kallimani), nos. 512-516. This is probably the tomb 'near Vromousa . . . on the property of Kallimani' referred to on p. 50, but the Inventory

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the figure-of-eight shield sherd (411) is from the same one.

calls it 'Trypa IX (Kallimani)', and the names belong, as we have seen, to the same cemetery.

Seven pots, two knives, fragments of a third, one pin, one rivet.

The tomb was in use from the end of L.H. II until well into L.H. III.

Trypa, Tomb X, nos. 517-522.

Ten pots.

Assuming the tall alabastron (520 A') to be early L.H. II, it may be said that the tomb was in use from that time until well into L.H. III. The two-handled bowl (522) is a late shape.

Trypa, Tomb XI, nos. 523-538.

Twenty-five pots (not counting one pot and sherds of about ten pots which cannot certainly be given to this tomb), a knife, a dagger, a pin, a whetstone, and about twenty-one beads.

The tomb appears to have been in use from L.H. II to the end of L.H. III.

Vromousa (Lembesi), nos. 539-552.

Fourteen pots, twenty shells, three buttons, six beads.

To judge from the increasing number of fragments and unnumbered pots towards the end of the Inventory, and from the information that there were four tombs on Lembesi property full of broken pottery, it cannot be said that this group represents a single tomb. An interesting feature of the pottery is the number of domestic shapes, *e.g.* three flat cooking pots, Granary Class jug, two-handled bowl, and the large matt-painted sherd (inside 539).

The tomb or tombs in this group indicate a long period of use, from L.H. I to the very end of Mycenaean times.

Vromousa, second group, Tomb IV, nos. 553-557.

Twelve pots, ten beads.

The tomb was used from the end of L.H. I to the end of L.H. III.

### III. THE POTTERY: TECHNIQUE, SHAPE AND PATTERN

Over some five hundred years, from soon after 1600 B.C. until the close of the Mycenaean age in about 1100 B.C., the potter's art as seen at Khalkis naturally experienced some changes. Since, however, the events that helped to develop Late Helladic pottery from its Middle Bronze Age predecessors, the development of the potter's wheel and the spread of Cretan influences, had already happened, or occurred at the beginning of the period, the changes are those of evolution, not revolution.<sup>8</sup>

The pots are all wheel-made, except nos. 494, a very shallow cup, and 495, a double *kernos* or *pyxis*, and some fragments of coarse cooking jars. The clay used throughout the period

<sup>8</sup> On the technique of Late Helladic pottery cf. *Prosymna*, 408 f.; *Chamber Tombs*, 147, 156, 165; *Furumark, MycPot* 11 ff.; *BSA XLII*. 9 ff.

bakes a pinkish buff in general, with many variations of colour. About ten pots are made of a greenish clay, such as is usually associated with the Argolid and Corinth (cf. *Korakou*, 36), but as one pot (451 A') with green clay and a yellowish buff slip is painted in a style almost identical with another pot of the same shape (451 B'), which is of buff clay with a grey slip, it does not appear certain that green clay indicates an import. Two pots (512 A' and B') are of buff clay with a greenish slip, and the clay of 472 Γ' is red on the outside and grey at the core. These variations of colour seem to point to differences of temperature in the kilns.

A few pots (431 A', B', 473 B', 474, 534) look and feel like Minyan, and it is possible (cf. *BSA* XLII 51) that some potters made Grey and Yellow Minyan ware throughout the Late Helladic period. They certainly worked in the Minyan technique as far as the fabric of many L.H. I and II pots is concerned (cf. *Prosymna*, 408, 411).

The slip on the Khalkis pottery is thick, and usually, though not by any means always, of the same colour as the clay; the lighter it is the thicker it is, and in the early stages of Late Helladic the thicker slip is very smooth and shiny.

The paint is generally lustrous and varies from all shades of brown and red to black. As on most Late Helladic pottery black paint wears off most easily. Added white occurs on only two pots (491, 493), both from the same tomb group, but not necessarily contemporary. Shiny and dull paint both occur at all times.

Comparing the Khalkis pottery with Theban ware,<sup>9</sup> one might say that there is little difference, if any, in the clay. Theban pots are often painted with blacker, shinier paint than those of Khalkis (particularly alabastra); the pots are bigger (there are some outsize alabastra in Thebes), grander (Khalkis has no ogival canopy patterns and very little Palace Style) but not by any means always better. There is no reason to suppose that the pottery of Khalkis in Late Helladic times came from Thebes, but the potters of Khalkis often followed Theban fashions in shape and pattern.

At all stages good and bad pots,<sup>10</sup> well-painted ones and botched efforts are to be found. We do not know all the factors which made the Late Helladic style. Tradition, utility, foreign or local innovation, conscious or unconscious archaism, and the desire to imitate other materials were all at work behind the pottery in this catalogue, as well as religion (particularly in the case of funerary objects), individual skill, and the whim and superstition of the moment. The classification suggested is therefore vague and tentative, for it would be absurd to talk of the absolute chronology of pottery when we know next to nothing of its discovery. For the chronological framework into which the Khalkis pottery, and along with it all Late Helladic pottery fits, see A. J. B. Wace's *Mycenae*, 10 ff., and Furumark, *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*.

### Late Helladic I, Shapes.

#### Alabastra.

*Alabastron*, 402 A', Γ', 492 B', 553 B'. *Tall alabastron*, 416, 452. *Alabastron with straight side*, 415, 469 A'.

402 A', the earliest *alabastron* at Khalkis, looks like an imitation of an alabaster vase (*PM* IV, fig. 910), made by a potter who was producing this shape for the first time.

The *tall alabastron* has a good deal of Middle Helladic about it in the decoration and tall

<sup>9</sup> Thanks to the kindness of Mr. I. Threpsiades, Ephor in Thebes, I was able to study the Thebes material in detail.

<sup>10</sup> The wheel used in L.H. III seems to have been faster than in L.H. I and II, but at Khalkis there are examples of fine thin pottery at all stages, e.g. 493 (L.H. I). No note <sup>11</sup>.



shape, and may be called a cross between a three-handled jar and an alabastron. It is not a common shape.

The *straight-sided alabastron* 469 A' is the earliest one of this height and shape known to me.

### Cups.

*Shallow cup*, 494. *Tea cup*, 493. *Deep cup*, 544. *Deep cup with stemmed base and high handle*, 543. *Vapheio cup*, 429, 440.

These are all common shapes in the Late Helladic list, and they show a curious uniformity of size, shape, and decoration. 544 is late and could be early L.H. II, though the dotted details begin in L.H. I.

### Jars.

*Jar with three horizontal handles*, 447.

An apparently unique specimen with a possible metallic origin.

### Jugs.

*Jug with bridged spout*, 539.

A Cretan shape and comparatively rare in the mainland area. It could be L.H. II.

*Jug with cutaway neck*, 453, 481.

453 could be later, 481 is almost Middle Helladic.

### Other Shapes.

*Kernos*, 495.

An early appearance of a shape common in L.H. III.

### Late Helladic I, Patterns.<sup>12</sup>

Blade of grass, 452. Concentric circles, 415, 416. Cross, 402 Γ', 492 B'. Cross-hatched loop, 416, 553 Z'. Dots (this covers dots used as a filling decoration, edging or main pattern), 415, 416, 447, 469 A', 493 (white), 539, 544, 553 B'. Fish (this could be some vegetable motive), 481. Foliate band (*cf.* also dots), 415, 429, 440. Haphazard decoration (perhaps imitation of stone), 402 A'. Ivy-leaf, 539. Net, 519 Γ', 544. Pendent crocus, 539. Petal, 402 Γ'. Running Quirk, 415. Spiral, 429, 440, 493, 494, 495, 539, 543. Stripes, 402 A'. Tassel, 553 Z'. Wave pattern, 402 Γ', 415, 416, 447, 481, 492 B', 553 B', Z'. Wave pattern inverted, 447. Wheel, 469 A', 553 B'.

The spiral and wave pattern are the most common. The spiral is an old pattern going back to Early Cycladic pans in Euboea, and in one version or other seems to be a natural art

<sup>12</sup> Bands of paint in horizontal arrangement are so common a feature of all Late Helladic pottery that it would be more to the point to list pots without any. I have therefore not included bands, stripes, or lines in horizontal arrangement, unless they form the only decoration of a pot.

form of primitive man. The origin of the wave pattern may lie in the wavy lines of alabaster, which was presumably admired and difficult to come by. The beginning of vegetable motives, ivy-leaf foliate band, pendent crocus in a stylised form, shows an interest in formality which is observable at Khalkis throughout the period. The fish, if it is a fish, is formal and confined in a zone, whereas a Cretan or Melian painter would have painted it in a free field.

#### Late Helladic II, Shapes.

##### Alabastra.

*Alabastron*, 414 B', Γ', 426 A', 438 Γ', Δ', 439 A', 450 Γ', 455 (sherds), 472 Γ', E', 482 B', sherds with 487, 492 A', 497 (sherds), 512 B', 523 Γ', Δ', sherds with 539, 542 A', Γ', sherds with 553 A', 553 Γ', 553 Z'. *Tall Alabastron*, 427, 450 A', 475, 482 A', 553 Z'. *Alabastron with straight side*, 520 A', 526, unnumbered with 555.

The shapes introduced in L.H. I continue and are developed with restraint. There are no over-grown Palace Style alabastra as in Thebes, and the Khalkis potters, whatever they imitated from Crete, continued to work in a mainland style and tradition. The tall alabastron is common at Khalkis, and the tall straight-sided alabastron continues unknown or rare elsewhere. 427 is early and could be L.H. I.

##### Cups.

'*Tea cup*', 529 A'. A late example.

##### Jars.

*Jar with three horizontal handles*, 446, 540, 556. *Jar with three vertical handles*, 555.

The Palace Style is not represented. These pots are restrained and sober compared with similar shapes elsewhere, but they are all known patterns or shapes and are in the mainland tradition of adapting Cretan ideas.

##### Jugs.

*Jug with a cutaway neck*, 491.

A Palace Style on a fairly late shape. The shape does not appear again in the Khalkis pottery.

##### Miscellaneous.

*Rhyton*, 401.

A unique pot combining Cretan inspiration and mainland technique.

*Stirrup-jar*, 517.

This has a third handle and may be regarded as a Gournia shape with the decoration in mainland manner.

## Late Helladic II, Patterns.

Arcading, 491. Chevron, 446. Cross, 427, 439 A', 475. Cross-hatched loop, 475, sherds inside 539, 553 Z'. Dots, 401, 414 B', 416, 426 A', 438 Δ', 446, 450 Γ', 472 Γ', 482 B', 491 (white), 492 A', 497 (sherds), 523 Γ', 523 Δ', 540, 542 A', Γ', sherds with 553 A', 553 Γ', 555. Figure-of-eight, 411 (sherds), 517. Ivy-leaf, 427, 438 Γ', Δ', 472 Γ', 482 B', sherds with 487, 512 B', 555, unnumbered with 555, 556. Lily, 491. Loop, 472 Γ'. Loop with fringe, 427. Palm, 455 (sherds), 482 A', B'. Pendent crocus, 401. Petal, 401. Petal and dot, 517. Rosette, 401, 450 A', 553 Γ'. Running quirk, 526, 555. Spiral, 520 A', 529 A'. Stippling ('thrush-egg'), 411 (sherds). Stripes, curved, 446, 540. Tassel, 475, 553 Z'. Wave pattern, 414 B', 414 Γ', 426 A', 427, 438 Δ', 439 A', 450 A', Γ', 472 Γ', E', 475, 482 B', 492 A', 497 (sherds), 512 B', 520 A', 523 Γ', Δ', 542 A', Γ', sherds with 553 A', 553 Γ', 553 Z', unnumbered with 555. Wavy line group, 517, sherds with 539. Wheel, 414 B', Γ', 426 A', 438 Γ', Δ', 450 Γ', 455 (sherds), 472 Γ', E', 482 B', sherds with 487, 492 A', 497 (sherds), 512 B', 520 A', 523 Γ', Δ', 526, 542 A', Γ', sherds with 553 A', unnumbered with 555. Zig-zag, 540.

Dots, waves, and wheels increase with the number of alabastra, so do the ivy-leaf motives. Spirals lose popularity, and the vegetable motives have little naturalism, except for the lily, 491. The figure-of-eight is a new pattern on a new shape, and is early. It is rather rare on L.H. II pottery and occurs more frequently in L.H. III in other materials.

## Late Helladic II—IIIA, Transitional Phase, Shapes.

**Alabastra.**

*Alabastron*, 438 A', 472 Δ', 472 G', 512 A', sherds with 519 A', 523 A', B', 553 Δ'. *Tall alabastron*, 472 A', 514.

These pots represent the period of evolution from Cretan ideas, now worn out, to the increasing formality of the Mycenaean period. The typical concentric circles on the base of L.H. III alabastra are combined with L.H. II patterns.

**Jars.**

*Jar with three horizontal handles*, 480 A', 532. *Jar with three vertical handles*, 441, 444 B', sherds with 519 A'. *Jar with two vertical handles*, 519 A'. *Globular jar with no handles*, 471, unnumbered (10).

Three-handled jars begin to appear in a modified piriform shape. They were not common in earlier L.H. II at Khalkis, but grow popular at this stage. The other L. H. tombs of Euboea have examples of this transitional shape.

The globular jar 471, is probably an imitation of the ostrich egg rhyton.

**Jugs.**

*Jug*, 413, 417, unnumbered (1).

These look metallic.

*Jug with beaked spout*, 412.

This has affinities with the Ephyraean ware of earlier L.H. II.

*Squat Jug*, 419.

The only one in Khalkis and not a good example.

**Kylikes.***Kylix*, 527.

The first appearance of a shape that is rare at Khalkis.

## Late Helladic II, IIIA, Transitional Phase, Patterns.

*Blade of grass*, 532. *Chevron*, 412. *Concentric circles*, 438 A', 472 Δ', G', 512 A', sherds with 519 A', 523 A', Γ', 553 Δ'. *Cross-hatching*, 514. *Dots*, 472 G', 480 A', sherds with 519 A'. *Ivy-leaf*, 438 A', 444 B', 472 A', 480 A', sherds with 519 A', 523 A', 553 Δ'. *Lily*, 412, 512 A'. *Loops*, 419. *Net*, 441, 519 A'. *Quirk*, 480 A'. *Running quirk*, 419. *Spirals*, 412, 472 G', 527, 532. *Stippling*, 471, unnumbered (10), sherds with 519 A'. *Wave pattern*, 444 B', 472 Δ', G', 480 A', 512 A', 514, sherds with 519 A', 553 Δ'. *Wavy line*, 512 A'.

## Late Helladic III A and B.

At some sites there is a clear distinction between the early and middle stages of this period, e.g. at Mycenae—which one would expect since it was the centre of diffusion in thought and fashion.

At Khalkis a few new shapes appear or old ones re-emerge at the beginning of the period, e.g., stirrup-jar (for one can hardly regard 517 as a typical Khalkis shape), feeding bottle, cups of several shapes (L.H. I shapes reappear), but on the whole things went on as before and there seems to be little difference between early and late shapes.

## Late Helladic III A and B, Shapes.

**Alabastra.**

*Alabastron*, 402 B', 402 Δ', E', 411 (sherds), 414 A', 423 (sherds), 426 B', 438 B', 439 B', 450 B', Δ', 462 A', B', Γ', Δ', 472 B', 512 Γ', 523 E', 524, sherds in and with 539, 542 B', 553 A', and sherds with 553 A', 553 E', G'. *Tall Alabastron*, 486, 541. *Alabastron with straight side*, 428, 451 A'-Δ', 461, 469 B', Γ', 513, 520 B', 525, unnumbered with 555. *Alabastron or Squat Jar*, 403, 404. *Alabastron with two handles*, 496. *Alabastron with no handles*, 454.

Alabastra continue to be the favourite form, and develop from the flat L.H. II shape to a compact baggy pot with Tell-el-Amarna neatness. The tall alabastron becomes a hybrid piriform jar with a hollow base, or a sack-like vessel of ponderous shape (this does occur elsewhere in Greece but is happily rare).

The straight-sided alabastron remains modest in height compared with tall examples from Attica or Cyprus. The tall shape appears to have worked itself out at an earlier date.

**Bowls.**

*Bowl*, 408, 443, with 467 (fragmentary), 474, unnumbered (5).

These could date anywhere in L.H.



**Cups.**

*Cup*, 407, 431 A', B', 483, sherds with 487, unnumbered (4). *Bell shaped*, 473 B'. *Conical*, 421, 521. *Cup with a bridged spout*, 467. *Cup with a high handle*, 447 B', Γ', with 467, 473 A', 529 B'.

The reappearance of these drinking shapes suggests that during the preceding century or so the people of Khalkis had drunk out of some other material. Perhaps they had bronze cups, for the shapes that re-emerge are reminiscent of metal, and some are in a Grey Minyan fabric.

**Jars.**

*Small globular jar with two horizontal handles and one vertical*, 418 A', B'. *Squat jar with two vertical handles*, 442. *Piriform jar with two horizontal handles*, 406. *Piriform jar with three horizontal handles*, 405 A', B', 420, 444 A', 448, 470, 479 A'-Γ', 480 B', 497 (sherds), 515 A', B', 519 B', Γ', 532 B', Γ', sherds with 553 A', unnumbered (9). *Jar with basket handle and spout (feeding bottle)*, 449 A', B', 463.

The three-handled jar becomes and remains top-heavy piriform. It is difficult to say how late the shape persists at Khalkis, since there is no stratification to help, but a very late form (464 A') does occur. The feeding bottle makes a very early appearance and has the handle at right angles to the spout, a feature which is unknown on mainland sites and late in the islands, e.g. Amorgos, Cyprus.

**Jugs.**

*Jug*, 425, 430, 464, 533. *Jug with beaked spout*, 437, 468.

468 has parallels for shape and decoration at most Mycenaean sites; 437 has an unusually narrow foot.

**Kylix.<sup>13</sup>**

*Kylix*, 409, 411 (sherds), 455 (sherds), sherds with 487, sherds inside 539, unnumbered sherds (6) and (7).<sup>14</sup>

In the museum at Khalkis there are a few sherds from a kylix found at Belousia, a Yellow Minyan kylix from Katakoulou (Inv. no. 390),<sup>14a</sup> and the very small and fragmentary collection from Vromousa and Trypa. That is all. The kylix is not a shape typical of Late Helladic pottery at Khalkis.

**Stirrup-jar.**

*Stirrup-jar*, 460 A'-IA', 485, sherds with 487, 518 A', B', 530 A', B', Γ', 531, two unnumbered with 531.

Of these the most usual shape is globular, as is also the case among the stirrup-jars in Attica (BSA XLII 14). The only other shapes that appear are depressed globular and flat-topped, all early rather than late.

<sup>13</sup> The Kylix . . . is almost as common a Mycenaean type as the stirrup-jar' (BSA XLII 24).

<sup>14</sup> On the breaking of kylikes at the closing of the tomb doorway, see *Chamber Tombs*, 144; *Prosymna*, 238.

<sup>14a</sup> Listed in the Inventory 'from Oxyliothos', but described by Papavasileion in his account of the tholos tomb at Katakoulou (Papavasileiou, 39 and fig. 33).

## Late Helladic III A and B, Patterns.

Angles in concentric arrangement, 460 H',  $\Theta'$ , I', unnumbered with 531. Arcs in same arrangement, 460  $\Gamma'$ ,  $\Delta$ , 1A', 485, 518 B'. Laddered arcs in same arrangement, 518 A'. Argonaut, 468. Blade of grass, 403, 418 A', 418 B', 438 B', 553 A'. Chevron, 460 G', Z'. Circles, 460 A', B', 520 B'. Concentric circles, 402 B',  $\Delta'$ , E', 411 (sherds), 414 A', 426 B', 428, 438 B', 439 B', 450 B',  $\Delta'$ , 451 A', B',  $\Gamma'$ , 460 A',  $\Gamma'$ , I', 461, 462 A', B',  $\Gamma'$ , 469 B',  $\Gamma'$ , 472 B', 486, 512  $\Gamma'$ , 518 A', B', 523 E', 525, 530  $\Gamma'$ , sherds inside 539, 541, 542 B', 553 A' and sherds with 553 A', E', unnumbered with 555. Cross-hatched diamond, 530  $\Gamma'$ . Cross-hatching, 444 A', 479 B', 532 B', sherds with 553 A', unnumbered (9). Dots, 402 E', 405 B', 414 A', 426 B', 450  $\Delta'$ , 460 A', B', 472 B', 486, 512  $\Gamma'$ , 515 A', 530 B', 531, 542 B'. Flower, 530 A'. Ivy-leaf, 438 B'. Lily, 405 A'. Loops, 418 A', 486. N reversed, 479  $\Gamma'$ . Net, 448, 449 B', 519  $\Gamma'$ , 520 B'. Papyrus, 405 B'. Petal and dot, 468. Rosette, 426 B'. Spiral 402  $\Delta'$ , E', 420, 423 (sherds), 437, 449 A', 450 B', 451 A',  $\Gamma'$ , 520 B', 553 A'. Stripes, 464, 469 B', 479 A', 480 B', 530 B', 531, 532  $\Gamma'$ , unnumbered with 555. Stripes, curved, 428. Tassel, 437. Wave pattern, 402 E', 403, 414 A', 426 B', 439 B', 450  $\Delta'$ , 462 A', B', 472 B', 486, 512  $\Gamma'$ , 523 E', 541, 542 B', sherds with 553 A', 553 E'. Wavy line, 402 B', 430, 451 A', B',  $\Gamma'$ , 460 G', 469  $\Gamma'$ , 515 A', 529 B'. Zig-zag, 451 B', 462  $\Gamma'$ , 525.

The patterns carried over from L.H. II and used in L.H. IIIA gradually disappear and are replaced by such a small variety of conventional geometric designs that the omissions are much more interesting than the actual patterns used. There are no murex, cephalopod, or octopus designs at all in the museum, and only one Tell-el-Amarna flower. That the absence of these has something to do with the absence of kylikes is obvious from an inspection of the kylikes from Attica or Zygouries. L.H. III tombs with kylikes may yet be found at Khalkis (sherds of this unmistakable shape have been picked up at prehistoric sites in Euboea),<sup>14</sup> but at present it looks as if the murex fishers of Khalkis did not like this pattern to appear on their pottery. A few mainland patterns are used with little or no variation (nearly all the stirrup-jar patterns can be found in BSA XLII 17, fig. 4; 19, fig. 5).

## Late Helladic IIIC, Shapes.

The closing stage of the Mycenaean period is sketchily represented.

## Bowls.

*Bowl with two horizontal handles*, 522, 528, 548. *Ogival bowl*, 465.

Although there is only one ogival bowl, and that a small one, it suggests a new influx of ideas. So do the three other bowls, one of which has a pattern similar to a bowl from the Granary at Mycenae (BSA XXV pl. V, c).

## Jars.

*Jar with three horizontal handles*, 464 A'. *Jar with two vertical handles*, 546. *Jar or jug*, sherds with 487.

<sup>14</sup> Note the following L.H. tombs and other material in Euboea. In 1939 at *Moni Mantzari* near Oxyliothos there was a looted chamber tomb. There were two L.H. IIIA pots from this tomb in the school at Oxyliothos. In 1940 at *Androniani* near Kimi, a tomb, said to be a shaft grave, was opened. Two swords with gold studs, a spearhead, a saw and sherds of L.H. IIIA pottery were brought to the museum at Khalkis. L.H. sherds and other objects have also been found at the following places in Euboea, taking the island from north to south: *Oreoi*, *Athinai*, *Dhiades*, *Likhas Kastri*, *Pili*, *Politika*, *Manika*, *Vathia*, *Dhistos*, *Filagra*.

**Jugs.**

*Jug*, 484, 535, 547, unnumbered (2), (3) sherds.

The Granary Class is the most common type and though there are no complete specimens, the fabric is good and the pots well made.

**Miscellaneous.**

?*Krater*, 455 (sherds).

*Stirrup-jar*, 545, 554, late but not very late.

*Tankard*, 466, 534, a new shape.

**Late Helladic IIIC, Patterns.**

Arcs in concentric arrangement, 484. Concentric circles, 465. Cross-hatched triangle, 554. Dashes, 545. Dots, 545. Fish, 455 (sherds). Semi-circles, 554. Wavy line, 547. Zig-zag, 548.

Except for the fish sherds, the few patterns left are all geometric.

**Late Helladic, Not Dated.**

*Bowl with horizontal loop handle*, 422.

*Bowl with horizontal handle and vertical knob*, 549.

?*Brazier*, fragment 487.

*Cooking pots*, sherds with 487, and inside 539.

*Jar*, unnumbered (8).

These are domestic shapes which are coarse and could occur at any date.

*Jug*, unnumbered (2), (3).

**IV. CATALOGUE OF FINDS.<sup>15</sup>****401-411, VROMOUSA V.**

401 RHYTON, ovoid with ring handle. H. 0.23. D. 0.115. Vromousa V. FIG. 1.  
L.H. II.

Elongated type with pronounced collar at base of neck; metallic ring handle 'riveted' to rim. Buff clay and slip, dark red to brown paint. Three zones, divided by three bands, of pendent crocuses below large dots, connected by double dotted loops; rosette around hole (FIG. 2, 1); reserved petals with central stripe around neck. Furumark 202: 1 (Myc. IIA); Fimmen, 140, note 2.

There appears to be no exact parallel for this shape. This individuality of shape may be due to the difficulty of making a pot outside the everyday run of forms. In shape 401 stands between the ovoid rhyton from the second Shaft Grave at Mycenae (*Schachtgräber*, no. 221, pl. CLXX<sup>16</sup>, and no. 196 from the Argive Heraion (*Prosymna*, fig. 670). A

<sup>15</sup> The Catalogue numbers are those of the Khalkis Museum Inventory. The numbering of the tombs and finds in the Catalogue agrees with the numbers attached to the finds in the cases and with the numbers in the Inventory. In the Inventory Greek numerals were used to list under one number finds of the same type from one tomb (e.g. 402 A'-E'), or objects found together (e.g. 449 A'-Γ'). Reference to the finds are given immediately after the description. The Furumark reference is to the Catalogue of vessel types in his *MycPot* 583-643, with his dating in brackets. Where possible, references to pottery in Thebes give the page reference in *Adelt* III (1917), and *AE* 1910, as well as the Museum Inventory numbers which are omitted from those publications.

Objects other than pottery, including terracottas, are listed numerically in the catalogue and are described in Section V. Line drawings of patterns are given in the text where they are not clear enough in the plates.

<sup>16</sup> Listed as Cretan, but compare a similar rhyton from Tomb 517 at Mycenae (*Chamber Tombs*, pl. I, no. 10).

fragmentary rhyton from Thermon in Actolia (*Adelt* I (1915) 267, fig. 35a) appears to be of the same shape as the Heraion example, but neither is as pointed as 401. In Crete near but not exact parallels are to be found.<sup>17</sup>

The decoration, which occurs as a filling ornament on 539 (PLATE 24), is more widespread than the shape and is usually found on large Palace Style amphorae.<sup>18</sup> Of these none from Crete has zones of pendent crocus alone; other patterns are combined. The pendent crocus is, as Pendlebury says (*Archaeology of Crete*, 207), a typical L.M. IB pattern. The rosette around the hole is common on the mainland, and in Crete. An almost identical one is on a Palace Style amphora from Dendra (Persson, *New Tombs*, fig. 45). 401 does not follow the usual Cretan model of decoration;<sup>19</sup> it looks local in fabric, and although it is based on Cretan originals in pottery and stone (*cf.* Pendlebury, *op. cit.* pl. XXXVIII, no. 1), it may be regarded as having been made on the mainland if not in Khalkis itself.

402 A' ALABASTRON. H. 0.045. D. 0.115. Vromousa V. PLATE 16.  
L.H. I.

Clumsy handles, one missing; narrow neck with broad offset rim, much chipped. Pink clay, buff slip, red to dark brown paint. Haphazard blobs of paint all over body; base, three stripes, one with offshoots, and a rough figure-of-eight. Marks of polishing on the base.



FIG. 1.—RHYTON 401.

This appears to be painted in imitation of stone or alabaster, but not a very good attempt. Lines on the base occur rarely from L.H. I to L.H. IIB.<sup>20</sup>

402 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.043. D. 0.043. Vromousa V. PLATE 17.  
L.H. IIIA.

Early L.H. III shape; short neck and small curving rim. Pink clay, buff slip, red to brown paint. Wavy lines, almost looped, on body; base, six concentric circles in twos, neatly painted.

402 C' ALABASTRON. H. 0.065. D. 0.165. Vromousa V. PLATE 17.  
L.H. I.

Poor condition; pink clay, buff slip, red to brown paint. Wave pattern, petal filling ornament through handle loops (FIG. 2, 2); base, crude wavy cross in three circles. Marks of polishing on the base.

<sup>17</sup> Palaikastro *BMC Vases* I, pt. 1, A650, and six examples in *BSA Suppl. I* (1923), 52 f. (one of these is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, *CVA* 2, pl. III 31); Mochlos, *AJA* 1909, 288, fig. 12; Gournia, Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. I 2; Psira, Seager, *Psira*, figs. 8 and 10.

<sup>18</sup> *E.g.* Mainland: Mycenae, *BSA* XXV, pls. XLV c, L a; Kakovatos, *AM* XXXIV (1909), pl. XXIV 6; Thebes (filling ornament), no. 432, *Adelt* III (1917), fig. 145. Islands: Melos, *BSA* XVII, pl. XI, 18; *CVA* Cambridge 2, pl. II 40; Crete, Palaikastro, *BSA Suppl. I* (1923), fig. 40; Tyllissos, *PM* IV, fig. 220; Knossos, *PM* IV, figs. 221 and 222.

<sup>19</sup> In this respect *cf.* Welter *Aegina* 22-23.

<sup>20</sup> Mycenae, *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XXXIX, no. 19; Eleusis, Mylonas, *Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς*, fig. 104, no. 365 (the stripes can just be seen); Malthi, Valmin, *Swedish Messenia Expedition*, pl. XIX, no. 28.



As in the case of 402 A' this alabastron has an experimental look about it. The petal through the handle loop and the strokes of the cross on the base are uncertain, as though the potter was trying out something new. Cf. also 439 A', 472 E' and, for a sure and neat example, 492 B'. The wavy cross is often a mark of Theban manufacture<sup>21</sup> and occurs on five alabastra in Khalkis. The same casual cross occurs on a small alabastron in Cos from Eleone, Tomb XVIII (wave pattern and probably ivy-leaf; it is much damaged).

402 Δ' ALABASTRON. H. 0.052. D. 0.17. Vromousa V. PLATE 17.  
L.H. IIIA.

One handle missing, poor condition. Yellowish buff clay and slip, dark brown flaky paint. FIG. 2, 3 between and below handles, one band below; base, five concentric circles in groups of two and three.

Spirals do not often occur on this type of alabastron. There is none in Thebes, but there are spirals on two other alabastra in Khalkis.<sup>22</sup> The pattern occurs on an alabastron of unknown provenance in Munich,<sup>23</sup> one from Ialysos,<sup>24</sup> and one in Cos from Eleone, Tomb XIV.

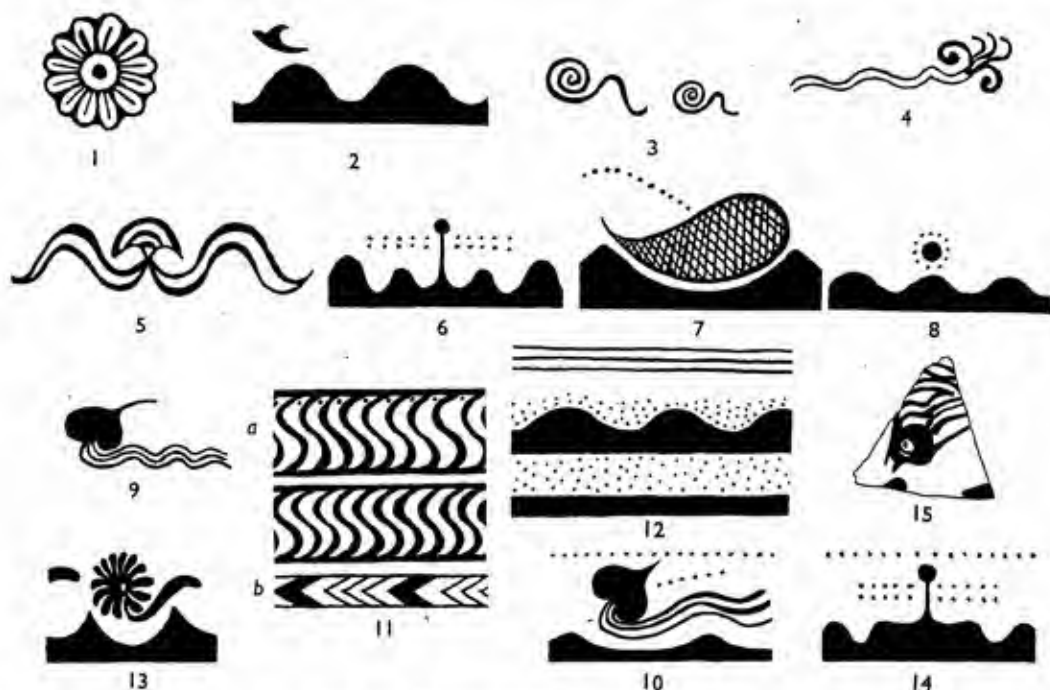


FIG. 2.—DECORATIVE PATTERNS 1-15.

402 E' ALABASTRON. H. 0.065. D. 0.15. Vromousa V. PLATE 17.  
L.H. IIIA.

Pink clay, buff slip, dark brown paint. Wave pattern, two dotted circles between handles; base, spiral inside two concentric circles.

A similar alabastron with concentric circles is in Thebes (Mus. Inv. 567 from Ismenion 5).<sup>25</sup> A taller example from Salamis is in Baltimore (CVA Baltimore 1, pl. VIII 3).

403 ALABASTRON, or squat jar. H. 0.095. D. 0.16. Vromousa V. PLATE 16.  
L.H. IIIA.

An unusual shape, with raised base. Buff clay and slip, dark brown paint. Wave pattern round greatest circumference, two bands below; foot painted; horizontal wavy blade of grass between handles; one band below neck; no pattern on base.

Strictly speaking this is not an alabastron, and there appear to be no parallels for the shape except in Khalkis (404). It

<sup>21</sup> *Klio* XXXII 2, 146, and cf. Persson, *New Tombs*, 70.

<sup>22</sup> 450 B', 553 A'; cf. also sherds from Vromousa I (423).

<sup>23</sup> Sieveking and Hackl, no. 36.

<sup>24</sup> *BMC Vases* I, i, A 813, and Stubbings, *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*, 10.

<sup>25</sup> *Adelt* III (1917), 96, not illustrated.

is a later version of the tall alabastron peculiar to Khalkis of which 427 is a good example. The pattern is fairly widespread and occurs on five alabastera in Thebes.<sup>28</sup>

404 ALABASTRON, or squat jar. H. 0.085. D. 0.14. Vromousa V. PLATE 17.  
L.H. III.

Shape as 403. Dark pink clay, buff slip, slightly polished; no decoration. See 403.

405 A' JAR, with three horizontal handles.<sup>27</sup> H. 0.06. D. 0.06. Vromousa V. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA.

Piriform shape. Pink clay, buff slip, red to brown paint. FIG. 2, 4 on shoulder zone which comes below the handles, bands below and at painted foot.

There are no miniature piriform jars in Thebes. For a slightly larger example, cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 167, no. 1131, and Mylonas, *Προστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς*, nos. 373, 376 (figs. 108, 109). The pattern is a variation on Furumark 9: 14 (*MyePot* fig. 32).

405 B' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.076. D. 0.07. Vromousa V. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA.

More pronounced profile than 405 A'. Buff clay and slip, dark brown paint. Papyrus on shoulder zone, which comes below the handles (FIG. 2, 5); bands below and at foot; rim dotted.

A similar pattern occurs on a three-handled jar from Oxylythos (387 Δ' and Papavasileiou fig. 23).<sup>28</sup> 405 A' and B' probably came from the same burial, and from their small size one would suggest a child's burial.

406 JAR, with two horizontal handles, both of which are missing. H. 0.08. D. 0.065. Vromousa V. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA.

Shape between 405 A' and 405 B', splaying base, short neck. Buff clay and slip, undecorated.

407 CUP. H. 0.06. D. 0.135. Vromousa V.  
L.H. III A or B.

Tea-cup shape with ribbon handle level with horizontal rim. Pink clay, unpainted.

Cf. 431 A'. Shape as *BSA* XLII, fig. 13, A, with more accentuated rim. There are six similar cups, also unpainted, in Thebes (Kadmeia). A modified version of this shape is among finds from Oxylythos; it has, however, a splayed base and is brown to black all over (392).

408 BOWL. H. 0.035. D. 0.095. Vromousa V. PLATE 19.  
L.H. III.

Conical shape. Pink clay, unpainted.

Forty-four unpainted examples of this shape are mentioned in *Prosymna*, 424. They are also very common in Crete, and it is a useful shape that persists in the Mediterranean to-day. Cf. 443.<sup>29</sup>

409 KYLIX, with two handles. H. 0.105. D. 0.125. Vromousa V. PLATE 25.  
L.H. IIIA.

Fairly early L.H. III shape; hollow foot; ribbon handles level with offset rim. Deep buff clay and slip; no decoration.

There are about twelve similar undecorated kylikes in Thebes (Kadmeia). At Khalkis the shape is rare and 409 is the only whole example.<sup>30</sup> It is similar to Stubbings' type B (*BSA* XLII, fig. 9) with the stem more like D.

410 SPEARHEAD, bronze. See p. 93. Vromousa V.

411 SHERDS from Vromousa V.

M.H.: One Grey Minyan. L.H. II: One stippled 'thrush-egg', one figure-of-eight with dots, fragment from same pot with dots and bands, brown on buff. L.H. III: Alabastron with concentric circles on the base, the base of one kylix and sherds of another.<sup>31</sup>

#### 412-424, VROMOUSA I.

412 JUG, with beaked spout. H. 0.235. D. 0.21. Vromousa I. PLATE 24.  
L.H. II-III.

Base of ridged neck dented; firing holes at top and base of ridged handle, which has a 'rivet'; broad body swelling from raised foot. Buff clay and slip, dark brown paint, much worn. Three triple-stemmed lilies with stamens on body,

<sup>28</sup> Thebes 472 Kolonaki T. 26; 502 *ibid.*, T. 14, no. 6; 529 Ismenion T. 3, no. 11; 568 *ibid.*, T. 5, no. 1; 569 *ibid.*, T. 5, no. 2 (not illustrated in *ADelt* III); cf. also Attica, *AJA* XLIII 582, fig. 11; Argive Heraion, *Prosymna*, figs. 260, no. 627, 431 no. 159; Argos, *BMC Vases* I, i, A 1041; Dendra, Persson, *New Tombs*, fig. 104 no. 1a, b; Cyprus, *BMC Vases* I, ii, C 493; Crete, Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, fig. 93; Katsaba, Crete, *CVA Copenhagen* I, pl. 33, 16.

<sup>29</sup> Unless otherwise described, throughout the catalogue these are loop-handles, circular in section.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. a two-handled jug in Thebes; *ADelt* III (1917), fig. 120, 2.

<sup>31</sup> For examples from Dendra, cf. Persson, *New Tombs*, fig. 47, 2, 3; fig. 110, 5.

<sup>32</sup> Inside 409 are sherds of two kylikes, one plain, one covered with streaky paint; see 527 (bowl only), 411, 455, 487, 539.  
<sup>33</sup> There are also Hellenistic, Turkish and modern sherds. It is assumed that the sherds of earlier and later date than the general run of finds come from the fill and percolation of earth in the excavated areas. The Inventory says they come από τὰ χώματα.

running spiral round base of neck, which is barred; two loops below handle, pothook and chevron fill ornaments; wavy stripe on either side of handle-ridge; one band above painted foot. Furumark 144:6 (Myc. III A: 1).

This jug stands between the full Ephyraean style of L.H. II and the more restricted fashion of early L.H. III. Cf. *Korakou*, pls. V and VI 4, and 468. The shape is almost identical with *Korakou*, pl. V. Most of the beak-spouted jugs of this date have argonaut scrolls on them (e.g. 468). One from Ialysos has a similar running spiral at the base of the neck.<sup>32</sup> There is no exact parallel for this jug in Thebes.

413 JUG. H. 0.23. D. 0.17. Vromousa I. PLATE 23.  
L.H. II-III.

Piriform body, handle from horizontal offset rim, blobs of clay at joins to rim and body; faint ridge at base of neck. Cf. 417 for fabric and shape. Pink clay, dark buff slip, well polished; no decoration.

Among fragments, probably from Trypa XI is the neck of a similar jug (fig. 6, and p. 86). There are no undecorated jugs of this metallic shape in Thebes. Their later development may be seen in *BSA* XLII, fig. 20, D.

414 A' ALABASTRON. H. 0.06. D. 0.19. Vromousa I. PLATE 15.  
Early L.H. III.

Buff clay and slip, red paint. On side fig. 2, 6; two lines below neck; base, three concentric circles.

Cf. 450 f' for the L.H. II version of this pattern. *Prosymna*, fig. 709, no. 151, is a similar alabastron with three rows of dots instead of two.

414 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.08. D. 0.19. Vromousa I. PLATE 15.  
L.H. II.

Buff clay, yellowish slip, dark brown worn paint. High crested wave, ending in blob, edged with dots; dots below neck; base, wavy wheel with open hub and four double spokes.

This alabastron is a common shape, and variations of the pattern are to be found at most L.H. II sites.<sup>33</sup> Furumark dates this version IIB on account of the blob (*MycPot* motive 32: 19, fig. 54).

414 f' ALABASTRON. H. 0.04. D. 0.11. Vromousa I. PLATE 15.  
L.H. II.

Paint and fabric damaged. Pinkish clay, buff slip, dark brown worn paint in wave pattern; base, slightly concave, wavy wheel with open hub and four wavy spokes.

In Thebes alabastra with simple wave pattern tend to be L.H. III in date.<sup>34</sup> An almost identical base occurs at Dendra on an alabastron of similar size.<sup>35</sup>

415 ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.048. D. 0.08. Vromousa I. PLATE 18.  
L.H. I-II.

Straight side tapers downwards; one handle missing. Pinkish buff clay and slip, flaky brown paint. Two zones of bands and dots on straight side, wave pattern on shoulder, running quirk round base of neck; base, thick concentric circles.

The nearest parallel seems to be *Korakou*, fig. 52, no. 5, but the base is missing. A comparable but later alabastron is in Thebes<sup>36</sup> and there are several examples from Mycenae.<sup>37</sup> The pattern on the straight side is very like the conventional foliate band on Vapheio cups of L.H. I and II.

416 ALABASTRON, tall. H. 0.075. D. 0.125. Vromousa I. PLATE 16.  
L.H. I-II.

Depressed globular shape with flattened base and flaring rim. One handle and part of body restored. Pink to buff clay and slip, shiny red paint; on side fig. 2, 7; dots over handles, one band above base; base, two concentric circles.

This shape is unusual elsewhere,<sup>38</sup> and is found in varying forms at Khalkis (427, 450 A', 452, 475, 482 A', 553 Z'). It seems to be a cross between an alabastron and a squat M.H. jar which persists in L.H. I at the Argive Heraion (cf. *Prosymna*, 390). The cross-hatched loop is a pattern inherited from M.H. times, and is common at mainland sites.

417 JUG. H. 0.25. D. 0.21. Vromousa I. PLATE 23.  
L.H. II-III.

Shape and fabric as 413. Deep buff clay and slip, smoothly polished. No decoration.

418 A' JAR, miniature with three handles. H. 0.055. Vromousa I. PLATE 23.  
L.H. III, early.

Globular body, two horizontal handles and one vertical, all missing. Buff clay and slip, red to brown paint. Horizontal wavy grass between handles, two bands below, loops from neck.

<sup>32</sup> Ialysos, *Ann* VI-VII, fig. 134.

<sup>33</sup> Thebes: 428 (Kolonaki, T. 26, no. 16); 441 (*ibid.* no. 19); 442 (*ibid.* no. 18); 459 (Hagia Anna T. 2, no. 17); 462 (*ibid.* no. 14); *AE* 1910, figs. 177, 188; 503 (Kolonaki T. 14, no. 11); 521 (*ibid.* T. 9, no. 9, *Adelt* III (1917), fig. 107); 531 (Ismenion T. 3); 549 (*ibid.* T. 2, no. 7). Mycenae: *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XXVII, nos. 2, 3. Argive Heraion: *Prosymna*, fig. 687, no. 1167; fig. 207, no. 1168; sherds from the Aspis, *BMC Vases* I 1, A 797. Asine: *Asine. Results of the Swedish Excavations*, fig. 270, nos. 4-7. Dendra: Persson, *New Tombs* 26, no. 9. Athens: Graef I, pl. 3, no. 722.

<sup>34</sup> They have concentric circles on the base.

<sup>35</sup> Persson, *New Tombs*, fig. 34, 3a-b.

<sup>36</sup> Thebes 433 (Kolonaki, T. 26, no. 28), not illustrated in *Adelt* III (1917), 201. It has a wheel on the base.

<sup>37</sup> *Chamber Tombs*, pls. XXXIII, no. 13, XXXIV, no. 14, XL, nos. 17, 18.

<sup>38</sup> Thebes, *AE* 1910, 225 and figs. 170, 185. *Prosymna*, fig. 104, no. 397, similar shape and design; fig. 137, similar shape only.

418 B' As 418 A'. H. 0.04. Vromousa I. PLATE 23.

Similar fabric and shape, handles missing. Similar decoration, but no loops.

There are two examples in Thebes of this shape, one larger and later (Thebes 671) and one about the same size (Thebes 672).

419 JUG, squat. H. 0.06. D. 0.09. Vromousa I. PLATE 23.  
L.H. II-III.

'Maket Tomb' shape with one flat loop handle low on shoulder, carelessly made. Buff clay and slip, coarse red to brown paint. Lines with pendent loops at shoulder, two bands below; running quirks round base of neck.

This shape begins in L.H. I and does not last long after the beginning of L.H. III. There are no examples in Thebes, but there are six in Volo from Pagasae<sup>39</sup> of about the same date as 419.

420 JAR, piriform, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.10. D. 0.10. Vromousa I. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA.

Rim, part of body and three handles restored; squat piriform shape, slightly ridged foot, sharply curving profile. Pinkish clay, yellow to buff slip, red paint. Two tailed spirals between handles, one below; close bands of paint to foot.

Tailed spirals often occur on jars of this period, e.g. at Thebes<sup>40</sup> and Ialysos.<sup>41</sup>

421 CUP. H. 0.085. D. 0.115. Vromousa I. PLATE 20.  
L.H. IIIA.

Conical with ribbon handle level with rim. Pinkish buff clay and slip, highly polished; scratched lines at rim and round the middle; no decoration.

A later development of the Vaphio shape with obvious metallic connections.

422 BOWL, with one horizontal loop handle. H. 0.03. D. 0.19. Vromousa I. PLATE 19.  
L.H. ?

Part of base and side restored; groove on incurving rim; uneven base; poor condition. Coarse black to brown clay; unpainted and badly burnt. Cf. 549.

423 SHERDS from Vromousa I.<sup>42</sup>  
L.H. III alabastron fragments with spiral decoration.

424 MISCELLANEOUS from Vromousa I.  
BUTTON, steatite. See p. 92 below.  
ARROWHEAD (with no tang) and RING, bronze. See p. 94 below.

#### 425-436, VROMOUSA III.

425 JUG. H. 0.23. D. 0.19. Vromousa III. PLATE 23.  
L.H. IIIA.

Horizontal rim and loop handle springing from below the rim. Deep buff clay, slightly polished; unpainted. Cf. 533.

The fabric and general shape are similar to 413, but it is a later, more compact pot.

Note. With nos. 425-436 are a bronze pin, circular in section, and flat ring of bronze marked Γ' 13.

426 A' ALABASTRON. H. 0.10 (approx.). D. 0.20. Vromousa III. PLATE 16.  
L.H. II.

Buff clay and slip; black to brown paint, neatly painted. High crested wave edged with dots; base, wheel pattern with open hub, and five spokes.

Earlier perhaps than 414 B' in the same series. There is always some variety in the number of spokes in the wheel pattern, and in the use of dotted edge on the shoulder pattern. At Mycenae alabastera which have a dotted edge to the wave pattern usually have the dots repeated below the neck. There are eleven alabastera in Thebes with almost identical patterns. Cf. also 492 A'.

426 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.06. D. 0.165. Vromousa III. PLATE 17.  
L.H. IIIA.

Dark buff clay and slip, red to black paint. On side, FIG. 2, 8; base, six concentric circles in threes.

This is more or less the same pattern as 402 E'. 523 Δ' is an example of the pattern used in L.H. II. Cf. *Chamber Tombs*, pl. LIII 7.

427 ALABASTRON, tall. H. 0.07. D. 0.115. Vromousa III. PLATE 16.  
L.H. II.

Uneven base, restored; depressed globular body, with sharp shoulder and taller neck than 416; but in general it is of the same type. Light buff clay and slip, brown paint. Wave pattern with triple stalk, ivy-leaf between handles, fringed loop round handles, dots at base of neck; band below wave pattern; base, cross in circle.

See 416. Matt-painted pottery from Phylakope in Melos often has a plain cross on the base; this also occurs on Vaphio cups in L.H. I and II at Korakou (Korakou, 40, and pl. IV). The fringe around the handles is an individual feature.

<sup>39</sup> *AM* XIV, pls. IX 1, 6; X 1, 2, 5, 6. For other examples cf. *Prosymna*, 416, Furumark 87, and for examples from Egypt see *Klio* XXXII 145.

<sup>40</sup> Thebes 473 (*Adelt* III (1917), fig. 118, 2), 565 (*Adelt* III (1917), fig. 71).

<sup>41</sup> *Ann* VI-VII, fig. 112.

<sup>42</sup> Also Hellenistic.



428 ALABASTRON, straight sided. H. 0.11. D. 0.15. Vromousa III. PLATE 18.  
L.H. IIIA.

The straight side bulges very slightly; steep shoulder, partly restored. Greenish buff clay and slip, brown paint, much effaced. Curved stripes on shoulder, three lines below neck, six bands on straight side; base, concentric circles.

Cf. *ADelt* III (1917), fig. 113, 3, for a similar alabastron. In Attica, at least, it supersedes the baggy alabastron in L.H. III (*BSA* XLII 43).

429 CUP. H. 0.09. D. 0.115. Vromousa III. PLATE 20.  
L.H. I-II.

Vaphio shape, tapering sharply to the base; plastic band below handle which is mostly restored; rim chipped. Buff clay and slip, streaky brown paint. Conventional foliate band runs round the cup at the base of the handle; three bands below, down to painted foot; spiral on base; rim painted inside and out.

Most mainland sites have several examples of this shape.<sup>43</sup> The Khalkis examples<sup>44</sup> look rather late in the series as they taper very sharply, and have lost most of the original metallic shape.

430 JUG. H. 0.087. D. 0.09. Vromousa III. PLATE 23.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Depressed globular body; loop handle level with rounded rim. Deep buff clay and slip, black to brown shiny paint. Wavy line above and below handle, separated by a band; band round base of neck; rim painted; handle barred; two bands below wavy line to foot.

The wavy line is a common pattern in L.H. III and is probably the formal rendering of the old worn-out wave pattern. For the shape of this jug, cf. *Korakou*, fig. 96, 2. There are two similar jugs in Thebes<sup>45</sup> and one from the Heraion.<sup>46</sup>

431 A' CUP. H. 0.055. D. 0.125. Vromousa III.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Shallow tea-cup shape, base slightly concave; ring handle level with flat rim. Black clay, probably burnt. Cf. 407 for shape, 473 A' and B' for fabric.

This shape is common at Mycenae in L.H. III. Cf. Furumark 236-237.

431 B' CUP. H. 0.04. Vromousa III.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Tea-cup shape, very shallow, with ring handle above rim. Fabric as 431 A', 473 A' and B'. Smooth black clay, probably burnt.

432 (A' and B') WHETSTONES (2). See p. 95 below. Vromousa III.

433 (1-2)<sup>47</sup> BUTTONS, steatite (2). See p. 92 below. Vromousa III.

434-435 SHELLS (2 and 1). See p. 95 below. Vromousa III.

436 BEADS, amber (4). See p. 89 below. Vromousa III.

#### 437-445, VROMOUSA II.

437 JUG, with beaked spout. H. 0.35 (extant). D. 0.25. Vromousa II. PLATE 24.  
L.H. IIIA.

Splayed ridged foot, piriform body; loop handle with ridge; spout broken at tip. Muddy buff clay and slip, dull brown to black paint. Five double spirals, and three below handle in shoulder zone; three bands below; three above painted foot; spout barred; tassel at base of handle. Furumark 144 'other specimens: Chalkis'.

See 412. This is not a very common version of the beak-spouted jug. Thebes 434 (*ADelt* III (1917), fig. 143, no. 1) and *Prosymna*, fig. 126, no. 257, are the nearest parallels for shape, and the *Prosymna* example has a pattern similar but a little later.

With 437, in a paper marked 5, are three beads (see p. 91 below) and six buttons (see pp. 92, 93 below). Also marked B' 12, and with pots from Vromousa II are the bases of two stirrup jars and one kylix, and fragments of a one-handed cup, with offset rim, H. 0.06, reddish clay, slipped buff on the outside only.

Among sherds from Oxyliothos are fragments of a jug of perhaps this type, with spiral pattern (393).

438 A' ALABASTRON. H. 0.065. D. 0.13. Vromousa II. PLATE 15.  
L.H. II-III

Base concave, rim mostly restored. Buff clay and slip; lustrous dark brown paint. Triple stalk ivy-leaves, hatched and with long point, two bands below; base, three concentric circles roughly painted. Furumark 84, 18: motive 12, 26 (fig. 36). Myc. IIIA 1. Fimmen, fig. 77.

The ivy-leaf pattern does not last long after the beginning of L.H. III. There are only two alabastra in Thebes that have ivy-leaf combined with concentric circles on the base.

<sup>43</sup> Two in Thebes (576, 577, *ADelt* III (1917), 135). Cf. also *Prosymna* 395.

<sup>44</sup> 440 is almost identical.

<sup>45</sup> *ADelt* III (1917), fig. 120, 3; and Thebes 544, not illustrated.

<sup>46</sup> *Prosymna*, fig. 558, no. 766. See Stubbings, *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*, pls. XV 3, XVII 5, XVIII 2, for examples from Ras Shamra, Tell Abu Hawam and Sedment.

<sup>47</sup> Most of the small finds are listed in the Inventory under one number. I have added numbers in brackets, where necessary, for ease of classification.

438 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.055. D. 0.20. Vromousa II. PLATE 15.  
L.H. IIIA.

Very flat type, good condition. Buff clay and slip, dull brown paint. Triple stalk ivy-leaf with blade of grass springing from its base, long blobbed point to leaf, wavy stalk; base, four concentric circles in two's.

An unusual version of the ivy-leaf decoration; the shape is common.

438 Γ' ALABASTRON. H. 0.065. D. 0.145. Vromousa II. PLATE 15.  
L.H. II.

Buff clay and slip, brown to black paint much defaced. On side FIG. 2, 9, three bands below; base, wavy wheel with five spokes and open hub.

The ivy-leaf is a very common decoration on alabaster, and is particularly suited to the squat shape. At Khalkis it occurs on twelve alabaster.

438 Δ' ALABASTRON. H. 0.055. D. 0.105. Vromousa II. PLATE 15.  
Early L.H. II.

Buff clay and slip, streaky brown paint, defaced. On side FIG. 2, 10, dots round base of neck and over handles; base, wheel with five double spokes, straight rather than wavy, thick open hub. See 438 Γ'.

439 A' ALABASTRON. H. 0.075. D. 0.20. Vromousa II. PLATE 15.  
L.H. II.

Poor condition, one handle and part of base missing. Pinkish clay, buff slip, brown paint which has flaked off. Wave pattern; base, crudely painted wavy cross. See 402 Γ'.

439 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.06 (approx.). D. 0.17. Vromousa II.  
L.H. IIIA.

Neck and two handles restored. Greenish buff clay, buff slip, black paint much worn. Wave pattern; base, two concentric circles.

440 CUP. H. 0.09. D. 0.12. Vromousa II. PLATE 20.  
L.H. I-II.

Vaphio shape; plastic band above foot. Buff clay and slip, bright red to brown shiny paint. Conventional foliate band at level of handle base; rim painted inside and out; plastic band painted; thick band and one thin below; spiral on base. Cf. 429 for shape and decoration.

441 JAR, piriform with three vertical handles (fragmentary). H. 0.15 (extant). D. of base 0.068. Vromousa II.  
L.H. II-III.

Lower portion only. One handle of metallic form, and a few fragments inside. Dirty buff clay and slip, dark brown paint. Net pattern well below handles, lines to foot.

A fairly common combination of shape and pattern, seen at most sites on the mainland and in the Dodecanese. Cf. 519 A' and 555.

442 JAR, squat with two vertical handles. H. 0.095. D. 0.093. Vromousa II. PLATE 22.  
L.H. IIIB.

Both handles restored, ridged foot, collar neck; cf. 546. Deep pink clay, streaky brown to red paint all over.

Not a common shape. There are two similar jars without the raised foot in *Prosymna* (figs. 329, no. 736; 368, no. 250), and one among finds at Metaxata in Kephallenia, with only one handle (*AE* 1933, 84, fig. 30, B8). All are painted all over.

443 BOWL, conical. H. 0.045. D. 0.127. Vromousa II. PLATE 19.  
L.H. III.

Pink clay, buff slip; undecorated; string marks on base.

With 443, one uncatalogued fragment of a similar bowl.

See 408.

444 A' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.115. D. 0.105. Vromousa II. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA.

Piriform shape; handles set high on shoulder; cf. 420 which is a little more squat. Buff clay and slip, brown to black paint. Cross-hatched shoulder zone well below handles; two zones of lines below; foot painted; band below neck.

An early example of a decoration very common on wide-mouthed piriform jars (cf. 479 B').<sup>48</sup>

444 B' JAR, with three vertical ridged handles. H. 0.123. D. 0.10. Vromousa II. PLATE 21.  
L.H. II-III.

Elongated piriform shape, ridged foot, wide neck, and horizontal rim. Buff clay and slip, streaky brown paint. Ivy-leaf with triple wavy stalk between handles which have large surround of paint; wave pattern below, and alternate zones of bands and lines to painted foot.

Almost identical in shape and design with a jar from Ialysos (*Ann* VI-VII, fig. 48), and one from the Argive Heraion (*Prosymna*, fig. 717, no. 176).

445 (1-3) BUTTONS, steatite (3). See p. 92. Vromousa II.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Hesperia* IX 281, fig. 19, with vertical handles.

## 446-455, VROMOUSA IV.

446 JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.27. D. 0.20. Vromousa IV. PLATE 20.  
L.H. II.

Very tall neck with flaring horizontal rim, loop handles high on shoulder, sharp curve to ridged foot. Dirty buff clay and slip, dull brown to black paint. On body FIG. 2, 11a; on rim FIG. 2, 11b.

This pattern has been called an imitation of metal,<sup>49</sup> the dots below the neck being 'rivets'. The same design, however, imitates a boar's tusk helmet on an ivory relief at Mycenae (*Schachtgräber*, fig. 94). A jar of the same type and decoration, but a little later, is *Prosymna* fig. 374, no. 901.<sup>50</sup> Tall necks occur on piriform jars from Ialysos (*CVA Rhodes II*, pl. 5, 2-4).

447 JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.10. D. 0.115. Vromousa IV. PLATE 22.  
L.H. I-II.

Unusual shape; body almost conical, sharp shoulder angle and flat shoulder area, short neck, rim entirely restored; loop handles, one restored, at shoulder angle. Buff clay, yellowish slip, dark brown paint thickly applied. Bands from foot to shoulder; on shoulder FIG. 2, 12, neck painted, handles painted on outside only. This shape is not included in Furumark's typology, nor is there a similar vase in *Prosymna*.

The pot, with its laid-on handles, looks like an imitation of metal, and the thick horizontal bands of paint recall the silver ewer from the fifth Shaft Grave (*Schachtgräber*, 855, pl. CXXXIV).

447 B' CUP. H. 0.027. D. 0.11. Vromousa IV. PLATE 19.  
L.H. III.

Shallow type, high swung loop handle, flat rim. Pinkish buff clay and slip, slightly polished, no decoration. For shape cf. 473 A'.

447 Γ' CUP. H. 0.015. D. 0.09. Vromousa IV.  
L.H. III.

As 447 B' but shallower. Bright red clay, pink slip, no decoration.

448 JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.095. D. 0.085. Vromousa IV. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA.

Piriform shape, splaying base, wide curve to shoulder, clumsy handles, wide neck and uneven rim. Pink clay, buff slip, brown to red paint. Net pattern on shoulder zone and below handles; bands to foot.

Stubbings' type B (*BSA XLII*, fig. 19); see also *op. cit.* 44 where the type is fully discussed. It is common in Cyprus. For other examples at Khalkis cf. 470, 479 A'-Γ', 519 B'. There is one from Oxylythos (387 B', H. 0.14).

449 A' JAR, with basket handle and spout. H. 0.165. D. 0.125. Vromousa IV. PLATE 22.  
L.H. IIIA.

So-called feeding bottle; squat piriform body, offset rim to jar and tubular spout. Flat handle at right angles to spout. Deep buff clay, orange slip, deep red to purple paint. Four tailed spirals in shoulder zone, one small spiral on either side of spout; two bands at base and below neck; loop round base of striped spout, handle barred. Cf. 449 B'.

For discussion of this shape and its use cf. *Prosymna*, 258 (over twenty examples) and *Chamber Tombs*, 162, 167. There is a possible Early Bronze Age prototype of the shape among pottery from Manika (Papavasileiou, pl. I A' γ, 7). 449 A' and B' are early examples of the shape in L.H. times (cf. *BSA XLII* 53). There are no feeding bottles in Thebes; the only other examples with the handle at right angles to the spout known to me are from Rhodes (*Ann VI-VII*, fig. 63.) in L.H. III context, Amorgos (Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 2, 19), also L.H. III, and the Submycenaean types of Cyprus (Sjöqvist, *Problems of the late Cypriot Bronze Age*, fig. 18, 2a, b). A feeding bottle from Asine in the Nauplia museum has tailed spirals on it; *Chamber Tombs*, pl. LIV 13 has a similar offset rim to the spout.

449 B' JAR, with basket handle and spout. H. 0.155. D. 0.105. Vromousa IV. PLATE 22.  
L.H. IIIA.

So-called feeding bottle; globular body, long spout, tubular and splayed with offset rim; offset rim to pinched neck; tall flat handle at right angles to spout. Buff clay and slip, red to brown paint. Net pattern with three bands below and one at base; neck and spout painted; handle barred.

Cf. 449 A'. 449 B' is a little earlier than 449 A'. 449 B' and 448 look as if they were made by the same potter.

449 Γ' (1-5) BUTTONS, steatite (4), BEAD (1). See pp. 92 and 90. Vromousa IV.

450 A' ALABASTRON, tall. H. 0.105. D. 0.18. Vromousa IV. PLATE 16.  
L.H. II.

Flattened base, depressed globular body, short neck, offset grooved rim; poor condition. Buff clay, dirty buff slip, red to brown matt paint. On side (one rosette to each handle zone), FIG. 2, 13; paint on the handles ends in a tail; band of paint below wave pattern, and one thick circle round base. No pattern on base. See 416. Cf. *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XXXIX 30.

450 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.06. D. 0.164. Vromousa IV. PLATE 15.  
L.H. IIIA.

Small handles. Buff clay and slip, red to brown paint much defaced. Tailed spirals (curve-stemmed) between and below handles; two bands below; base, six concentric circles in two's. See 402 Δ'.

<sup>49</sup> PM IV 275-6, figs. 208-9.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. also two Argive imports at Malthi, Valmin, *Swedish Messemia Expedition*, pl. XX 32, 33. In Thebes the pattern is generally combined with other designs, cf. Thebes 873, 456 (*AE* 1910, 221 and pl. X 1).

450 Γ' ALABASTRON. H. 0.065. D. 0.18. Vromousa IV. PLATE 16.  
L.H. II.

Dark buff clay, buff slip, red paint. On side FIG. 2, 14; base, wheel with open hub and five double wavy spokes. See 414 B', 426 A'.

450 Δ' ALABASTRON. H. 0.055. D. 0.108. Vromousa IV. PLATE 17.  
L.H. IIIA.

Buff clay and slip, streaky brown to black paint. Wave pattern, two rows of seven dots between handles; base, five concentric circles in groups of two and one. Cf. *Chamber Tombs*, pl. LVII 21, 22, for decoration.

451 A' ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.095. D. 0.14. Vromousa IV. PLATE 18.  
L.H. IIIA.

Base slightly curved, small handles; poor condition. Greenish clay, yellowish grey slip, brown to black paint, defaced. Nine running spirals around straight side between band at shoulder angle and at base; wavy line on shoulder zone with blobs top and bottom; base, five concentric circles, in groups of two and one.

At most sites this shape is more common than the baggy alabastron in L.H. III, and develops into a pyxis (cf. *BSA* XLII 43). To judge by the shoulder decoration, 451 A' and B' come from the same pottery. A similar decoration occurs on a straight-sided alabastron from Ialysos (*CVA Rhodes* II, pl. 6, 4).

451 B' ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.08. D. 0.135. Vromousa IV. PLATE 18.  
L.H. IIIA.

Straight side tapering downwards; good condition. Dirty buff clay, grey slip, dark brown to black shiny paint, uneven. Deep wavy line around straight side, band at shoulder angle, double zig-zag with blobs (cf. 451 A') top and bottom on shoulder zone; base, three concentric circles.

See 451 A'. Cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 109, no. 212, for a similar alabastron with wavy line around the straight side.

451 Γ' ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.06. D. 0.10. Vromousa IV. PLATE 18.  
L.H. IIIA.

Buff clay and slip, red to brown paint. Tailed spirals on straight side between two bands; casual double wavy line between handles, band at base of neck; base, four carelessly painted concentric circles.

See 451 A'. Cf. *BMC Vases* I, i, A 815, 816; and *Ann VI-VII*, fig. 111, all from Ialysos.

451 Δ' ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.07. D. 0.104. Vromousa IV. PLATE 18.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Shape as 451 B'. Buff clay, streaky red to brown paint all over.

452 ALABASTRON, tall. H. 0.09 (approx). D. 0.115. Vromousa IV. PLATE 16.  
L.H. I.

Depressed angular body, handles set high on shoulder, short neck, flaring rim; most of rim and entire base are restored. Deep buff clay, pink slip, bright red to brown worn paint. Three thin and one broad blades of grass between and below handles.

An early example of the fusion of two pot types (M.H. jar and alabastron) noted under 416; cf. also 427. The pattern occurs on several L.H. I pots.<sup>51</sup> A pot of this shape has recently been found at Dramesi opposite Euboea, near Aulis (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pl. 7, 3).

453 JUG, with cutaway neck. H. 0.18 (approx). D. 0.15. Vromousa IV. PLATE 23.  
L.H. I-II.

Globular body, narrow neck slightly cut away, loop handle level with horizontal rim. Light buff clay and pinkish slip, polished; no decoration. Cf. 533 for a similar Yellow Minyan fabric.

The type of M.H. jug with cutaway neck persists in this example, but it would be difficult to date it with any precision. The handle has a L.H. I look about it (cf. 481). Cf. *Chamber Tombs*, pl. III 1, for the slightly cutaway neck, and pls. XXXIV 20, XLII 10, for the fabric.

454 ALABASTRON, or squat jar with no handles. H. 0.06. D. 0.065. Vromousa IV. PLATE 22.  
L.H. III.

Almost globular with short neck. Pinkish buff clay and slip, undecorated.

455 SHERDS from Vromousa IV.  
Two sherds from 446.  
L.H. II.

Palace Style jar, decorated with large palm motif. Alabastron with wheel on base.

Six sherds with a fish design.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

FIG. 2, 15, possibly from a krater.

Kylix fragments.

<sup>51</sup> E.g. at Mycenae, prehistoric cemetery, *Mycenae*, fig. 70a; on a spouted jug with basket handle in Thebes, Ismenion T. 5 (*Adelt* III (1917), fig. 61b), and on a deep 'tea-cup'; cf. also a sherd from Eutresis (Goldman, *Eutresis*, fig. 260, 6); and *Korakou*, fig. 63, 2.



459-467, TRYPA IX.

459<sup>32</sup> FIGURINE, clay. Trypa IX. See p. 87.460 A' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.10. D. 0.136. Trypa IX. PLATE 25.  
L.H. IIIB.

Depressed globular, raised base. Buff clay and slip, red to brown paint. Shoulder, dotted and barred circles; two zones of bands and fine lines on body, separated by wide zone with two lines in the middle; concentric circles on disc. Stubbings' type D (*BSA* XLII, fig. 2). There are three examples in Thebes (661, 664, 732) and five in Khalkis.

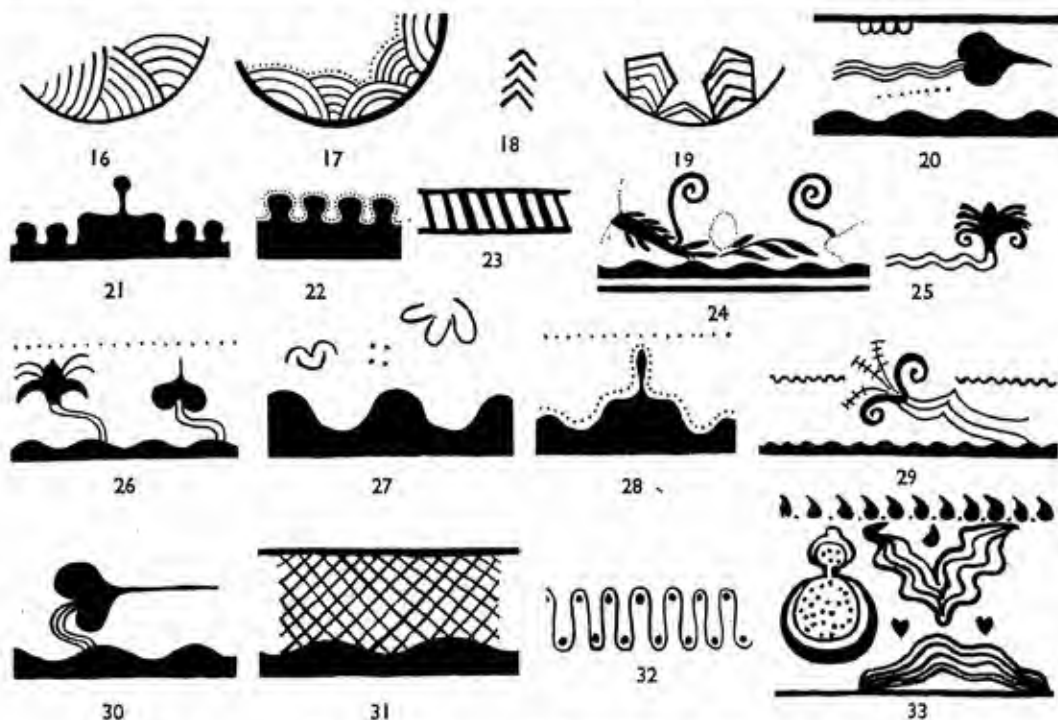


FIG. 3.—DECORATIVE PATTERNS 16-33.

460 B' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.098. D. 0.15. Trypa IX. PLATE 25.  
L.H. IIIB.

Depressed globular, flatter than 460 A'; wheel marks on base very clear; handle restored. Pinkish buff clay and slip, bright red to brown paint, casually applied. Shoulder zone, circles with dots inside, stirrup barred; rough circle of paint on disc; alternate thick and thin bands from shoulder to greatest diameter, wide empty zone below.

Shoulder pattern, cf. *BSA* XLII, fig. 5, nos. 7, 8.

460 Γ' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.085. D. 0.125. Trypa IX. PLATE 25.  
L.H. IIIB.

Depressed globular as 460 A'. Grey clay, greenish grey slip, black paint. On shoulder FIG. 2, 16; two zones of bands and fine lines on body; concentric circles on disc.

Shoulder pattern as *BSA* XLII, fig. 4, no. 8.

460 Δ' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.075. D. 0.12. Trypa IX. PLATE 25.  
L.H. IIIB.

Flat-topped type, with ring base. Buff clay and slip, shiny brown paint. On shoulder FIG. 3, 17, similar to Salamis Class; on body, two zones of bands and fine lines; handle barred. There are only two other examples of this shape in the catalogue, no. 531, from Trypa XI, and an unnumbered example with it, both fragmentary.

Stubbings' type E (*BSA* XLII, fig. 2). There are three examples of this type in Thebes: 725, *Adelt* III (1917), fig. 90, no. 6; 639, from Kolonaki T. 25; 572, from Ismenion T. 5 (*Adelt*, loc. cit. 96).

<sup>32</sup> 456-458 in the inventory are Protogeometric finds from Arethusa.

460 E' <sup>52</sup> STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.085. D. 0.105. Trypa IX. PLATE 25.  
L.H. III?B.

Depressed globular, as 460 A'. Buff clay and slip, dark brown paint, worn. Shoulder zone empty; disc reserved; two zones of bands and fine lines on body, empty zone above greatest diameter.

460 G' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.065. D. 0.065. Trypa IX. PLATE 25.  
L.H. III?B.

Depressed globular as 460 A' but with tall spout and stirrup. Buff clay and slip, red to brown paint. Shoulder, chevron on either side of the spout, wavy line in main zone, reserved disc; loop around both ends of stirrup; five bands on body.

460 Z' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.09. D. 0.09. Trypa IX. PLATE 25.  
L.H. III?A.

Globular with raised base; spout broken. Deep buff clay and slip, red to brown paint. In shoulder zone, FIG. 3, 18; triangular reserved space on either side of painted ring on the disc; two zones of bands and fine lines on body separated, as in 460 A', by empty zone with two fine lines in the middle.

Stubbings' type A (*BSA* XLII, fig. 2). Shoulder pattern, *op. cit.* fig. 4, no. 9. As at other sites where stirrup-jars are found, this is the most common shape at Khalkis. There are fourteen in Thebes, and the same number in Khalkis.

460 H' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.11. D. 0.105. Trypa IX. PLATE 25.  
L.H. III A or B.

Globular as 460 Z'; ring base missing in part. Buff clay and slip, dark brown paint. Shoulder, concentric angles; reserved circle on disc; two zones of bands and fine lines on body, with empty zone above and below greatest diameter.

Shoulder pattern as *BSA* XLII, fig. 4, no. 7.

460 Θ' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.08. D. 0.08. Trypa IX. PLATE 25.  
L.H. III A or B.

Globular type as 460 Z'. Buff clay and slip, brown paint, worn. On shoulder, FIG. 3, 19; disc as 460 Z'; zones on body as 460 H'.

460 I' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.08. D. 0.08. Trypa IX. PLATE 25.  
L.H. III A or B.

Depressed globular as 460 A', broken. Dark buff clay and slip, shiny dark brown paint. Shoulder, chevrons as 460 H'; concentric circles on disc; two zones of bands and fine lines on body.

460 IΑ' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.105. D. 0.103. Trypa IX. PLATE 25.  
L.H. III?A.

Globular as 460 Z'. Buff clay and slip, dark brown paint. Shoulder, concentric arcs as 460 Γ'; ring and dot on disc; zones on body as 460 H'.

461 ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.09. D. 0.125. Trypa IX. PLATE 18.  
L.H. IIIA.

Flat bottom, vertical side slightly in-curving, tall neck, sloping rim; very good condition. Good buff clay and slip, fine red paint. No decoration on shoulder, band and fine lines at base of neck, fine lines on rim and on straight side between bands at shoulder angle and at bottom; base, six concentric circles in threes.

See 451 A'. This particularly neat example is very similar in technique to the globular stirrup-jars from the same tomb.

462 A' ALABASTRON. H. 0.06. D. 0.08. Trypa IX. PLATE 18.  
L.H. IIIA.

Compact L.H. III shape, short neck, sloping rim. Buff clay and slip, red paint; fabric and method of painting similar to 461. Wave pattern, thin lines below neck, and on rim; base, concentric circles.

Stubbings' type B (*BSA* XLII, fig. 18). The shape is found at most L.H. III sites, and in Thebes there are about eight examples of this shape with two instead of three handles. 389 A' from Oxythos is of this type and decoration.

462 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.068. D. 0.093. Trypa IX.  
L.H. IIIA.

Shape as 462 A' but with taller neck. Reddish clay, pink slip, red paint, much defaced. Wave pattern; base, concentric circles.

462 Γ' ALABASTRON. H. 0.073. D. 0.095. Trypa IX. PLATE 18.  
L.H. IIIA.

Shape as 462 A' with a taller neck. Light buff clay and slip, dark red to brown paint. Alternating V or zig-zag between handles, which have strokes of paint across the base and on top; lines below neck; zone of bands and fine lines on body; base, concentric circles with a filled centre.

462 Δ' ALABASTRON. H. 0.071. D. 0.09. Trypa IX. PLATE 17.  
L.H. IIIA.

Shape as 462 A'. Deep pink clay, unpainted.

<sup>52</sup> This number is conjectural as none is marked on this or any of the seven vases following 460 Δ', but they are all listed together in the Inventory.

463 JAR, with basket-handle and spout. H. 0.11. D. 0.08. Trypa IX. PLATE 22.  
L.H. III.

Almost globular body on raised base, narrow neck with flaring rim, handle set in line with narrow tubular spout. Light buff clay and slip, dark brown paint almost entirely worn off. Bands round body. See 449 A' and cf. BSA XLII 53, and fig. 22, C.

464 JUG. H. 0.086. D. 0.08. Trypa IX. PLATE 23.  
L.H. IIIB.

Piriform body, raised base, very narrow neck, possibly a miniature version of the beak-spouted jug of this period. Pinkish clay and slip, dark brown paint. Two bands around the body and at base of neck; handle and lip striped. *Prosymna*, fig. 103, no. 880, is a similar jug.

464 A'. JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.115. D. 0.102. Trypa IX. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIC.

The body is almost of a peg-top shape on very narrow conical base; handles missing, curving rim. Buff clay, red paint all over.

This pot looks late, but no parallel can be found for its shape.

465 BOWL, with spout and two handles. H. 0.055. D. 0.095. Trypa IX. PLATE 19.  
L.H. IIIB-C.

Ogival profile, horizontal loop handles set at right angles to short spout; flat rim. Buff clay and slip, orange paint. Bands and fine lines round lower part, rim painted outside, band below rim inside; concentric circles on base.

Stubbings' type E (BSA XLII, fig. 16). Ogival bowls quite so small as this are very rare. There are no bowls of this shape in Thebes. Among sherds from Oxyliothos are fragments of an ogival bowl of c. 0.23 diameter (393).

466 TANKARD. H. 0.05. D. 0.065. Trypa IX. Plate 19.  
L.H. III B or C.

Uneven base, incurving side, large loop handle, rim slightly flaring. Greenish clay and slip, brown paint, worn. Band at rim and base, handle barred at base and rim, circle on base.

A small version of Stubbings' type B (BSA XLII, fig. 14). There are no tankards in Thebes.

467 CUP, with bridged spout. H. 0.04. D. 0.125. Trypa IX. PLATE 19.  
L.H. III A or B.

Raised base, comparatively deep bowl, rim slightly offset, short spout at right angles to loop handle. Pale green clay as in 466; purple to black paint, much worn. Foot, handle, and rim painted, bands on bowl. Cf. *Prosymna*, 428 (eighteen examples), and BSA XLII 34 on a use of this type of cup. There is a similar cup with band decoration in Thebes (no. 682). This is common in the Argolid, and as the clay of this pot is green, and it is the only example of the shape in Khalkis, it may be an import.

Inside 467 are fragments of a cup with loop handle above the rim. H. without handle 0.04, D. 0.095 (approx.). Presumably from Trypa IX.

Almost conical shape, cf. 521. Buff clay, streaky brown paint inside and out.

#### 468-478, TRYPA VII.

468 JUG, with beaked spout. H. 0.275. D. 0.208. Trypa VII. PLATE 24.  
L.H. IIIA.

Shape less pronounced than 412, raised base, sloping handle with 'rivet' at base, ridge round base of neck. Buff clay and slip, red paint. Three conventional argonaut scrolls on body, petal and dot band below neck, neck and spout barred, one band above painted foot. One of the scrolls has a triangular body from which the arms of the scroll originate. Furmark, 144—'other specimens, Chalkis' (Myc. III A.1).

See 412, 437. Stubbings' type B (BSA XLII, fig. 20). This jug is fairly early in a widespread series of pots, nearly all of which have some version of the argonaut scroll. This is a pattern well suited to their swelling shape and also links on to a class of pattern on Ephraean ware (*Korakou*, 54, fig. 76).

469 A' ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.115. D. 0.135. Trypa VII. PLATE 18.  
L.H. I-II.

Unusual high shape, one handle missing, curving rim. Cf. 520 A'. Yellowish buff clay and slip; dark purple to brown paint. Bands and dots from neck to base; base, wavy wheel with open hub and four double spokes.

Such a tall alabastron of the pyxis type is unusual before L.H. III, but this pot from its decoration can hardly be later than early L.H. II. The dots and bands resemble the foliate band on Vaphio cups. I can find no parallel for it except in 520 A' (very similar in shape), 526 which has a less angular profile, and Thebes *ADelt* III (1917), fig. 143, no. 5, a similar pot in shape and decoration, but of poor quality.

469 B' ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.095. D. 0.12. Trypa VII. PLATE 18.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Curved base tapering slightly to rounded shoulder, rather narrow neck, flat rim; handles restored, poor condition. Buff clay and slip, red to brown paint. Stripes on shoulder, lines round body; base, eight concentric circles in groups of four.

This shape, a variant on 461, is common in many areas (e.g. Rhodes, Attica). There are two from Oxyliothos in Khalkis (388 A' and B', the latter almost identical with 469 B').

469  $\Gamma'$  ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.12. D. 0.165. Trypa VII.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Shape as 428 but tapering downwards. Buff clay and slip, red paint almost entirely worn off. Double wavy line on shoulder; base, five concentric circles in groups of three and two.

470 JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.12. D. 0.105. Trypa VII. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA.

Shape as 448; small handles, one missing. Buff clay, streaky red to brown paint all over, even under handles; the vase was painted before applying the handles (cf. 519 A' for a second instance of this).

471 JAR, globular. H. 0.102. D. 0.11. Trypa VII. PLATE 22.  
L.H. II-III.

Flat base, short neck, horizontal flaring rim, metallic ridge at base of neck. Buff clay and slip, dark brown paint. Stippling all over the body; two bands below the painted neck and at the base.

Cf. *BSA* XLII, pl. 12, 7. This is a shape which appears to have been influenced by the ostrich egg rhyton. *Mycenae*, fig. 47a, shows stippled sherds from the Treasury of Atreus, which are L.H. II-III date. Some of them might be from a similar jar. A jar of similar shape and decoration in Thebes appears to be earlier in date.

472 A' ALABASTRON, tall. H. 0.06. D. 0.104. Trypa VII. PLATE 16.  
L.H. II-III.

Shape similar to 416. Buff clay and slip, bright red paint. Ivy-leaf with double wavy stalk, two badly painted bands below; base, rough circle.

472 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.045. D. 0.095. Trypa VII. PLATE 17.  
L.H. IIIA.

Shape as 450 A', with smaller neck. Yellowish buff clay and slip, dark brown paint. Continuous wave pattern, three rows of eleven dots between handles; base, four concentric circles in groups of two. Cf. 450  $\Delta'$  for decoration.

472  $\Gamma'$  ALABASTRON. H. 0.06. D. 0.126. Trypa VII. PLATE 16.  
L.H. II.

Rounded base, sharply curving profile, handles set low; poor condition, two handles missing and most of rim restored. Buff clay and slip, shiny red to brown paint, much damaged. On side fig. 3, 20, pendent loops below neck; base, wheel with open hub and four triple wavy spokes, inside two rough concentric circles.

Pendent loops occur on the squat jug (L.H. I) from the Maket Tomb (Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, pl. XXVI). See also Furumark, *MycPot* fig. 57; motive 42.

472  $\Delta'$  ALABASTRON. H. 0.06. D. 0.188. Trypa VII.  
L.H. II-III.

Shape as 414 A'. Part of rim, one handle and part of base restored. Pinkish buff clay and slip, shiny red paint, much damaged. On side fig. 3, 21; base, six concentric circles in groups of three.

Cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 454, no. 151 and p. 420. There are six alabastera in Thebes with similar or comparable decoration; they are much larger pots, but the clay and method of painting is very similar to 472  $\Delta'$ . Two (Thebes 499, 500, both from Kolonaki, T. 14, probably nos. 8, 9 in *ADelt* III (1917), 152 and fig. 113) have high-crested wave pattern and concentric circles on the base.

472 E' ALABASTRON. H. 0.065. D. 0.20. Trypa VII. PLATE 15.  
L.H. II.

Shape and decoration as 439 A'. Poor condition. Buff clay, yellow slip, dark brown worn paint. Wave pattern; base, badly painted wheel, with four double spokes. See 402  $\Gamma'$ .

472 G' ALABASTRON. H. 0.068. D. 0.20. Trypa VII. PLATE 17.  
L.H. II-III.

Shape as 414 A'. Poor condition, two handles missing, fabric damaged. Reddish clay, grey in the middle of the biscuit, thin buff slip, red shiny paint. On side fig. 3, 22; pattern goes over the handles; base, spiral inside three concentric circles.

This version of the wave pattern does not occur in Furumark, *MycPot* fig. 54.

473 A' CUP, shallow with handle above the rim. H. 0.038 (without handle). D. 0.115. Trypa VII. PLATE 19.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Handle restored; shape similar to 447 B', but deeper and with more pronounced base; flat rim. Pinkish buff clay purple to black paint all over; very clear wheel marks.

Eleven examples of this shape were found at the Argive Heraion, two of which are Grey Minyan (*Prosymna*, 430, and figs. 235, no. 470; 530, no. 1032). See *BSA* XLII 35 for an example from Attica painted all over. In Thebes and Rhodes the shape occurs but the fabric is entirely different (cf. Thebes 573 from Ismenion T. 2, and *Ann* VI-VII, fig. 81 from Ialysos).

473 B' CUP, bell-shaped. H. 0.046. D. 0.077. Trypa VII. PLATE 19.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Poor condition, restored; ribbon handle level with rim, raised base. Thin grey clay, darker slip, slightly polished. No decoration. Cf. 473 A'.

Similar to Stubbings' type A (*BSA* XLII, fig. 14). See *ibid.*, 51, on the persistence of Minyan in L.H. III.



474 BOWL. H. 0.07. D. 0.15. Trypa VII. PLATE 19.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Hemispherical with raised base, which has pronounced wheel marks on it. Fabric as 473 B', damaged and chipped. It looks as if it had been burned. Nos. 473 A', B', 474 probably belong to the same burial.

475 ALABASTRON, tall. H. 0.085. D. 0.13. Trypa VII. PLATE 16.  
L.H. II early, or Transitional I-II.

Same type as 416. Depressed globular body with flattened base and small neck; two handles missing. Pinkish buff clay and slip, shiny red paint carelessly applied and much worn. Cross-hatched loop with tassel, wave pattern below handles only, tassel on base of handles; two bands below main zone; base, wavy cross with double lines inside a circle.

Cf. *Klio* XXXII 145, no. 2. See also 553 Z'. The shape and pattern recall the one-handed jug known as the Maket Jug. Cf. also *Prosymna* figs. 667, no. 1005; 654, no. 870; 690, nos. 46, 62; 683, nos. 611, 42, 137.

476 A'-Δ' FIGURINES, clay (4). See pp. 87-88 below. Trypa VII.

477 FIGURINE, clay (1). See p. 88 below. Trypa VII.

478 (1-4) BUTTONS, steatite (4). See p. 92 below. Trypa VII.

#### 479-486, TRYPA VI.

479 A' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.125. D. 0.12. Trypa VI. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Advanced piriform. Small handles, two of which are restored. Brown clay, thick cream slip, purple paint much defaced. In shoulder zone FIG. 3, 23; bands around body; striped rim. See 448.

479 B' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.125. D. 0.11. Trypa VI. PLATE 22.  
L.H. IIIA.

Piriform, with pronounced base-ring as in 479 A' but with a less top-heavy profile; curving rim. Pinkish clay, buff shiny slip, red to brown paint. Cross-hatching between handles; fine lines below shoulder and above foot; rim striped.

See 448. This jar looks earlier than 479 A'. Cross-hatching on similar jars occurs at Tell-el-Amarna (Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. XXVI, nos. 18, 21, 22). Cf. also *ADelt* III (1917), 128 and fig. 90, no. 4, for examples in Thebes, and Schaeffer, *Missions en Chypre*, pl. XXXIII, no. 1, for an example from Enkomi.

479 Γ' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.135. D. 0.12. Trypa VI. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Shape as 479 B', with narrower splaying foot, and sloping rim. Pinkish clay, cream slip, red to black paint. Reversed N pattern between handles, two zones of bands and five lines below shoulder zone and one above foot.

See 448. This pattern occurs at Tell-el-Amarna (Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pls XXVII, no. 50, XXVIII, no. 77, XXIX, nos. 98, 99). It is on a straight-sided alabastron from Oxyliothos (388 Γ'). Cf. also *BSA* XLII, fig. 15, 1.

480 A' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.085. D. 0.074. Trypa VI. PLATE 21.  
L.H. II-III A.

Piriform, with wide base and wide curving rim. Cream clay and slip, black paint. Triple-stalk ivy-leaf between and below handles, wave pattern below, two rows of quirks as filling ornament, bands and fine lines round body; dots below neck and on rim.

Earlier examples of this shape occur at Mycenae, *Chamber Tombs*, pl. IV, no. 2, and the Argive Heraion, *Prosymna*, fig. 106, no. 412. A slightly larger jar from Eleusis also looks a little earlier (Mylonas, *Προϊστορική Ἐλευσίς*, fig. 108, no. 373).

480 B' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.105. D. 0.10. Trypa VI. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Shape as 479 A'. Buff clay and slip, red paint much defaced. Decoration as 479 A'.

481 JUG, with cutaway neck. H. 0.17. D. 0.13. Trypa VI. PLATE 24.  
L.H. I.

Globular with a narrow raised base, and thick loop handle springing from just above the greatest diameter. Greenish clay and slip, purple to black paint, matt rather than lustrous. Two argonaut scrolls on either side of the handle rising out of a fish-like body edged with leaves or fins, wave pattern and one band below, FIG. 3, 24; one band above foot.

This jug, poor though its condition is, represents a fusion of tradition and novelty. The shape (cf. 453) has M.H. (cf. Goldman, *Eutresis*, fig. 220, no. 2) and even Middle-Cycladic relations, and it is the fishes on Melian frescoes and pottery that this design recalls. L.H. and Mainland characteristics are shown in the limitation of the design to a zone above a wave pattern. The cutaway-neck jugs from Korakou (*Korakou*, 41), and one from the Argive Heraion (*Prosymna*, fig. 105, no. 371) are similar in shape, but the pattern here appears to be unique. 394 from Oxyliothos is a L.H. III survival of this shape.

482 A' ALABASTRON, tall. H. 0.07. D. 0.11. Trypa VI. PLATE 16.  
L.H. II.

Angular profile similar to 427, 452. Poor condition; entire base, most of rim and part of body restored. Buff clay and slip, red paint much defaced. On side FIG. 3, 25 between handles, one band below and one at the base of the neck.

See 452. This pattern occurs on two shallow cups in Thebes (Kolonaki, T. 14).

482 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.075. D. 0.165. Trypa VI.  
L.H. II or late L.H. I.

Poor condition, neck, part of body and base restored. Light buff clay and slip, brown to black paint. On side FIG. 3, 26; base, wheel with wavy spokes.

Cf. *Prosymna*, figs. 345, no. 987; 188, no. 379 (in L.H. I context); *Chamber Tombs*, pl. V, no. 7; Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἑλλάς, fig. 106; Persson, *New Tombs*, fig. 110, no. 2.

483 CUP. H. 0.05. D. 0.145. Trypa VI.  
L.H. III.

Shallow tea-cup shape with flat handle level with rim. Poor condition, handle and most of cup restored. Pinkish buff clay, unpainted.

Stubbings' type A (*BSA XLII*, fig. 13).

484 JUG. H. 0.068. D. 0.065. Trypa VI. PLATE 23.  
L.H. IIIC.

Brownish clay and slip, brown to black paint. Bands round lower part of body, carelessly drawn arcs on shoulder, handle barred.

Cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 125, no. 240.

485 STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.10. D. 0.10. Trypa VI. PLATE 25.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Globular type with raised foot. Buff clay and slip, dark brown paint. Concentric arcs on shoulder, zones of bands and fine lines round the body; circle on disc. See 460 Z'.

486 ALABASTRON, tall. H. 0.16. D. 0.20. Trypa VI. PLATE 19.  
L.H. IIIA.

Poor condition, partly restored. Greenish clay and slip, purple to black paint. In shoulder zone, FIG. 3, 27; two zones of bands and fine lines on body; base, eight concentric circles in fours.

This unwieldy shape (cf. 541) is an outside version of the L.H. III alabastron. It is rarely found so large, cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 254, no. 731, H. 0.123; *Rd 3<sup>e</sup> Série*, XXXVII 138, fig. 15, from Livatho in Kephallenia, H. 0.15.

487 BRAZIER or incense burner? Fragment only. H. and width 0.075, thickness 0.03. ? Trypa IX.

Coarse red unslipped clay, perforated all over. The fragment looks like the foot of a coarse brazier, but is too indeterminate for any shape to be guessed.

With 487, sherds marked Trypa VIII (see also 497).

L.H. II.

Alabastron with ivy-leaf and wheel on base.

L.H. III.

Globular stirrup-jar, the base and rim of a kylix, the base of a cup, a coarse brown cooking pot, the neck of a 'granary class' jar or jug.<sup>24</sup>

488 (1-5) BUTTONS, stone and steatite (5). See p. 92. ? Trypa VI.

489 ? WHETSTONE. See p. 95. ? Trypa VII.

490 (1-12) BEADS, faience and glass (c. 12). See pp. 90, 91. No tomb number.

#### 491-497 TRYP A VIII.

491 JUG, with cutaway neck. H. 0.32. D. 0.21. Trypa VIII. PLATE 24.  
L.H. II.

Piriform body with metallic moulding at foot and around base of narrow neck, ridged handle with 'rivet', flaring rim. Lower half partly restored. Yellowish buff clay and slip, black paint picked out in white. The decoration is divided into three by arcading from just above the foot to the base of the neck; each panel is filled by a Palace Style lily plant (three lilies with barred stamens to each plant); black dots outline the panel; white dots on arcading; white bars on neck. Furumark 132, 3. *MycPot* fig. 32, motive 9, 2 (entire ornament); *Myc. II B*.

This fine pot recalls the jug with cutaway neck from the first Shaft Grave (*Schachtgräber*, no. 199, pl. CLXIX), and may be compared with *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XXXIX, no. 3. The arcading may be in imitation of metal (the added white could then be rivets); cf. *Schachtgräber*, no. 855, pl. CXXXIV, silver ewer from the fifth Shaft Grave. The added white suggests an early rather than a late date in L.H. II, though the shape is mature and more developed than 481. The use of white paint to pick out a pattern is often found on L.H. I pottery, and occurs again in L.H. III (*BSA XLII* 11). Its use on this jug seems to be an isolated example.

492 A' ALABASTRON. H. 0.08. D. 0.164. Trypa VIII. PLATE 16.  
L.H. II.

Buff clay, paler buff slip, red to brown paint, worn. On side, FIG. 3, 28; base, wavy wheel with open hub and four double spokes. See 426 A'.

<sup>24</sup> With this group belong also several fragments of Protogeometric.

492 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.05. D. 0.105. Trypa VIII. PLATE 15.  
L.H. I.

Pale buff clay, thick slip like Minyan ware, shiny dark brown paint. Wave pattern; base, double wavy cross. See 402 f'.

493 CUP. H. 0.06. D. 0.134. Trypa VIII. PLATE 20.  
L.H. I.

Raised hollowed base, ribbon handle level with flat offset rim. Buff clay and shiny slip, dark brown paint picked out in white. Three spirals with broad border and centre, connected by loops and double curving tangents; the tangents, centres and lower border are dotted in white.

See *Prosymna*, 393. Cups of this type and decoration are fairly common at L.H. I and II sites, and are normally of fine thin clay. Two in Thebes (nos. 572, 972; *Adelt* III (1917), 135 and fig. 99, no. 1) are not so well-made. One was recently found at Dramesi near Aulis (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pl. 7, no. 4). See also *Chamber Tombs*, pls. I, no. 1; XXXI, no. 11; XLI, no. 37; *Mycenae*, fig. 716.

494 CUP. H. 0.05. D. 0.10. Trypa VIII. PLATE 19.  
L.H. I.

Very shallow, flattened base, loop handle above rim. Pinkish buff coarse clay and slip, red worn paint. Five running spirals in a border; handle and inside painted. Made without a wheel.

Similar spirals occur on a small askos and jug with cutaway neck (both L.H. I) from a shaft grave in the Prehistoric Cemetery outside the Cyclopean wall at Mycenae, *Mycenae*, fig. 70 a.

495 KERNOS or PYXIS, double. H. 0.055, H. with handle 0.10. Trypa VIII. PLATE 23.  
L.H. I?

Two almost globular jars with narrow flaring neck, joined in the middle and by a high loop handle. Clay, slip and paint as 492 B'. Running spiral as 494, one band below; handle painted on the outside. Made without a wheel.

See *Furumark*, *MycPot* 69, on composite vessels. The L.H. III double pyxis or kernos is usually straight-sided. Although I can find no L.H. examples of double pyxides earlier than L.H. III, I have dated 495 in L.H. I, because its slip and decoration do not look at all like L.H. III at Khalkis, and are very similar to L.H. I fabric at Khalkis and elsewhere.

496 ALABASTRON, with two horizontal handles. H. 0.06. D. 0.10. Trypa VIII. PLATE 16.  
L.H. III A or B.

Squat, depressed globular shape. Pinkish buff clay and slip, undecorated.

*Cf.* 404 for fabric. 389 B' from Oxyliothos (Papavasileiou, fig. 24 e') is a similar shape.

497 Sherds from Trypa VIII.<sup>55</sup> (See also 487.)  
L.H. II.

A large alabastron with wave pattern, solid circle and dot fill, and wheel on base.

L.H. III.

A piriform jar.

498 (1-29) BUTTONS, steatite and stone (29). See pp. 92-93. ?Trypa VIII.

499 (1-19) BEADS, glass, agate, amethyst, sandstone (19). See pp. 89, 90, 91. ?Vromousa I.

500 (1-17) BEADS, gold, silver-gilt, glass, agate (17). See pp. 88, 89, 91. ?Vromousa I.

501 (1-26) BEADS, glass (26). See p. 91. ?Trypa VI.

502 (1-43) BEADS, faience, glass, amethyst (43). See pp. 90, 91. ?Trypa VI.

With 502 a bronze ring. See p. 94.

503 (1-36) BEADS, agate, faience, glass (36). See pp. 89, 90, 91. ?Trypa VI.

504 (1-28) BEADS, glass, faience, cornelian (28; Inv. gives 30). See pp. 90, 91.

505 (1-120) BEADS, agate, faience (120). See pp. 89, 90.

506 (1-15) BEADS, glass (15). See p. 91.

507 LEAD fragments. See p. 94.

508 KNIFE fragments, bronze. See p. 94.

With 508, PIN. See p. 94.

509 SEALSTONE, steatite. See p. 88.

510 SEALSTONE, steatite. See p. 88.

511 BEAD, sandstone. See p. 90.

No tomb numbers are available for 504-511.

<sup>55</sup> Also Geometric, Hellenistic grey ware and 'Modern'.

## 512-516, TRYP A IX (KALLIMANI).

512 A' ALABASTRON. H. 0.055 (extant). D. 0.10. Trypa IX (Kallimani). PLATE 17.  
L.H. II-III A.

Buff clay, greenish slip, dark brown to black paint. On side, FIG. 3, 29; the lily obliquely between handles; two lines below neck; bands around body; base, concentric circles in groups of four and three.

The lily is not found very often on alabastra, and when it is, circles rather than the wheel appear on the base (*Chamber Tombs*, pls. XXXIV, no. 19, LIV, no. 2; *Cos*, Tomb 14, Eleone, in the Castello). The style of painting is like 412.

512 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.06. D. 0.13. Trypa IX (Kallimani). PLATE 16.  
L.H. II (late).

Shape and fabric similar to 512 A'. Buff clay, greenish slip, dark brown paint. On side, FIG. 3, 30; base, wheel with open hub and five double wavy spokes.

See 438 F'. Cf. *Adelt IX* (1922-25), Plap. 18 and fig. 5a, from Palaiochori.

512 F' ALABASTRON. H. 0.05. D. 0.145. Trypa IX (Kallimani).  
L.H. IIIA.

One handle missing and part of body restored. Buff clay, orange slip, red to brown flaky paint much worn. Wave pattern, two rows of eight dots between handles; base, six concentric circles in groups of three.

513 ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.07. D. 0.09. Trypa IX (Kallimani).  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Shape similar to 451 B', with vertical sides. Poor condition, two handles missing. Buff clay, streaky brown paint all over.

514 ALABASTRON, tall. H. 0.065. D. 0.095. Trypa IX (Kallimani). PLATE 16.  
L.H. II-III A.

Shape similar to 416 but with wider neck. Dirty buff clay and slip, black matt paint, worn. Wave pattern below handles, cross-hatching between them (FIG. 3, 31); base undecorated.

An alabastron decorated in the style of three handled jars of this period; cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 120, no. 229, for shape.

515 A' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.145. D. 0.105. Trypa IX (Kallimani). PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA.

Shape similar to 479 A', with curving rim, and moulded foot. Buff clay and slip, dark brown to black paint. Between handles FIG. 3, 32; bands around body.

This pattern occurs on a L.H. I sherd from the tomb of Aegisthus at Mycenae (*BSA XXV*, pl. XLVIII, b) and a fragmentary jar of apparently the same shape as 515 A' from Sicily (*MA VI*, pl. V, no. 18, from Thapsos). Without the added dots the wavy line decoration is very common at this date.

515 B' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.138. D. 0.125. Trypa IX (Kallimani). PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Shape similar to 515 A', with pronounced hollow foot (Furumark's 'torus-disc'; see *MycPot* fig. 24). Two handles, part of rim and base restored. Buff clay and slip, red paint. No decoration between handles, zones of bands and fine lines around body and below neck. Cf. *Asine*, fig. 268, no. 3.

516 A' and B' KNIVES, bronze (2). See p. 94. Trypa IX (Kallimani).  
With 516, fragments of KNIFE, PIN. See p. 94.

## 517-522, TRYP A X.

517 STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.155. D. 0.165. Trypa X. FIG. 4.  
L.H. II.

Squat Cretan type with flat base, depressed globular body, short false neck and a handle at right angles to the stirrup; spout and stirrup cracked. Dirty buff clay, yellowish buff slip, dark brown to black paint, defaced. Four spotted figure-of-eight shields, with wavy line triangular groups between at top and bottom of the zone, occasional blobs as filling ornament; petal and dot band at base of neck, FIG. 3, 33; three bands below main zone and one at the foot; disc, stirrup and handle barred.

Furumark, 169. The extra handle is incorrectly described as 'a crest-like excrescence', and the vase is assigned to Myc. II. A: motive 37, no. 1, *BSA XLII* 14.

Like 401 this pot has no exact parallel either on the mainland or in Crete. The shape is undoubtedly Cretan (see Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. H), the figure-of-eight shield is also Cretan. For the possible religious significance of the shield see *BSA XLII* 58, Reichel, *Homerische Waffen*, 1 ff., and Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its survival in Greek religion*, 349 ff. On its use in pottery decoration see Furumark, *MycPot* 160 and 331. Painted shields almost identical with 517 occur at Khalkis (411, sherds) and Phylakopi (*JHS Supp.* IV, pl. XXXI, no. 5, and p. 175) where the three-handled stirrup-jar is also found (cf. *JHS*, loc. cit. 135 and no. 5735 in the National Museum, Athens). There are painted shields (L.H. II or L.H. IIIA) on unpublished sherds from Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae. The filling ornament of wavy lines occurs at Thebes (*Adelt III* (1917), fig. 113, no. 1) and on the stirrup-jar no. 5735 in Athens (cf. Furumark, *MycPot* 325 ff.).



The stirrup-jar with three handles is rare outside Crete (cf. *BSA* XLII 14, and *Clara Rhodes* X 94 fig. 41, for examples from Attica and Rhodes), and the only other whole one from the mainland earlier than L.H. III so far known is in Aegina (Welter, *Aegina*, fig. 25). This has an all-over octopus design not unlike the Gournia octopus, but is emphatically said to be of Aeginetan fabric. The clay of 517 looks local and the decoration is confined to a zone in the mainland style. It is an isolated appearance, and did not set an early fashion for stirrup-jars at Khalkis.

518 A' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.11. D. 0.11. Trypa X. PLATE 25.  
L.H. III A or B.

Globular type with raised hollow base as 460 H'. Deep buff clay and slip, red to brown paint, damaged. Laddered arcs on shoulder bands and the lines below, and a similar zone below the greatest diameter, which is undecorated; concentric circles on disc. For pattern cf. *BSA* XLII, fig. 4, 11.

518 B' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.095. D. 0.095. Trypa X. PLATE 25.  
L.H. IIIB.

Shape, clay, slip and paint as 518 A'. Poor condition. Concentric arcs on shoulder, as 460 Γ', zones of bands and fine lines round body, concentric circles on disc.



FIG. 4.—STIRRUP JAR 517.

519 A' JAR, with two vertical handles. H. 0.192. D. 0.15. Trypa X. PLATE 22.  
L.H. II-III A.

Piriform shape with narrow foot (hollow and splaying), tall wide neck and curving rim. The two strap handles are set as though three handles were intended, but the third was never applied. Good condition. Buff clay and slip, red to brown paint. Net pattern on shoulder zone, which comes just below the handles; two bands below shoulder; loops of paint round handles; paint at foot extends high up the vase.

A very common shape and pattern. One of the jars from Trypa II excavated by Papavasileiou is similar, but is possibly a little later (Papavasileiou, fig. 21).

Inside 519 A' are the following sherds:<sup>56</sup>

L.H. II-III.

Alabastra with concentric circles and (a) wave pattern, (b) wave pattern and dotted circle, (c) ivy-leaf.

One 'thrush egg' stippled sherd.

Piriform jar, same shape and decoration as 519 A'.

L.H. III.

The base of a piriform jar ('g' is pencilled on its base).

Figurine sherd.

<sup>56</sup> Also one Protogeometric sherd painted inside, concentric circles outside.

519 B' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.126. D. 0.102. Trypa X. PLATE 21.  
L.H. III?B.

Advanced piriform, as 448. Part of rim and two handles restored. Pinkish buff clay, dirty buff slip, undecorated. Cf. Papavasiliou, fig. 15, from Trypa I.

519 F' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.104. D. 0.09. Trypa X. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA.

Squat piriform similar to 420. Dirty buff clay and slip, dark brown paint much defaced. Net pattern between and below handles, three zones of bands and lines round body; bands below neck.

520 A' ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.105. D. 0.12. Trypa X. PLATE 18.  
L.H. II (early).

Shape as 469 A'. Dirty buff clay and slip, brown to black paint. Shoulder as FIG. 5, 34; simple wave pattern in two zones round body; base, wheel with spiral hub and four double spokes.

The shoulder pattern appears to be unique, and a later development of it is on 451 A'.

520 B' ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.07. D. 0.115. Trypa X. PLATE 18.  
L.H. IIIA.

Shape as 451 F'. Deep buff clay and slip, red to brown paint. Net pattern on shoulder, bands at shoulder angle and at foot; base, a spiral inside a circle.

521 CUP. H. 0.09. D. 0.12. Trypa X. PLATE 20.  
L.H. IIIA.

Shape as 421. Pinkish buff clay and slip, smoothly polished. No decoration.

522 BOWL, with two horizontal handles, fragmentary. H. 0.078. D. 0.13. Trypa X.  
L.H. IIIC.

Raised base, offset loop handles. Buff clay, brown paint all over. Shape as BSA XLII, fig. 16, C.

#### 523-538, TRYPA XI.

523 A' ALABASTRON. H. 0.05. D. 0.114. Trypa XI. PLATE 17.  
L.H. II-III.

Shape similar to 472 F', one handle restored. Poor condition. Buff clay and slip, red to brown paint, worn. Double-stalk ivy-leaf; base, four concentric circles in groups of two.

523 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.066. D. 0.15. Trypa XI. PLATE 17.  
L.H. ?II-III.

Curving base, much restored. Greyish buff clay and polished slip, like Minyan ware. No decoration. Cf. 473 B' for fabric.

523 F' ALABASTRON. H. 0.085 (extant). D. 0.209. Trypa XI. PLATE 17.  
L.H. II.

Shape as 426 A'. Neck and rim, two handles and part of body missing. Buff clay and slip, dark brown to black paint, defaced. Body as FIG. 5, 35; base, wheel with open hub and five double wavy spokes. Shape and pattern as *Asine*, fig. 270, no. 9.

523 Δ' ALABASTRON. H. 0.056. D. 0.225. Trypa XI. PLATE 17.  
L.H. ?II.

Two handles, part of rim and base missing. Deep buff clay and slip, dark brown paint. On body, FIG. 5, 36; on base, almost worn off, wheel with four wavy spokes.

523 E' ALABASTRON. H. 0.055. D. 0.15. Trypa XI. PLATE 15.  
L.H. IIIA.

Light buff clay, cream slip, dark red to brown shiny paint. Wave pattern, one band below neck; base, two concentric circles in centre, two at edge of base.

524 ALABASTRON. H. 0.06 (approx). D. 0.11. Trypa XI. PLATE 17.  
L.H. ?III.

Handles missing. Grey clay, smooth black slip, polished. The smooth slip feels like Minyan ware, cf. 473 B', 523 B'; the pot does not appear to have been burned.

525 ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.07. D. 0.095. Trypa XI. PLATE 18.  
L.H. III A or B

Bottom slightly curved, small handles (two missing), flaring neck; poor condition. Buff clay, orange slip, shiny red paint. Hatched zig-zag between handles, lines at shoulder angle (FIG. 5, 37), foot and base of neck; base, nine concentric circles in groups of six and three.

The shape and decoration are similar to Thebes, Kolonaki T. 7, no. 12 (*Adelt* III (1917), 139); cf. an alabastron with two handles in Aegina (*AE* 1910, pl. 4, no. 13).

526 ALABASTRON, straight-sided (fragmentary). H. 0.112. D. 0.145. Trypa XI. PLATE 18.  
L.H. II.

Tall type, as 469 A', 520 A', but does not taper downwards. Poor condition. Buff clay, darker slip, red to brown paint. Four zones of running quirks on straight side and one on shoulder; base, wheel with open hub and four double spokes.

Cf. 415, and *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XLIV, no. 41. For M.H. use of this pattern see *Prosymna*, fig. 648, no. 567, and cf. fig. 649, no. 559.

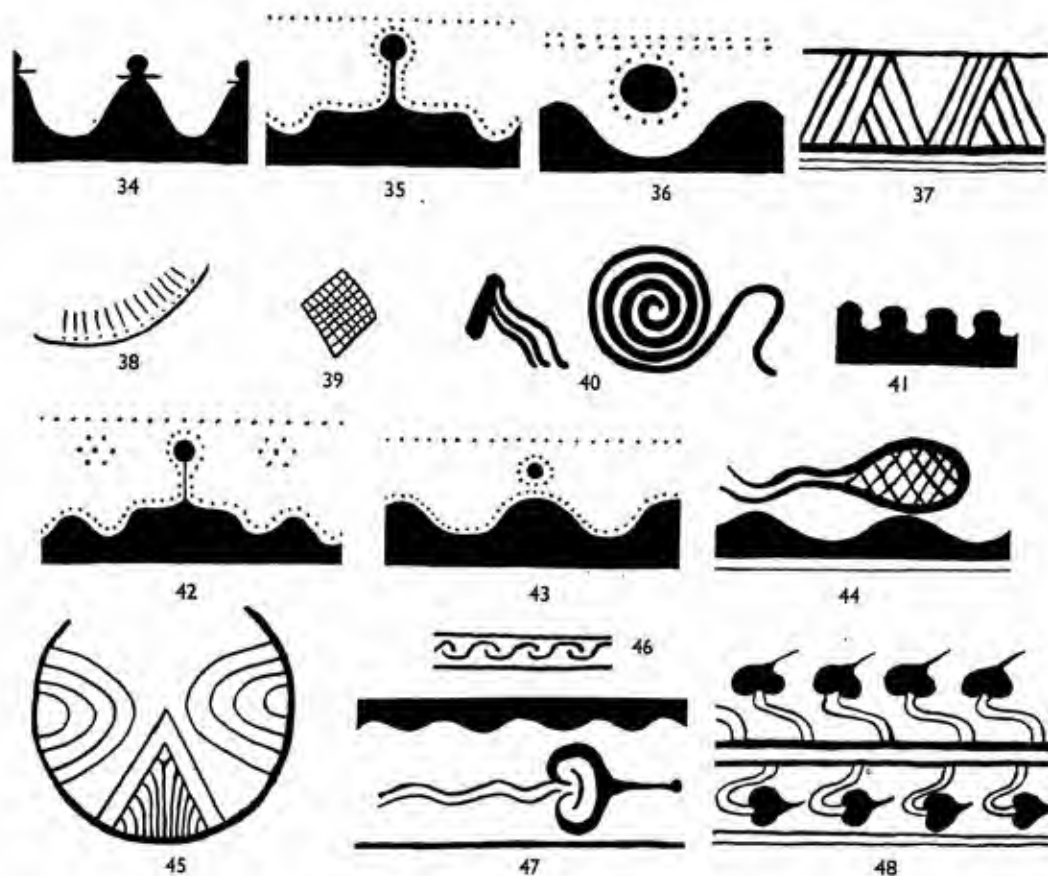


FIG. 5.—DECORATIVE PATTERNS 34-48.

527 KYLIX, fragmentary. H. 0.07 (bowl only). D. 0.13. Trypa XI. PLATE 25.  
L.H. II-III A.

Offset rim, as in 409, but the handles are smaller. Light buff clay and slip, red to brown paint. Five running spirals in handle zone, two bands below.

Shape and pattern as Mylonas, *Προϊστορικά Έλκευσις*, fig. 107, no. 375. It is a shape between *BSA* XLII, fig. 9, B1, and D.

528 BOWL, with two horizontal handles. H. 0.07. D. 0.158. Trypa XI. PLATE 19.  
L.H. IIIC. Granary class.

Shape similar to 522, with handles set lower. Poor condition, much restored. Light buff clay and slip, red matt paint. Painted all over except for two thin bands in the reserved space between the handles, and two bands inside the rim.

For bowls of this type see *Hesperia* VIII (1939), 317 ff. and cf. *BSA* XXV, pl. VIII, c, d, for similar decoration.

529 A' CUP. H. 0.06. D. 0.12. Trypa XI. PLATE 20.  
L.H. II.

Tea-cup shape with raised base and loop handle level with offset rim. Poor condition, restored. Buff clay and slip, black paint much defaced. Four running spirals round bowl. A careless version of 493.

529 B' CUP, with handle above the rim. H. 0.037. D. 0.115. Trypa XI. Plate 19.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Shape as 473 A', handle and part of bowl missing, poor condition. Yellow clay, buff slip, brown to black paint, defaced. Three double wavy lines, rim dotted. Cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 127, no. 264.

530 A' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.10. D. 0.095. Trypa XI. PLATE 25.  
L.H. IIIA.

Globular type with tall spout. Good condition. Buff clay and slip, red to brown paint. Tell-el-Amarna flowers on shoulder, zones of bands and fine lines round body.

This is the only example at Khalkis of the formal flower. In having a double row of dashes or petals it is a variant on the usual patterns. The double row of petals occurs on a globular stirrup-jar from Vathi (Rhodes) in Copenhagen (*CVA Copenhagen II*, pl. 60, 8).

530 B' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.11. D. 0.11. Trypa XI. PLATE 25.  
L.H. III A or B.

Globular type. Buff clay and slip, red paint. On small shoulder zone, a row of short lines and dots (fig. 5, 38); bands and fine lines on body.

Shoulder pattern as *BMC Vases*, I ii, C 529 from Cyprus and (slight variant) *CVA Copenhagen II*, pl. 59, 14, from Appolakia (Rhodes).

530 Γ' STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.07. D. 0.06. Trypa XI. PLATE 25.  
L.H. IIIB.

Globular type, spout broken. Buff clay and slip, red to brown paint. Diamonds on shoulder (fig. 5, 39); bands and fine lines round body; concentric circles on disc.

531 STIRRUP-JAR, fragmentary. H. 0.09 (extant). Trypa XI. PLATE 25.  
L.H. III A or B.

Flat-topped type as 460 Δ'. Buff clay and slip, red paint. On shoulder, but not occupying the whole area, a row of short lines bordered by dots, a zone of bands and fine lines to the shoulder angle.

For shoulder pattern cf. 530 B' and *BMC Vases* I, i, A924 from Ialysos.

Unnumbered, with 531.

STIRRUP-JAR, measurement not recorded.

Globular type, fabric as 531. Concentric angles on shoulder, bands and fine lines round body.

STIRRUP-JAR, fragmentary. H. 0.075 (extant).

Lower half of flat-topped type. Grey clay and slip, dark brown paint.

532 JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.168. D. 0.14. Trypa XI. PLATE 22.  
L.H. II-III A.

Piriform shape with splaying hollowed foot and wide curving rim, similar to 444 A', but with a wider neck. Greenish clay and slip, purplish-black paint, worn. Shoulder as fig. 5, 40; bands to foot.

Cf. Persson, *New Tombs*, fig. 81, 1, 2; *Prosymna*, fig. 260, no. 624. On the blade of grass below handles see Furumark, *MycPot* fig. 47, motive 19.

532 B' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.098. D. 0.098. Trypa XI. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA.

Squat piriform shape, similar to 420, with narrow hollow foot. Part of rim restored. Buff clay and slip, dark red paint. Cross-hatching between and just below handles, spaced bands round body. See 479 B'.

Two larger jars with similar decoration are among the Oxyliothos pottery (387 A', Γ'), the first has a white slip, and very black paint.

532 Γ' JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.148. D. 0.135. Trypa XI. PLATE 21.  
L.H. IIIA-B.

Advanced piriform shape similar to 479 Γ' with splaying foot. Poor condition. Buff clay and slip, red paint. Vertical stripes between handles, one zone of bands and fine lines below handles and one above the foot.

533 JUG. H. 0.178. D. 0.145. Trypa XI. PLATE 23.  
L.H. IIIA.

Shape similar to 425, poor condition. Buff clay and slip, polished. No decoration.

This is a Yellow Minyan jug, cf. 453.

534 TANKARD. H. 0.06. D. 0.063. Trypa XI. PLATE 19.  
L.H. IIIC.

Shape as 466, but coarser, and with a smaller handle; poor condition, restored. Coarse grey clay, darker slip, slightly polished. No decoration.



535 JUG, fragment. H. 0.085. Trypa XI. fig. 6.  
L.H. IIC.

Neck of jug of Granary class. Thick loop handle level with hollow rim. Dark buff clay and slip, brown matt paint. Rim painted, two bands round neck.

Shape similar to BSA XLII, fig. 20, D. For hollow rim cf. BSA XXV, pl. IX, a.

536 KNIFE, PIN, and DAGGER of bronze; WHETSTONE. See pp. 94-95 below. Trypa XI.

537 (1-15) BUTTONS, steatite, stone (15). See p. 92. Trypa XI.

538 BEADS, glass (21); BUTTON, clay, fragmentary. See p. 92. Trypa XI.



FIG. 6.—JUG FRAGMENTS. (See Cat. no. 535 and p. 86.)

#### 539-552, VROMOUSA (LEMBESI).

539 JUG, with bridged spout. H. 0.23. D. 0.27. Vromousa (Lembesi). PLATE 24.  
L.H. I-II.

Squat shape with flat base, grooved handle laid on with a 'rivet', open horizontal spout; bridged neck and body restored. Fine buff clay and slip, good red paint. Four open ivy-leaves connected by curving stems, dotted background in horizontal rows and outlining the leaves, pendent crocus on either side of spout, running spiral on neck; handle barred; five bands below main zone. Furumark, 103, 'other specimens . . . Chalkis' (Myc. I-IIA).

About a dozen jugs of this Cretan shape are known on the mainland (see *Prosymna* 401; *Chamber Tombs* 149). There are two in Thebes (nos. 436, 447, *ADelt* III (1917), fig. 143, no. 2; *AE* 1910, pl. 9, no. 2), both without the ivy-leaf pattern. Welter, *Aigina*, fig. 26 and Persson, *New Tombs*, 42 and fig. 47, no. 1 are jugs like 539, and the Dendra example is the closer parallel of the two. There are six examples of the ivy-leaf pattern on other shapes in Thebes; cf. also *AM* XXXIV, pls. XVIII 2, XIX.

Inside 539, SHERDS.<sup>57</sup>  
M.H.

Handle and base of large matt-painted pot.

L.H. II.

Sherd decorated with cross-hatched loop and wavy lines.

L.H. III.

Stem of kylix.

Sherds of at least two alabastra with concentric circles on the base.

With 539. Κεραμίδες από τὰ χρώματα.<sup>58</sup>  
M.H.

One Grey Minyan sherd.

L.H. II.

A box of alabastron fragments and sherds, indeterminate, but L.H. II in character.

L.H. III.

Fragments of alabastra.

<sup>57</sup> Geometric: sherds of a bowl, decorated with vertical stripes and added white. Indeterminate: fragments of a cooking pot similar in fabric to 549, not wheel made, with horizontal lug. Coarse red sherds, not wheel made.

<sup>58</sup> Protogeometric, Geometric and Hellenistic.

540 JAR, with three horizontal handles. H. 0.24. D. 0.27. Vromousa (Lembesi). PLATE 20.  
L.H. II.

Compact piriform shape with projecting disc base, loop handles set high on shoulder, small curving rim; poor condition. Greenish buff clay and slip, purple to black paint. Four alternate zones, of zigzag with dots in the triangles, and curved stripes; two bands below main ornament. Cf. 446.

Shape and decoration as *Athens, Nat. Mus.* 3693, from Thorikos.

541 ALABASTRON, tall. H. 0.23. D. 0.25. Vromousa (Lembesi). PLATE 19.  
L.H. IIIA.

Shape similar to 486, but deeper, with a taller neck and narrower curving rim; partly restored. Grey clay, buff slip, black paint, much worn. FIG. 5, 41 between the handles; bands below to base, on which there are three concentric circles.

542 A' ALABASTRON. H. 0.073. D. 0.165. Vromousa (Lembesi). PLATE 16.  
L.H. II.

Poor condition, partly restored. Dirty buff clay and slip, black paint. On side, FIG. 5, 42; on base, wheel with open hub and five double wavy spokes.

Cf. *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XLIII 26 for similar shape and pattern with two rows of dots below neck.

542 B' ALABASTRON. H. 0.065. D. 0.163. Vromousa (Lembesi). PLATE 17.  
L.H. IIIA.

Pinkish buff clay, yellow slip, purple to black paint, much defaced. Wave pattern, three rows of dots between handles; base, six concentric circles in threes. See 450 Δ'.

542 Γ' ALABASTRON. H. 0.083. D. 0.17. Vromousa (Lembesi). PLATE 16.  
L.H. II.

Poor condition, one handle and most of rim and base missing. Light buff clay and slip, dark brown paint, much defaced. High crested wave, outlined with dots; dots below neck; base, wheel with open hub. See 426 A' and cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 668, no. 399; *Persson, New Tombs*, fig. 110, no. 1.

Inside 542 Γ' are sherds, apparently of a piriform jar painted all over dull brown.

543 CUP, with stemmed base and high-swung handle. H. 0.09, H. with handle 0.123. D. 0.10. Vromousa (Lembesi).  
PLATE 20.  
L.H. I-II.

High ribbon handle, deep bowl, offset rim, short stem splaying out into hollow foot. It is essentially the same type as 544, with a stem. Buff clay and slip, dark brown paint. Five large connected spirals, two bands above painted stem. The cup is not painted inside, except for the rim.

This shape, derived from Grey Minyan and metal prototypes, is fairly common on the mainland in L.H. I, and less so in L.H. II. Three were found in Grave III (a shaft grave) at Mycenae in the Prehistoric Cemetery outside the Cyclopean wall, *Mycenae*, fig. 70a. Thebes 450 (*AE* 1910, 229, fig. 21) is a coarser cup with stippled paint, and may be a little earlier. Cf. also *Prosymna*, fig. 110, no. 215.<sup>53a</sup>

544 CUP. H. 0.08. D. 0.12. Vromousa (Lembesi). PLATE 20.  
L.H. I-II.

Deep shape with raised base, flat off-set rim, and ribbon handle (missing); partly restored. Light buff clay and thick slip, light brown paint. Inverted net pattern with dots, three bands above foot; loop of paint round handle area; the inside is painted except for a reserved band at the rim. Cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 661, no. 56, for shape.

Thebes has no cups of exactly this shape, but the pattern occurs on a bridge-spouted jug (436, *Adelt* III (1917), fig. 143, no. 2); for net pattern with dots cf. *Prosymna*, figs. 110, no. 224; 372, no. 851 (L.H. III); *Mycenae*, fig. 70a; *Korakou*, fig. 63, no. 11.

In Crete cups are often painted inside, on the mainland rarely. Thus this cup shows a Cretan mannerism, but the fabric is local.

545 STIRRUP-JAR. H. 0.09. D. 0.10. Vromousa (Lembesi). PLATE 25.  
L.H. IIIC.

Globular type with disc almost touching the spout. Buff clay and slip, red paint. Group of dashes on shoulder; dots in zone at the greatest diameter, bands around body. Cf. *BSA* XLII, pl. 2, 1, and fig. 6, for zonal patterns.

546 JAR, with two vertical handles. H. 0.091 (extant). Vromousa (Lembesi). PLATE 23.  
L.H. IIIC to Sub-Mycenaean.

Oval shape with conical foot, flaring neck and loop handles. The rim and one handle are missing. Reddish clay, streaky brown paint all over. A later development of 442, and in fabric similar to 464 A'.

547 JUG, fragmentary. H. 0.085. D. of rim 0.057. Vromousa (Lembesi). PLATE 22.  
L.H. III B-C.

Upper part of Granary class jug; horizontal rim and loop handle with three air holes. Light pinkish buff clay, matt purple to brown paint. Rough wavy line on shoulder between bands, rim painted, handle barred.

Cf. *BSA* XXV 30 and fig. 8c. There are two jugs like this in Thebes from the Kadmeia.

<sup>53a</sup> See Stubbings, *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*, 56, and pl. XIV 1.

548 BOWL, probably with two horizontal handles, fragmentary. H. 0.105 (extant). Vromousa (Lembesi). PLATE 19. L.H. IIIC.

Deep buff clay and slip, red paint. Vertical zigzag in a panel either side of handle; four thin bands below.

Decoration as BSA XLII, fig. 17, 5. Cf. *Hesperia* VIII (1939), fig. 42, a, b, d, and *Prosymna*, 450-451. There are four bowls in Thebes of this shape and decoration (whole or fragmentary).

549 BOWL, with horizontal handle and vertical knob, fragmentary. D. 0.30. Vromousa (Lembesi). PLATE 19. L.H. ?III.

Three fragments of a flat cooking-pot, similar in profile to 422, but with offset rim, thick handle level with rim and a vertical knob, circular in section and splaying at the top. Red coarse clay, blackened with fire underneath. For knobs on ogival bowls see BSA XLII 41. Cf. also *Prosymna*, 451.

550 SHELLS (20). See p. 95 below. Vromousa (Lembesi).

551 (1-3) BUTTONS, steatite (3). See p. 92 below. Vromousa (Lembesi).

552 (1-6) BEADS, amethyst, agate, glass (6). See pp. 89-91 below. Vromousa (Lembesi).

#### 553-557, VROMOUSA, SECOND GROUP, IV.

553 A' ALABASTRON. H. 0.06 (extant). D. 0.153. Vromousa, second group, IV. PLATE 17. L.H. IIIA.

Buff clay and slip, red paint. On body, stemmed spiral and double blade of grass between handles; base, five concentric circles in groups of three and two. See 402 A' and cf. 532 for pattern.

Inside 553 A' and with it are sherds as follows:—

L.H. II.

Bases of two alabastera (wavy wheel). One rim, dotted (black on buff). Sherds of one alabastron with wavy wheel base, wave pattern edged with dots.

L.H. III.

Sherds of an alabastron with wave pattern and rows of dots above, and of another with wave pattern only.

Piriform jar sherds with cross-hatched shoulder.

553 B' ALABASTRON, fragmentary. H. 0.075 (approx.). Vromousa, second group, IV. PLATE 17. L.H. I-II.

Most of base and body missing. Light buff clay and cream slip, bright red to brown paint. High crested wave edged with dots; base, wheel. See 426 A'.

553 Γ' ALABASTRON, fragmentary. D. 0.13. Vromousa, second group, IV. L.H. II.

Base, neck and handles missing. Dirty buff clay and slip, dark brown paint. Decoration as FIG. 5, 43. See 426 B' and cf. 523 A'.

553 Δ' ALABASTRON. H. 0.052 (extant). D. 0.12. Vromousa, second group, IV. PLATE 17. L.H. II-III.

Most of base, neck and one handle missing. Light buff clay and slip, dark brown paint. Double-stalk ivy-leaf between handles, below them a neat high-crested wave; base, two concentric circles.

The wave pattern is here reduced to the handle space. For a similar ivy-leaf pattern cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 690, no. 46.

553 E' ALABASTRON. H. 0.06. D. 0.12. Vromousa, second group, IV. L.H. ?IIIA.

Most of base, part of body, neck and handles missing. Reddish clay, deep buff slip, dark brown paint. Wave pattern; base, concentric circles, mostly worn off.

553 G' ALABASTRON. H. 0.055. Vromousa, second group, IV. PLATE 17. L.H. III B or C.

Most of base, body, neck and handles missing (this could be an alabastron without handles). Dirty buff clay and slip, dark brown paint almost entirely defaced. Band round body, bars on rim; base, no decoration.

Cf. BSA XLII, pl. 12, 8, and *Hesperia* VIII (1939), 386, fig. 66b.

?553 Z' (unnumbered, but with 553 A'-G'). ALABASTRON, tall fragmentary. H. 0.116 (extant). ? Vromousa, second group, IV. PLATE 16.

L.H. II.

Shape similar to 416. Poor condition. Pinkish buff clay, light slip, red paint, much defaced, one band at the base. Body as FIG. 5, 44.

554 STIRRUP-JAR, fragmentary. H. 0.10 (extant). Vromousa, second group, IV. PLATE 25.  
L.H. IIIC.

Late globular type; the disc has a conical point in the centre and touches the tall spout; air hole at the base of the false neck. Greenish clay and slip, pale red paint, worn. Shoulder as FIG. 5, 45 in the manner of the 'Salamis' class; barred stirrup.

Cf. BSA XLII, fig. 7. Thebes 657, 668, are similar in shape and decoration, but the spout does not touch the disc.

555 JAR, with three vertical handles, fragmentary. H. 0.15 (extant). D. of base 0.098. Vromousa, second group, IV. PLATE 20.  
L.H. II.

Lower half and part of rim only. Buff clay and slip, purple to brown paint. 'Palace Style' amphora, with ridged handles laid on with a 'rivet'. Large open ivy-leaf on dotted background as in 539; FIG. 5, 46 on rim, bands and lines above foot.

This is the only example of this shape in Khalkis, and a small one compared with the large jars from Thebes, Mycenae and elsewhere. The arrangement of pattern and the decoration on the rim is similar to *Chamber Tombs*, pl. V 15.

Unnumbered, with 555. ALABASTRON, straight-sided, fragmentary. H. 0.035 (to handles). Placed with vases from Vromousa, second group, IV.  
L.H. II.

Dark buff clay and slip, brown paint. Straight side as FIG. 5, 47; shoulder not decorated; base, wheel with wavy spokes. Shape as 415.

Cf. *Chamber Tombs*, pl. XXXIX 30, for the ivy-leaf pattern.

Unnumbered, with 555. ALABASTRON, straight-sided. H. 0.055 (approx.). Placed with vases from Vromousa, second group, IV.  
L.H. IIIA.

Rim missing; poor condition. Pinkish buff clay, light buff slip, red to brown paint; vertical stripes between handles; base, concentric circles. See 469 B'.

556 JAR, with three horizontal handles, fragmentary. H. 0.095 (to base of handles). D. 0.095. Vromousa, second group, IV. PLATE 21.  
L.H. II.

Piriform shape with moulded base and loop handles. Dirty buff clay and slip, brown to black paint, worn. On body FIG. 5, 48; bands below. See 480 A', but 556 is earlier. Cf. BSA XXVIII, fig. 21, from Mavro Spelio, for inverted ivy-leaf. Inside 556 are sherds of a (?) piriform jar decorated with scrawled vertical lines, good fabric and paint.

557 (1-10) BEADS, agate, glass (10). See pp. 89, 91. Vromousa, second group, IV.

No number, probably from Trypa XI.

(1) Neck of unpainted jug, similar to 413. H. of neck 0.035. FIG. 6, (1).  
L.H. II-III A.

Fabric and slip as 413.

(2) Neck of jug of similar shape, taller neck and thicker rim. H. of neck 0.065. FIG. 6, (2).  
Not dated.

Dark reddish clay and slip, brown matt paint. Handle, rim and band at base of neck painted.

(3) Fragments of the top of a jug as (2). FIG. 6, (3).  
Not dated.

(4) Cup, similar to 483 in shape. H. 0.04.  
L.H. III.

Offset rim, probably had ring handle as 483. Good buff clay and slip, dark brown paint inside only.

(5) Bowl, similar to 408, 443. H. 0.04 (extant).  
L.H. III.

Unpainted.

(6) Kylix, unpainted fragment.  
L.H. III.

(7) Kylix, fragment, painted inside only.  
L.H. III.

(8) Base of a piriform jar. H. of fragment 0.05.  
Greenish clay, black paint.

(9) Jar with three horizontal handles. H. 0.13.  
L.H. III B or C.

Advanced piriform shape. Buff clay and slip, red paint; cross hatching on shoulder, bands and fine lines round body.



- (10) Inside g. Jar, squat. H. 0.075 (extant). Deep buff clay and slip, dark brown paint, mottled or stippled. Shape probably as 471.  
 (11) Base of a Grey Minyan jar.  
 (12) Sherds of L.H. III piriform jars.

## SMALL FINDS

Under this heading are listed terracottas, ornaments, buttons, weapons, utensils and miscellaneous objects.

## A. FIGURINES.

There are six examples, illustrating three of the four types defined by Blegen in *Prosymna*, 355 ff. There are no animal figurines in Khalkis.

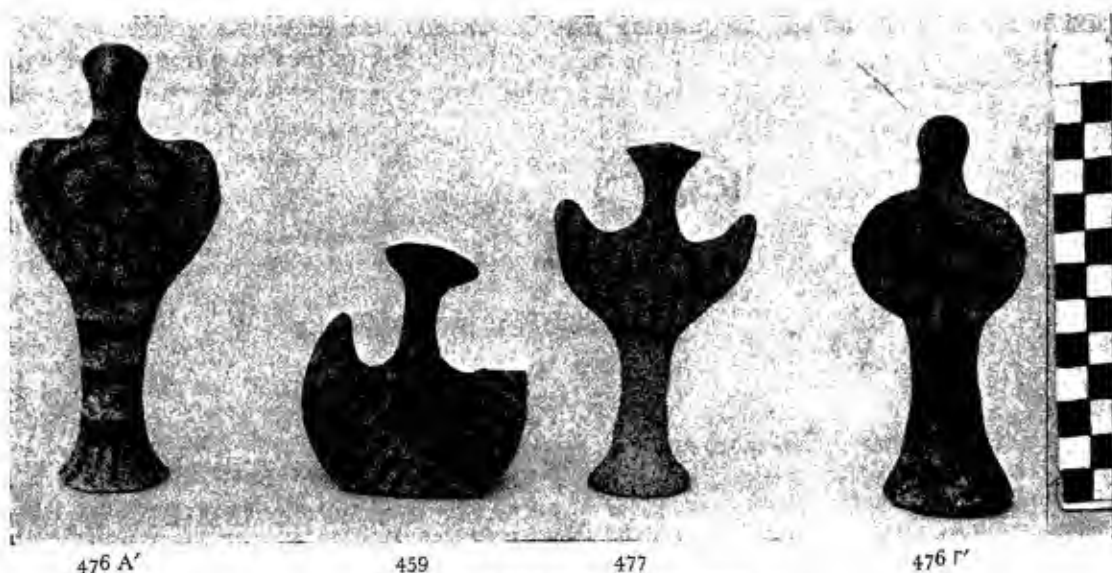


FIG. 7.—TERRACOTTA FIGURINES.

459 FIGURINE, female, upper half only. H. 0.065. Trypa IX. FIG. 7.  
 L.H. ?IIIA.

Crescent-shaped body with both arms raised, one arm missing; thin pinched face with saucer-like hat, plastic eyes and breasts. Pinkish buff clay, deep buff slip, brown to red paint. Face and neck barred, loops round breast, herring-bone stripes on front, wavy vertical stripes on back.

This figurine is Type *d* (2) in *Prosymna*, 359 (fig. 612, nos. 3, 4), but none of the examples found by Blegen has plastic eyes. Thebes has none with plastic eyes, but there is one figurine from Kolonaki, Tomb 17, which has plastic breasts. Blegen, *Prosymna*, 360, suggests a chronological sequence. See also Furumark, *Chronology*, 86 ff.

476 A' FIGURINE, female. H. 0.125. Trypa VII. FIG. 7.  
 L.H. IIIB.

Triangular head, flat tapering body, moulded breasts, cylindrical stem, splayed concave base, plastic eyes. Buff clay and slip, purple to brown paint. Eyes painted, necklace and sleeves indicated by bands and curves, horizontally barred skirt, vertical stripes at foot.

This figurine is Type *b* in *Prosymna*, 356 (fig. 611, no. 4.) There are four of this type in Thebes.

476 B' FIGURINE, female. H. 0.115. Trypa VII.  
 L.H. IIIB.

Fragmentary, same type and decoration as 476 A'. Buff clay and slip, brown paint.

476  $\Gamma'$  FIGURINE, female. H. 0.11. Trypa VII. FIG. 7.  
L.H. IIIB

Shape as 476 A', body more disc-like; plastic breasts and arms, the right hand rests between the breasts, one arm broken. Buff clay and slip, red paint. Vertical wavy stripes back and front, eyes and line of nose painted.

This figurine is Type a in *Prosymna*, 355 (fig. 611, nos. 2, 3).

476  $\Delta'$  FIGURINE, female. H. 0.105. Trypa VII.  
L.H. IIIB.

Part of base broken. Identical with 476  $\Gamma'$  in shape, clay and decoration.

477 FIGURINE, female. H. 0.105. Trypa VII. FIG. 7.  
L.H. IIIB.

Similar to 459 but with painted eyes and moulded breasts. Pinkish buff clay and slip, red paint. Eyes, line of nose and hat painted, wavy vertical lines to waistband back and front, skirt undecorated. See note on 459. Thebes has fifteen figurines of this type.

Cf. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* I, fig. 94 for a similar figurine found at Ras Shamra.

There is a fragment of a figurine among sherds with 519 A'.

## B. ORNAMENTS.

The scanty finds under this heading may be divided into sealstones and beads, both indicating that the persons to whom they belonged had a certain local standing but were not very rich people; the finds suggest that the original funeral ornaments were more numerous.



FIG. 8.—SEAL STONES.

### B.I. SEALSTONES.

Two examples only. No tomb number.

509 Lentoid, pierced vertically. D. 0.02. FIG. 8a.

Black steatite, engraved on one face with a galloping animal, probably a deer. An agate sealstone with an 'antelope among trees' was found by Papavasileiou in the tholos tomb at Oxyliothos, which is fairly mature Late Helladic in date. Cf. also *Prosymna*, fig. 588, for a similar L.H. III sealstone in black steatite.

510 Lentoid, pierced vertically. D. 0.019. FIG. 8b.

White sandstone engraved on one face with a herring-bone pattern, which may be intended to represent trees. On the wearing of sealstones see *Prosymna*, 273.

### B.II. BEADS.

Beads were found in the following materials, all of which occur in most Late Helladic tombs elsewhere: gold, silver-gilt, agate, amber, amethyst, cornelian (opaque rather than translucent), faience and glass.

#### i. GOLD.

500 (1). *Bucranium*. Horizontally pierced. L. 0.011. ? Vromousa I.

Stylised version of a bull's head facing, made of thin gold. The *bucranium* occurs in ornaments in Late Helladic and Minoan times, but is not found as often as the lily or argonaut. At Mycenae it is found with the double axe and horns on gold plates from the fourth Shaft Grave (*Schachtgräber*, pl. XLIV, 353-4), but does not appear, as far as is known, in part of a necklace, nor are there examples of it in *Prosymna*. In Crete it has been found in gold at Hagia Triada (Bossert, *The Art of Ancient Crete*, fig. 385), and in amethyst at Mochlos (Seager, *Mochlos*, pl. X), but these examples are naturalistic

in representation and much earlier than the Khalkis example. Eighteen *bucranium* beads were found at Ialysos in L.H. III context, but these, though similar in design, are bored through the muzzle as well as the ears, and are larger. In Cyprus the shape is fairly common in L.H. III in the form of earrings (cf. *BMC Jewellery*, nos. 488-502, from Enkomi. Nos. 488, 491, though larger are very similar in design to Khalkis 500). On the analogy of examples from Rhodes and Cyprus the Khalkis *bucranium* is probably fairly early L.H. III.

500 (2-4). *Grain of Wheat*. L. 0.012. ? Vromousa I. Three examples.

Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 599, no. 13. Cf. also *Chamber Tombs*, 206, footnotes 3 and 5, pl. XXXV, no. 34a; Persson, *New Tombs*, pl. V, 6, fig. 92, 4, and p. 80.

## ii. SILVER GILT.

500 (5-7). *Spherical*. D. 0.005. ? Vromousa I. Three examples.

Spherical beads in gold or silver-gilt are apparently uncommon. Cf. *Chamber Tombs*, 192, one example in gold and *Prosymna*, 268, with granulated collars. The beads probably belong to the same burial as nos. 500, 1 and 2.

## iii. AGATE.

Nineteen examples from burials probably four in number. Agate beads are rare at the Argive Heraion (cf. *Prosymna*, 294), and in the chamber tombs at Mycenae (cf. *Chamber Tombs*, 208). The large quantity of worked and unworked agate in the workshop at the Kadmeia (*AE* 1930, 36, and figs. 6, 7, 16) points to Thebes as a possible source of the agate beads at Khalkis.

The shapes of the agate beads are spherical (ten), spherical grooved (three), ellipsoid (four), drop pendant (two). On the evidence of tombs with cornelian beads at the Argive Heraion, ellipsoid and pendant are the earlier shapes. This evidence should probably apply also to agate beads and stone beads in general.

*Spherical, (a) ungrooved.*

499 (12, 14). D. 0.006. ? Vromousa I. Very dark orange to red.

500 (8-10). D. 0.006. ? Vromousa I. Orange.

505 (1-4). D. 0.003-0.004. No tomb number. Orange.

557 (1). D. 0.005. Vromousa, second group. Orange.

*Spherical, (b) Grooved.*

500 (15-17). D. 0.005. ? Vromousa I. Dark orange brown. Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 599, no. 4.

*Ellipsoid.*

499 (17-19). D. 0.005-0.01. ? Vromousa I. Dark orange brown. Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 599, no. 5.

552 (2). D. 0.01. Vromousa (Lembesi). Orange.

*Drop Pendant.*

499 (15). Pierced Lengthwise. Greatest D. 0.01. ? Vromousa I. Orange. Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 285, no. 11.

503 (1). Greatest D. 0.012. ? Trypa VI. Dark orange.

## iv. AMBER.

436. *Cylindrical*. Pierced lengthwise. Four examples. D. 0.03, the largest. Vromousa III.

Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 599, no. 15, but shorter. The larger bead is in good condition, and the present size of the smaller ones may be due to decay. Cylindrical amber beads appear to be rare at Late Helladic sites. There are none mentioned in *Prosymna* (cf. 286-7); for remarks on amber cf. *Chamber Tombs*, 204. Amber beads, one of which appears to be cylindrical, were found with Mycenaean objects at Ras Shamra (Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* I, fig. 95.). Note also the large number of beads found at Metaxata (Kephallenia), *AE* 1933, 92, and fig. 43.

## V. AMETHYST.

Three examples (one flattened spherical, two bicone) were found in three burials. Though not common, they are found at many sites ranging from L.H. I to III, and are generally regarded as imports from Egypt, in the form of beads or uncut stones (cf. *Prosymna*, 292, where there is a list of finds).

*Flattened Spherical.*

552 (1). D. 0.012. Vromousa (Lembesi). Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 599, no. 2. Pale colour. (Cf. *ADelt* III, fig. 126).

*Bicone.*

499 (13). D. 0.01. ? Vromousa I.

502 (1). D. 0.007. ? Trypa VI. Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 599, no. 9. Pale colour.

## VI. CORNELIAN.

The three beads under this heading are not true cornelians, as they are opaque or cloudy instead of translucent. They may be local, as they would be hardly worth importing.

*Drop pendant.*

499 (16). Greatest D. 0.01. ? Vromousa I. Mottled orange. Shape as the agate bead under 499 (p. 89) to which it is a companion. Cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 460, nos. 1, 3, 14.

*Flattened Spherical, Grooved.*

504 (27). D. 0.01. No tomb number. Shape as agate bead 500 (15-17), but flatter. White.

*Amygdaloid.*

511 L. 0.015. No tomb number. Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 599, no. 6. Pink.

Nine examples of this shape were found in cornelian at the Argive Heraion (*Prosymna*, 291.). Cf. *Chamber Tombs* 208. According to the evidence at the Argive Heraion (*op. cit.* 288), this shape occurs mainly in L.H. I and II.

## VII. STEATITE.

Only two examples. This material was chiefly used for buttons in L.H. III, and is rare in beads (cf. *Prosymna*, 295).

449 Γ' (5). Flattened spherical. D. 0.025. Vromousa IV. Grey.

As this example is listed with four steatite buttons of the usual biconical shape, it is possible that it too was a button and not a bead.

No number, with small bronze pin labelled Γ' 13. Flattened spherical as 449 Γ'. D. 0.023. ? Vromousa III. Blue.

## VIII. FAIENCE.

Of one hundred and twenty nine blue faience beads, from probably three burials, all except twelve are spherical. This is the common shape at most Late Helladic sites (e.g. *Prosymna*, 307). Whether they or the eleven grooved and one biconical examples are imports from Egypt it is impossible to say. The original glaze has been worn away.

*Spherical (117).*

490 (1-2). D. 0.009. No tomb number.

503 (2). D. 0.012. ? Trypa VI.

505 (7-121). D. 0.004 varying. No tomb number.

*Spherical Grooved (11).*

502 (2-9). D. 0.003. ? Trypa VI.

Cf. *Prosymna*, 308, where examples are given from Mycenae and Crete. At Mycenae faience beads are 'not likely to be later than the fourteenth century' (*Chamber Tombs*, 205). Cf. also Persson, *New Tombs*, 86, and fig. 95, 1.



504 (24-26). D. 0.009. No tomb number.

*Bicone.*

503 (3). Flattened. D. 0.01. ? Trypa VI.

Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 285, no. 4, and p. 309. This shape, on the evidence from the Argive Heraion, is tentatively assigned by Blegen (*op. cit.* 307) to L.H. I and II.

#### IX. GLASS.

As in faience, so in glass, the sphere is the most common shape. Of nearly two hundred specimens, over half are spherical, and one quarter spherical grooved. The other shapes represented are 'lion's head' or bucranium, ellipsoid, 'grain of wheat', disc, cylindrical and crenellated. Where no colour is stated the bead is to be understood as greyish white.

'Lion's Head' or *Boucranium* (5).

499 (1-5). Pierced horizontally. L. 0.012. ? Vromousa I.

This shape is listed but not illustrated in Beck's classification (*Archaeologia* LXXVII, 38, group XXXV, B,d).

*Spherical, (a) Grooved* (103).

499 (10-11). D. 0.015. ? Vromousa I. Silver, with grey and white zonal stripes. At the Argive Heraion this type is generally early (cf. *Prosymna*, 297).

501 (1-26). D. 0.01. ? Trypa VI. White, varying slightly in colour and size.

502 (10-27). As 501. D. 0.004-0.013. ? Trypa VI.

503 (4-28). As 501. Size as 502 (10-27). ? Trypa VI.

504 (23). D. 0.01. No tomb number.

505 (5-6). D. 0.005. No tomb number. White.

506 (1-15). As 505 (5-6). D. 0.005. No tomb number.

552 (4-6). D. 0.01-0.014. Vromousa (Lembesi). Decoration as 499. The earliest pottery in the tomb is early L.H. II, and to this group the beads probably belong.

557 (2-10). D. 0.006. Vromousa, second group, IV.

No number, with bronze pin labelled Γ'13, one. D. 0.02. Silvery white.

No number, with 437, two. D. 0.017. ? Vromousa II. White.

*Spherical, (b) Grooved* (52).

490 (3-12). D. 0.009. Trypa VI. Much damaged.

499 (6-9). D. 0.008-0.01. ? Vromousa I.

500 (14). D. 0.004. ? Vromousa I.

500 (12-13). D. 0.007. ? Vromousa I.

502 (28-42). D. 0.006. ? Trypa VI. Grey.

503 (29). D. 0.008. ? Trypa VI.

504 (1-19). D. 0.005. No tomb number.

*Ellipsoid* (12).

500 (11). D. 0.006. ? Vromousa I. Grey and white zonal stripes. See note on 499, 552 for dating of spherical beads with zonal stripes.

502 (43). D. 0.007. ? Trypa VI. White.

503 (30-36). D. 0.007. ? Trypa VI.

504 (20-22). D. 0.006. No tomb number.

'Grain of Wheat'.

504 (28). D. 0.005. No tomb number.

*Cylindrical.*

552 (3). D. 0.013. Vromousa (Lembesi). Silver and blue. Not a common shape. Only five were found at the Heraion, cf. *Prosymna*, 310.

*Crenellated.*

No number, with label 437 (finds from Vromousa II). One. D. 0.019. Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 599, no. 12. Green.

*Disc (c. 21).*

538 (1). Pierced diametrically, with a 'flush spot eye' (cf. Beck, *Archaeologia* LXXVII, fig. 57) in the centre. D. 0.03. Trypa XI.

Fragments of about 20 disc beads (D. 0.01-0.004) are included in this heading. For disc beads at the Argive Heraion, see *Prosymna*, 311, and at Mycenae, *Chamber Tombs*, 207.

## B.III. BUTTONS.

The buttons from Khalkis (84) are all, except ten, made of steatite, the common material for buttons in L.H. III. The shapes represented are variants of the cone, biconical, and shanked or campaniform (cf. *Prosymna*, 312 ff. and fig. 602, and Furumark, *Chronology*, 89-91 and fig. 2; cf. Papavasileiou, figs. 31 a-d for examples from Oxyliothos).

## i. CLAY.

538 (2). One, ? conical, fragmentary. Trypa XI.

Clay buttons are usually earlier than stone examples, but this specimen is too fragmentary for any evidence to be drawn from it.

## ii. STONE.

*Cones (9).*

488 (1). Short. ? Trypa VI. Grey stone. Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 602, no. 1.

488 (2). Standard. ? Trypa VI. Grey stone.

498 (5). Standard. ? Trypa VIII. Mottled grey stone.

537 (2, 15). Short, bevelled. Trypa XI. Grey stone.

No number, with label 437 (finds from Vromousa II). Two short, bevelled. Purple grey stone.

This shape with a bevelled edge (*Prosymna*, fig. 602, no. 2.) is regarded by Blegen as an early shape (*op. cit.* 314), earlier at any rate than the bicone.

498 (12). Short, bevelled. ? Trypa VIII. Grey stone.

498 (13). Short, bevelled. ? Trypa VIII. Grey stone.

## iii. STEATITE.

*Standard Cones (23).*

424 Vromousa I. 445 (1) Grey. Vromousa II. 478 (1). Purple. 478 (2). Black. 478 (3). Fawn. All Trypa VII. 488 (4). Mottled purple. 488 (5). Grey. All ? Trypa VI. 498 (1). Grey. 498 (2). Black. 498 (3). Grey. 498 (4). Grey. 498 (6). Grey. 498 (7). Grey. 498 (8). Grey. 498 (9). Purple. 498 (10). Grey. 498 (11). Black. All ? Trypa VIII. 537 (1). Purple. 537 (4). Purple. 537 (6). Purple. 537 (7). Grey. 537 (9). Purple. All Trypa XI. 551 (1). Black. Vromousa (Lembesi).

*Short Cones (2).*

433 (1). Bevelled. Purple. Vromousa III.

445 (2). Bevelled. Grey. Vromousa II.

Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 602, no. 2.

*Bicones (23).*

This shape, early rather than mature L.H. III, is rare in the chamber tombs at Mycenae (cf. *Chamber Tombs*, 219).

433 (2). Purple. Vromousa III. 445 (3). Blue. Vromousa II. 449 Γ' (1). Blue. 449 Γ' (2). Grey. 449 Γ' (3). Black. All Vromousa IV. 449 Γ' (4). Truncated. Black. Vromousa IV. 478 (4). Black. Trypa VII. 488 (3). Black. ? Trypa VI. 498 (14). Black. 498 (15). Black. 498 (16). Black. 498 (17). Grey.

498 (18). Grey. 498 (19). Grey. 498 (20). Black. 498 (21). Black. 498 (22). Truncated. Purple.  
 498 (23). Black. 498 (24). Grey. All ? Trypa VIII. 537 (3). Grey. 537 (5). Grey. 537 (8). Grey.  
 537 (10). Black. 537 (11). Grey. 537 (12). Green. 537 (13). Black. 537 (14). Green. All Trypa  
 XI. 551 (3). Black. Vromousa (Lembesi). No number, with label marked 437 (finds from Vromousa II): four  
 blue (2), black (2). No number, with bronze pin marked Γ' 13: Grey (1), purple (1). ? Vromousa III.

*Campaniform or Shank* (6).

This form is the latest in the series of L.H. buttons, cf. Furumark, *Chronology*, 89, and is comparatively rare in the Khalkis tombs, which, on the whole, do not illustrate the late phases of L.H. III. 498 (25). Grey. 498 (26). Purple. 498 (27). Grey. 498 (28). Grey. 498 (29). Grey. All ? Trypa VIII. 537 (8). Green. Trypa XI. 551 (2). Black. Vromousa (Lembesi). Shape as *Prosymna*, fig. 602, no. 5.

### C. BRONZE.

The finds in bronze are neither numerous nor remarkable, as is often the case in tombs which have been used and re-used over a long period (cf. *Chamber Tombs*, 187). Like the

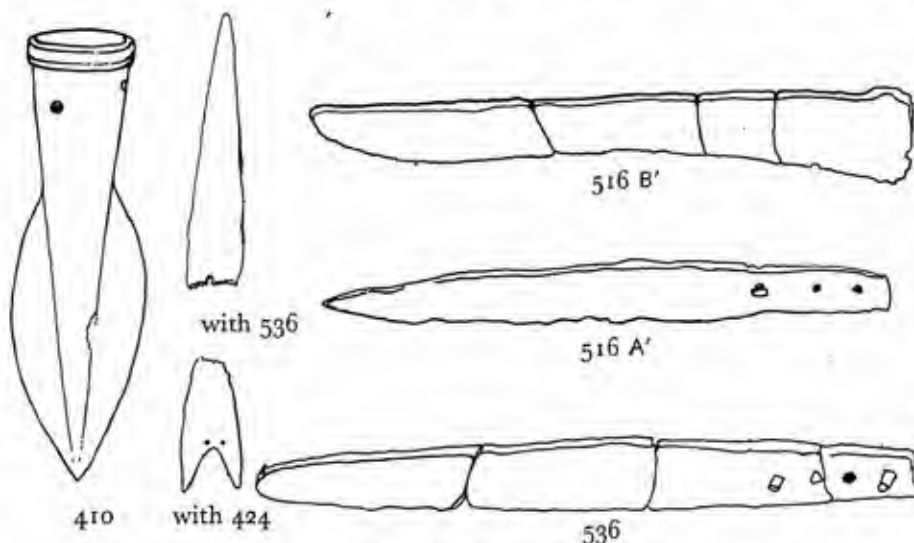


FIG. 9.—WEAPONS.

finds from the tomb at Oxyliothos (Papavasileiou, fig. 17) they are domestic rather than military in character. One well-preserved spearhead, one arrowhead and a fragmentary dagger make up the total of weapons.<sup>59</sup>

### WEAPONS.

410 SPEARHEAD. L. 0.125. Vromousa V. FIG. 9. Leaf-shaped blade tapering to a blunt point; very thick tapering midrib; ringed socket with two opposite holes.

A similar spearhead (L. 0.10) with a notched instead of a ringed socket, said to come from Oreoi, was shown to me at Istiaia. This shape occurs at Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes* V, fig. 324, with no ring, and fig. 326a, with ringed socket), and at Ialysos in L.H. III context (*Ann* VI-VII, fig. 32, T. VII, no. 10; fig. 76, T. XVII, no. 13).<sup>60</sup>

The pottery in Vromousa V is predominantly L.H. II to early III, and the spearhead probably belongs to a late interment. The type is not unlike the spears on the Warrior Vase (Bossert, *The Art of Ancient Crete*, figs. 133-135). It became popular in Italy in the Terramare districts, and is also found in Sicily and Sardinia (cf. Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, figs. 178, 179, 271).

<sup>59</sup> Khalkis Inventory No. 746 is a fine spearhead, L. 0.35, of the type illustrated in *Prosymna*, fig. 510, no. 3. It was found at Pili near Mantoudi. In May 1940 a sword was brought to the museum at Khalkis from a newly discovered Mycenaean tomb at Androniani, near Kimi.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Montelius, *La Grèce préclassique*, I, pl. 15, 20.

No number, with 424. ARROWHEAD, broken. L. 0.038 (extant). Probably Vromousa I. FIG. 9. Curving outline, point missing, no tang; two holes near the base of the barbs.

This is the second type in *Prosymna*, 341 (cf. fig. 212). At the Argive Heraion it occurs in tombs of L.H. I and II date. Examples have also been found at Thebes (*Adelt III*, fig. 119, Kolonaki, Tomb 15), Mycenae (*Chamber Tombs*, 187 and pl. XXX 38), Dendra (Persson, *Royal tombs at Dendra* 103, fig. 80); six were found ('some without tang') at Troy (Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, I, fig. 448 a). Cf. Montelius, *La Grèce préclassique*, I, pl. 15, 3.

No number, with 536. DAGGER, fragmentary. L. 0.077 (extant). Probably Trypa XI. FIG. 9. Blade tapering to a sharp point, no midrib. It had a central rivet well down the blade as in Furumark's types b1 and b3 (*Chronology*, fig. 4), but the blade does not appear to resemble any of the types given there, nor is there a parallel for it in *Prosymna*, 330 ff., where a survey of Late Helladic daggers is to be found. Cf. Montelius, *op. cit.* I, pls. 13, 14.

## KNIVES.

508 KNIFE. Fragment only. L. 0.085. Greatest W. 0.022. No tomb number.  
Straight back, curving cutting edge; two holes for rivets, one of which is still in place.

516 A' KNIFE. Whole blade. L. 0.155. Greatest W. 0.015. Trypa IX (Kallimani). FIG. 9.  
Cutting edge and back curving to a point. Three rivet holes, with two rivets in place. Blegen (*Prosymna*, 345 and fig. 77) dates this type well on in L.H. III, and this example probably comes from the last interment in Trypa IX. With this are fragments of a second knife.

516 B' KNIFE. Greater part of blade. L. 0.162. W. at heel 0.02. Trypa IX (Kallimani). FIG. 9.  
Concave cutting edge, straight back, stepped heel, round blunt end. This seems to agree with Blegen's early type (see *Prosymna*, fig. 270, no. 4), which occurs at the Argive Heraion in L.H. I. The earliest pottery in Trypa IX (Kallimani) is transitional L.H. II to III. Cf. Montelius, *La Grèce préclassique*, I, pl. 16.

536 KNIFE. Whole blade. L. 0.19. W. 0.02. Trypa XI. FIG. 9.  
Shape as 516 A', with blunted point (cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 262, no. 1). The pottery in Trypa XI ranges from mature L.H. II to L.H. III (Graniary Class), and the knife could come from a late interment.

## RIVETS.

No number, with 478, six flat-headed. D. 0.015. Probably Trypa VII. These must represent two knives.

## RINGS.

No number, with 424. Flat. D. 0.033.

No number, with 502. D. 0.016.  
A similar ring in fragments was with 536, labelled Γ' 13.

## PINS OR NAILS.

With 508. L. 0.085. No tomb number.  
With 516. L. 0.11. Circular in section. Trypa IX (Kallimani).  
With 536. L. 0.09. Square in section.  
Marked Γ' 13. L. 0.05. Circular in section. ? Vromousa III.

## D. LEAD.

507. ? RIVETS, fragmentary. No tomb number.

Lead wire has been found at many Mycenaean tomb sites, though its use has not been clearly indicated, e.g. Mycenae, *Chamber Tombs*, 190; Dendra, Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, 90; the Argive Heraion, *Prosymna*, 255. Half a rivet was found at Malthi in a Middle Helladic layer (Valmin, *Swedish Messenia Expedition*, 373 and pl. XXX 21), and rivets were also found on repaired pottery of Early and Late Helladic dates (*op. cit.* pl. XXV 19). No indication can be given of the date of the lead fragments under the Khalkis heading. Papavasileiou (*PAE* 1910, 266) mentions three lead bracelets covered with glass paste. There is no trace of them in the museum. Perhaps these fragments are all that remain of them.



## E. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

## E.I. WHETSTONES.

Five examples. They are all, except one, of greenish grey schist, tapering slightly at one end.

432 A' L. 0.102. Vromousa III. There is a round hole through the thicker end.

432 B' L. 0.09. Vromousa III. Similar to 432 A', with a hole through the tapering end.

489 L. 0.135. ? Trypa VII. Rough shape, no hole.

No number but marked 7, with 489. A stone. L. 0.11, probably used as a whetstone. ? Trypa VII.

No number, with 536. L. 0.06. Wedged-shaped. Trypa XI.

See *Prosymna*, 460 and fig. 224, for similar whetstones. Examples have also been found at Mycenae in the sixth Shaft Grave (*Schachtgräber*, nos. 929, 930, 934, 935; fig. 79), in the fourth Shaft Grave (*op. cit.* pl. CII); at Korakou (*Korakou*, fig. 133, no. 8); at Ialysos (*Ann VI-VII*, fig. 70); Thebes (*ADelt III*, fig. 103); Dendra (Perrson, *New Tombs*, fig. 49, no. 2).

## E.II. SHELLS.

Three varieties of shells were found, two of them pierced and used as part of necklaces. The third type may have been put into an interment as a charm or may even have filtered in with the passage of time.

434 Two specimens, similar to a large winkle shell. Vromousa III.

435 A small oyster shell, pierced. Vromousa III.

550 Twenty small *conus* shells, pierced. Vromousa (Lembesi).

Similar shells were found at Mycenae (*Chamber Tombs*, 106 and 224), and at Malthi (Valmin, *Swedish Messenia Expedition*, 359-60, pl. XXVI).



FIG. 10.—PORPHYRY JAR, 401 G'.

## E.III. STONE.

401 G' Fragment of a small bowl. H. 0.03. FIG. 10. Red porphyry, containing white hornblende. The Inventory says it comes from the Tholos Tomb at Oxyliothos, but there is no mention of it in Papavasileiou, 24 ff.

Though a small example it seems to be of the same carinated shape as the black and green porphyry bowl from the Royal Tomb at Isopata (*cf.* Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, 141 and fig. 124, and *PM I* 88).

*Cf.* Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, 100, no. 287, for an Egyptian alabaster vase in Athens said to come from Papavasileiou's excavations in 1902, and *Asine*, 377 f., fig. 247.

V. HANKEY

# INSCRIPTIONS FROM COMMAGENE

(PLATE 26)

I. In 1890 Puchstein published in Humann-Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, 368 ff., a sculptured and inscribed stele from Selik, a village nine and a half kms. north of Samsat (Samosata), bearing on the front face a relief representing Heracles greeting King Antiochus I of Commagene, an almost exact copy of one of the Nemrud-Dağ reliefs.<sup>1</sup> The stele has been used as an oil-press, and the inscribed surface of the back has been entirely removed for much of its extent. The text of the inscription, in which Antiochus establishes various cult-practices connected with himself, is not complete in itself, but contains the last forty-seven lines of a document which must have begun on another stele, possibly that of which there has been published<sup>2</sup> a fragment, found at Palas, thirty kms. south-west of Selik.

The inscription was republished in 1929 in *Inscr. gr. et lat. de la Syrie* (= *IGLS*), no. 51, from a copy made at Gerebis in 1919 by Père J. Gransault, S.J. Since then the location of the stele has apparently remained unknown: J. Keil, in discussing a passage of the inscription in *Hermes* LXIX (1934), 452-4, relied on the previously published texts, while, on a later occasion, in Dörner-Naumann, *Forschungen in Kommagene*, Berlin, 1939, 51, the same scholar described the stele as 'anscheinend verloren'. The stele was, in fact, acquired by the British Museum in 1927, through the Carchemish Exploration Fund, and it is described very briefly in the third edition (1929) of the *British Museum Guide to the Select Greek and Latin Inscriptions* 38, no. 61. I have recently been able to study the stone, with the kind permission of the Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, and since no photographs of it, or of the inscription which it bears, have ever been published, and the text given by Puchstein, and subsequently by *IGLS*, can be improved in almost every line, it seems worth while to republish the text with my own readings, and with photographs supplied by the Museum Trustees, even though the new readings, consisting for the most part of single letters, add little to our knowledge of a text, the content of which is secured beyond reasonable doubt by the parallel text contained in the *ἑρὸς νόμος* from Nemrud-Dağ.<sup>3</sup> Dr. F. K. Dörner, in addition to discussing the whole article with me, has put me further in his debt by permitting me to make use of the new, unpublished, νόμος for the *ἑροθέσιον* in Arsameia ἡ πρὸς Νυμφαίῳ ποταμῷ, found by him at Eski-Khâta. This version permits a further improvement of the Selik stele at two points. This unpublished text is referred to in the Epigraphical Notes by the abbreviation *Ars*.

The measurements of the stele are: 1.33 m. high; 0.60 m. wide; 0.27 m. thick (max.). The figures given by Puchstein *loc. cit.* contain strange errors which are perpetuated in *IGLS* (Père Gransault apparently did not measure the stone when he saw it in 1919): 1.57 m. high; 0.60 m. wide; 0.57 m. thick. The explanation of the error appears to be that both for the height and the thickness, 0.57 m. was written for 0.27 m. The thickness of the stone is in fact 0.27 m., as already noted, while the height of the stele, measured either on the rear or on the left-hand face, is 1.27 m., the additional 6 cm. given by my measurement being

<sup>1</sup> Humann-Puchstein, *op. cit.*, Tafeln, no. xxxix B.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Jacopi, *Dalla Paflagonia alla Commagene* (Estratto del Bollettino del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte), VII (1937). Jacopi writes (24): 'La stele proviene, a quanto si afferma, da Palas, sull' Eufrate'. Jacopi regarded the inscription as complete in itself, but J. Keil, in Dörner-Naumann, *Forsch. in Kommagene* 51-53, republishing the text, with improved restorations, showed that it breaks off in the middle of a sentence: see further, below, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Humann-Puchstein, *op. cit.* 262 ff. = *OGI* 383 = *IGLS* 1, ll. 154 ff. (= *Nem.* in Epigraphical Notes).

obtained by measuring from the preserved top horizontal surface of the stone. The ledge on which the relief is engraved is (as correctly given by Puchstein) also 0.27 m. high. The destroyed surface on the rear face measures at its greatest extent 0.86 × 0.56 m.

The letters, cut in the style characteristic of this region and date, are 0.020 m. high.

The text is as follows; the vertical arrows represent the general line of the angle of the rear and side faces. The letter on the angle is underlined in each instance:

↓

- - - - - ὅπως] ἕκαστος ἐν ἱ[εραῖς]

[ἡμέραις ἀνελλιπῇ χορ]ηγίαν λαμβάνων ἀσυκοφαντ[η]-  
[τον ἔχη τὴν ἑορτὴν εὐωχοῦ]μενος, ὅπου προαιρεῖται· τοῖς τε  
[ἐκπώμασιν, οἷς ἐγὼ καθιέρω]σα, διακονεῖσθωσαν ἕως ἂν ἐν ἱερῶι  
5 [τότῳ συνόδου κοινῇς με]ταλαμβάνωσιν. *vac.* 1. δεκάτῃ δὲ ἐμμήνω[ι],  
[ὡς ὁ νόμος κελεύει, τὰς ἐπιθύσεις καὶ θυσίας ἱερεὺς δ[σ]-  
[τις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καθέ]στ[αι] ἐπιτελείτω, τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα παρα-  
[λ]αμβά[ν]ων Περσι[κῆν] καὶ γέρατα κατὰ νόμον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐ-  
[ξαίρ]οῦμενος, *vac.* 1. τὰ λοιπ[ά] δὲ ἀ[πὸ] τῶν ἱερῶν τοῖς παρατυγχάνου-  
10 [σιν δια]νέμων εἰς ἀνυπεύθ[υν]ον εὐωχίαν *vac.* 1. οἱ δὲ καθω[σ]ιωμένοι ὑ[π']  
[ἐμοῦ] ἱερόδουλοι καὶ τού[των] παῖδες] ἔγγονοί τε πάντες ἀ-  
[παρ]ενόχλητοι μὲν τῶ[ν] ἄλλων ἀπάντων] ἀφεισθώσαν, *vac.* 1. ταῖς  
[δὲ θ]εραπείαις τῶν [λειτουργιῶν τε καὶ] τῶν συνόδων *vac.* 1.  
[προ]σκαρτερε[ῖ]τωσαν. μηδενὶ δὲ ὄσιον ἔ[σ]τω, μήτε βασι- *vac.* 1.  
15 [λεῖ] μήτε δ[υνάσῃ] μήτε ἱερεῖ μήτε ἀρχο[ντι, τούτους ἱερο-  
[δο]ύλους οὐ[ς] ἐγὼ θεοῖς τε καὶ τιμαῖς ἑμαῖς κατὰ] {δαι} δαιμόνιον  
[βο]ύλησιν ἀν[έ]θηκα, μηδὲ μὴν παῖδας ἐγγόν[ους] τε ἐκείνων  
[οἱ]τινες ἂν ἐ[ν] ἅπαντι χρόνῳ τοῦτο γένος δ[ι]αδέχωνται  
μήτε αὐτῶ[ι] καταδουλώσασθαι μήτε εἰς ἔ[τε]ρον ἀπαλλο-  
20 τριῶσαι τρό[πωι] μηδενὶ μήτε κακῶσαι τινά] τούτων ἢ περι-  
σπᾶσαι θερά[πειας] ταύτης, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελείσθ[ωσαν] μὲν αὐ-  
τῶν ἱερεῖς, *vac.* 1. ἐ[παμυνέτωσαν] δὲ βασιλεῖς τ[ε] καὶ ἀρχον- *vac.* 2.  
τες ἰδιώτ[αι] ἰ τε πάντες, οἷς ἀποκείσεται πα[ρὰ] θεῶν καὶ ἡ-  
ρώων χάρις [εὐσεβείας. ὁμοίως δὲ μηδὲ χώραν, ἣν ἐγὼ καθιέρω]σα  
25 θεοῖς τούτο[ις, μηδενὶ ὄσιον ἔστω μήτε ἐξί]διάσασθαι μή-  
τε ἐξάλλο[τριῶσαι] μήτε μεταδιατάξαι μήτ[ε] βλάψαι κατὰ  
μηδένα τρ[ό]πον γῆν ἐκείνην ἢ πρόσοδον, ἣν ἐγὼ κ[τῆ]μα θεοῖς  
ἄσυλον ἀν[έ]θηκα. ὥσαύτως δὲ μηδὲ ἀλ[λ]ην παρεύ-  
ρεσιν εἰς ὕβρ[ιν] ἢ ταπείνωσιν ἢ κατάλυσιν ὧν ἀφωσί]ωκα θυσιῶν  
30 καὶ συνόδων [ἐπιμηχανήσασθαι] μηδενὶ κατὰ τιμῆς] ἡμετέ-  
ρας ἀκίνδυν[ον] ἔστω. τύπον δὲ εὐσεβείας, ἣν θεοῖς καὶ] προγό-  
νοις εἰσφέρει[ιν] ὄσιον, ἐγὼ παισὶν ἐκγόνοις τε ἐμοῖς ἐ[μφανῇ]  
καὶ δι' ἑτέρων [πολλῶν καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐκτέθει]κα, νομίζω  
τε αὐτοὺς κ[αλὸν] ὑπόδειγμα μιμήσασθαι γένους] καὶ θεῶν αὐ-  
35 ξοντας ἀεὶ [συγγενεῖς τιμᾶς, ὁμοίως τ' ἐ]μοὶ πολλὰ  
προσθήσε[ιν] ἐν ἀκμῇ χρόνων ἰδίων, εἰς κό[σμον] οἰκεῖον· οἷς  
ταῦτα πράσ[σουσιν] ἐγὼ πατρώους πάντα]ς θεοὺς ἐκ Περσί-  
δος τε καὶ Μ[ακετίδος γῆς Κομμαγηυῆς τ]ε ἐστίας εἰλεως  
εἰς πᾶσαν χάριν εὐχομαι διαμένειν. ὅστ[ις] τε ἂν βασιλεὺς]

- 40 ἡ δυνάστη(ς) ἐ[ν μακρῶι χρόνῳι ταύτην] ἀρχὴν παραλάβη, νό-  
μον τοῦτον κα[ὶ τιμὰς ἡμετέρ]ας διαφυλάσσων καὶ παρὰ τῆς  
[ἐμ]ῆς εὐχῆς εἰλεως δαίμονας καὶ θεοὺς πάντας ἔχέτω. *vac.* 2. δαιμο-  
[νί]ωι δὲ γνώμῃι ταύτην ἀναγραφὴν εὐσεβείας προφητίν ἐποίη-  
[σ]άμην, ἐφ' ἧς ἱερὰ γράμματα δι' ὀλίης φωνῆς θεσπίζει μέγαν θε-  
45 [ῶν] νοῦν πολίταις καὶ ξένοις, *vac.* 1. ὁμοίως βασιλεῦσιν, δυνάσταις,  
[ἐλ]ευθέροις, δούλοισι, πᾶσιν ὅσοι θύσεως κοινωνοῦντες ἀνθρω-  
[πίν]ης, ὀνόμασι <γ>ένους ἢ τύχης διαφέρουσιν ταῦτοις *vac.* 6.

### *Epigraphical Notes.*

The texts of P(uchstein) and *IGLS* are almost identical. P. did not always record in his minuscule text letters engraved (as in other inscriptions from Commagene, e.g. *OGI* 404 = Keil, *Serta Hoffilleriana*, Zagreb, 1940, 129 ff., with photograph: now in the British Museum), in many of the lines, across the angle formed by the junction of the side and rear faces of the stone. Most of these letters are visible, and some, though not all, are given by P in his majuscule copy. *IGLS* reproduces this anomalous minuscule text, and the suspicion arises that Père Gransault's revision of the stone was very cursory.

I do not record these new readings in the following notes since they are clear in the text.

Line 16: ΔΑ<sup>Δ</sup>ΔΑΙ, P. ΔΑΙΔΑΙ *lapis*, though the *iota* is slightly battered at the top.

Line 24: before ἐγώ a wholly visible upright stroke |, with a possible oblique stroke attached to it, thus: √. This might be part of a *nu*. This agrees excellently with the text provided by *Ars.* at this point (col. iv, line 10), ὁμοίως δὲ μηδὲ χώραν ἦν ἐγὼ καθιέρωσα, which I therefore unhesitatingly restore here, in place of previous editors' κώμας &]ς from *Nem.* lines 190-191.

Line 27: γῆν ἐκείνην, from *Ars.* in place of previous editors' κώμας ἐκείναις (*cf.* previous note).

Line 40: δυναστην *lapis*.

Line 44: ὀλί(γ)ης P. ὀλί[γ]ης *IGLS*. The latter is wrong since the stone clearly has ΟΛΙΗC. This cannot be regarded as an error, since the form ὀλίος, already apparently quite common in the fifth century (*cf.* Plato *Com. fr.* 168 K and Radermacher, *Neutest. Gram.*<sup>2</sup> (1925), 49), is frequent in the Hellenistic age: *cf.* *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 317 (318/7 B.C.), line 7: ὀλιάρχας; *ibid.* 1100 (185/4 B.C.), line 22: οὐκ ὀλίον πλῆθος, and the examples given by Liddell-Scott<sup>9</sup>, s.v. ὀλίος, where the statement 'in inscr. and papyri from 300 B.C.' evidently needs correction in view of *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 317. Keil, *Hermes* LXIX (1934), 452, n. 3, has already noted the discrepancy here between P and *IGLS*: 'Ob hier eine beabsichtigte Korrektur oder nur eine Ungenauigkeit vorliegt, lässt sich nicht erkennen'.

Lines 44-5: [θε|ῶν ν]οῦν P. θε[ῶν] νοῦν *IGLS*, correctly. This is the only improvement introduced by *IGLS* into the text of the inscription.

Line 47: ὀνόμασις ἐνούση τύχης P, followed by *IGLS*, from P's majuscule copy, which has ΟΝΟΜΑCIC. The final *sigma*, on the angle of the left and rear faces, though damaged, is certain, the horizontal bottom stroke being clear. The final H of ΕΝΟΥCΗ is not certain: the left vertical stroke is clear, but the rest of the surface of the letter has gone; what faint traces remain (possibly the top of another vertical stroke) are compatible with H and I therefore print η. Any alternative (for example N) would presuppose a stone-cutter's error.

The certainty of the second *sigma* of the line, and the relative uncertainty of the *eta*, need



to be established in view of Keil's reconstruction of this and the preceding line in *Hermes*, *loc. cit.* 452-4. I am persuaded by Keil's arguments, but there can be no doubt that if we accept them we must read:  $\delta\acute{o}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota \langle\gamma\rangle\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \eta \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\varsigma$ .

II. J. Keil, in Dörner-Naumann, *Forschungen in Kommagene*, 52-3, suggested tentatively that the stele at Adiyaman (*cf.* note 2, above), which bears a relief on the front showing two pairs of lower legs, and on the back a fragment of an inscription describing the royal foundation of a religious cult, might be the under-part of the fragmentary *OGI* 404 = *BMI* 1048a = *IGLS* 52 = Keil, *Serta Hoffilleriana*, Zagreb, 1940, 129 ff., which is complete on the right side, and bears on the front a relief of Helios in the act of greeting someone (of whom no trace remains). The figure of Helios, which is lost from the thighs down, fills the whole surviving portion of the stone.

This proposed identification, Keil realised, was not without its difficulties, of which the most obvious was the difference in the number of letters per line in the two inscriptions. Thus he wrote (*Forsch. in Kommag.*, *loc. cit.*): 'Die vom Relief (*i.e.* of Adiyaman) erhaltenen Teile und die Angaben über die Masse, soweit diese vergleichbar sind, lassen eine Zusammengehörigkeit als möglich erscheinen, während die etwas grössere Buchstabenanzahl der Zeilen des neuen Fragments eher, wenn auch keineswegs mit voller Sicherheit, gegen eine Zusammengehörigkeit spricht'. And again (*Sert. Hoffill.* 134): 'Jacopi hat auf seiner Reise ausserdem in Adiyaman den Unterteil einer angeblich aus Palas am Euphrat stammenden Basaltstele entdeckt . . ., die sowohl in der Reliefdarstellung wie in der Art der über die beiden Schmalseiten und die Rückseite laufenden Beschriftung der Stele des Britischen Museums (*OGI* 404) so ähnlich ist, dass man die beiden Stücke als Teile einer und derselben Stele ansehen möchte, wenn nicht einige Angaben und Beobachtungen dem entgegenzustehen schienen'.

It is, I believe, quite impossible for the Adiyaman stele (hereafter *A*) and *OGI* 404 to belong to the same monument for the following reasons, of which the second seems to me conclusive.

(1) Jacopi's very poor photograph of *A* (*Dalla Paflagonia alla Commagene*, fig. 104) shows quite clearly an object hanging down between the two trunkless pairs of legs. This object, it seems to me, is probably the familiar lion's head and paws of Heracles's  $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu\tau\tilde{\eta}$ . The god is wearing the lion-skin with just such a pendent head and paws in the Nemrud-Dag relief and on the Selik stele (see *FIG.*), where it is visible in the identical position, immediately below the central hole. Certainty, in view of the inadequacy of the photograph of *A*, is not possible, but if the object on *A* is the  $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu\tau\tilde{\eta}$ , then the body to which it was attached was that of Heracles and not that of Helios, who is not associated with the lion's skin.

(2) The other argument derives from the length of the two inscriptions. *OGI* 404, which I have studied in the British Museum, has an average line of 34 letters, of which, on an average, 6-7 are on the right face, 14-16 on the rear face. Now the supplements to most of the text are certain, being determined by the identical passage in the  $\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$  of Nemrud-Dag (lines 1-6 = *OGI* 383, lines 1-7; lines 9-19 = lines 11-24), and it is clear that not more than c. 10 letters are to be supplied between the preserved end of each line on the rear face and the beginning of the following line on the right face. From a study of the photograph of *OGI* 404 it can be seen that the figure greeted by Helios stood on the same stele; traces of the figure remain, including a small piece of relief-work which is identical with a fold in the cloak of Antiochus shown on the Selik stele; the figure was evidently Antiochus. Thus the missing letters, not more than ten in each line, must have been inscribed on the rear face behind the missing figure of Antiochus, and the lost left face must have been left





B.M. STELE FROM COMMAGENE.

uninscribed. On the other hand, both side faces of *A* are inscribed (see the reproduction in Jacopi, *op. cit.* fig. 105). The stones therefore cannot be associated.

The relationship between *A* and the Selik stele (= *S*), republished under I above, is uncertain, and I am under the disadvantage that I have not seen *A*, and Jacopi's reproduction is very poor. Keil, in *Forsch. in Kommagene* 52, suggested that *A* (and *OGI* 404, which we must now exclude) and *S* formed part of a continuous text of which *S* was the last member (which is certain, since there is a vacant space of six letters after the last word of the inscription). This is possible, but far from certain, and since Keil made no attempt to substantiate his conjecture, a few points may be noticed: (a) Palas and Selik, at which *A* and *S* respectively were found, or were said to have been found, are about 30 km. apart, but this is not a decisive argument against the two stelai having been erected in the same cult-centre, since Palas is on the Euphrates and Selik near it, so that either stone might have been transported from one place to the other. (b) The fact that both reliefs apparently represent the same scene, Heracles greeting Antiochus, has, in the present state of our knowledge, little weight for or against the view that the two stelai were exhibited in the same *temenos*. (c) A comparison of the measurements of the two stones, and of the number of letters per line on each, indicates that the two stelai were similar; width, *A*: 0.67 m., *S*: 0.60 m.; thickness, *A*: 0.27 m., *S*: 0.20 m.; number of letters per line, *A*: 50 *plus*; *S*: 44-50. This is no proof that the stones were erected in the same place, but it indicates that probably they belonged to a different series of monuments from that of which *OGIS* 404, with its smaller measurements, formed part.

P. M. FRASER

# NEW FRAGMENTS OF IG II<sup>2</sup> 10

(PLATE 27)

OF the three new fragments of IG II<sup>2</sup> 10 here discussed, the two most important (PLATE 27, a-b, FIG. 1) were identified in 1948 by Mr. George A. Stamires.<sup>1</sup> The third fragment is the inscription published as IG II<sup>2</sup> 2403.

IG II<sup>2</sup> 10 (EM 8147; FIG. 2) was found on the Acropolis and published by Ziebarth, *AM* XXIII 27-34.<sup>2a</sup> The two contiguous fragments identified by Mr. Stamires had been used as the impost of a column in an early Christian church and ornamented with a cross between two acanthus leaves (PLATE 27, c). Professor Soteriou, of the Byzantine Museum, Athens, dated the sculpture, from a drawing, to the early part of the fifth century after Christ. In November 1947 the fragments were in the museum at Aigina, and Dr. Gabriel Welter<sup>1b</sup> informed me that he had found them on the slope of Kolonna Hill, near the so-called Temple of Aphrodite, in August 1942.

It is stated in IG<sup>2</sup> that the third fragment, IG II<sup>2</sup> 2403 (FIG. 3), was to be found 'in museo Piraeensi'; but it was not to be found there either by me in 1948 or by Mr. E. Vanderpool, who kindly searched for it in 1951. Dr. Werner Peek, however, sent me some rubbings made from a squeeze, and the squeeze itself was subsequently sent to me by Dr. Klaffenbach.

The contiguous fragments identified by Mr. Stamires do not join EM 8147, but they should be ascribed to the same inscription for the following reasons. Both they and EM 8147 are of Pentelic marble, both are opisthographic, the damage is similar, and in both cases the columns of names are roughly *stoichedon*, while the decree in EM 8147 is strictly so. The lists are similar, and unusual, since the names are followed by trades instead of patronymics, demotics, or nothing at all. Above all, the measurements agree, such as the thickness of the stone, the size of the letters and their distance apart;<sup>2</sup> the character of the writing is identical.

IG II<sup>2</sup> 2403 can be assigned to the same inscription on the ground of the similarity of the list in it to those of both EM 8147 and Mr. Stamires' pair of fragments; the measurements and shapes of the letters are also similar to those on the other three. The only difficulty is that IG<sup>2</sup> gives the thickness of IG II<sup>2</sup> 2403 as 0.03 m., which is much less than that of any of the other fragments, and no letters appear on the back. The fragment is described as 'a dextra tantum integra'; it is probable also that the back has been broken or cut away.

The following is a comparison of the measurements of the three separate fragments.

	Aigina frs.	IG II <sup>2</sup> 2403.	EM 8147.
Maximum thickness of the stone	0.138 m.	—	0.134 m.
Average ht. of letters Face A	0.0084	varies between 0.008, 0.005, and 0.010.	0.0076
Average ht. of letters Face B	0.0068	—	0.0062
Average ht. of letters and spaces Face A	0.0123	0.111 or 0.0112	0.0105
Average ht. of letters and spaces Face B	0.0084	—	0.0089
Average breadth of letters and spaces Face A	0.0087	0.0089	0.0087 or less <sup>3</sup>
Average breadth of letters and spaces Face B	0.007	—	0.0072
For letter forms see FIGS. 1, 2 and 3.			

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to him for permission to publish his discovery and for generous assistance in the work, and also to Professor Wade-Gery, Dr. M. N. Tod, and Professor A. Raubitschek for reading through the manuscript and making valuable corrections.

<sup>2a</sup> For the bibliography of IG II<sup>2</sup> 10, see M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* II, no. 100.

<sup>1b</sup> I am indebted to him and to Mr. Kotzias, who, during my residence at the British School in 1947-48, was ephor of Attica, for permission to publish them, also to Mr. R. M. Cook for photographing them and to the Greek Archaeological Council for having them moved to the Epigraphical Museum, where they are now numbered 13103a and b.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'chequer-unit' is not used because it could not apply to the columns of names, which are not strictly *stoichedon*, or even to the decree, which is *stoichedon* but had not been ruled out in squares, as can be seen from note 3.

<sup>3</sup> The distance from the centre of the alpha in α in line 8 to that of the alpha in πρῶτον is between 0.303 and 0.305 m.



*IG*<sup>2</sup> gives the average height of the letters on EM 8147, without specifying which face is referred to, as 0.007 m. The slight difference in the thickness between the two fragments from Aigina and EM 8147 is natural, since the thinner fragment is at the top. In EM 8147 the thickness immediately under the moulding is 0.125 m., while 0.075 m. further down it is 0.134 m.

Mr. Stamires' discovery has made possible a more accurate arrangement of the columns than that in *IG*<sup>2</sup>.

It is usually thought that there were seven columns on the original stele in Face B, the third preserved column on EM 8147 being the middle one. There should be three columns to the right of it, to find room for the formula  $\xi\delta\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\iota\ \beta\omicron\lambda\eta\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\omega\iota\ \delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$  on the other side.<sup>4</sup> As for the columns to the left of it, von Prott, for example, suggests<sup>5</sup> that as the second column of 8147 contains the name Aigeis and the first has no tribal name at the head, there must have been yet another to the left with the name of Erechtheis. This suggestion has been generally followed since, although it would give Erechtheis more names than the other tribes. De Sanctis, however, has his doubts.<sup>6</sup>

We now have fragments containing (Face B) two columns, the first with the name of Hippothontis, the second with that of Erechtheis, preceded by a heading. We also know that there were names on Face A (Wilhelm<sup>7</sup> was right in saying that Face A was not filled with the decree). This suggests that there were two or more lists of names, arranged in tribes in their official order, which means that we must place the Aigina fragments either so that the name of Hippothontis comes after that of Aigeis on 8147 or so that Erechtheis comes before it.

The first of these arrangements is not likely. It would involve the assumption of three, or even four, lists of names, and we should have to assume that there was another Erechtheis just where that name would come if we place the Aigina fragments to the left of the centre. The fragments should therefore be placed so that the Erechtheis will come in the column before the Aigeis of 8147, and Hippothontis before that.

That means that we have to postulate at least seven columns on the original stele. The bottom of the first will be the left-hand column on the fragments from Aigina containing the name of Hippothontis. The top of the second will be the first column on 8147. The bottom of the second will be the right-hand column of the Aigina fragments, where the tribe Erechtheis begins. The top of the third will be the second column of 8147, and the top of the fourth will be the third column of 8147 (see FIG. 4).

It is possible that there was an eighth column to the left. The measurements across the columns are compatible with either eight or seven, and the assumption of an eighth would eliminate an unusually wide margin to the left of the columns. It would also relieve us of having to say that the edge of the re-used fragment is the original edge of the stele, and it might be more likely if there were three lists of names in the inscription (see pp. 111-12). But this is not conclusive. The original edge could well have been kept by the second users of the stone, and the margin was probably narrower at the top owing to tapering of the stele (we may compare, for instance, Kirchner, *Imagines* 1, 41 and 43). Moreover, apart from what will be said on p. 111, if there were an even number of columns the heading would be unsymmetrical. The heading should be restored [ $\Lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\gamma$ ]ραμμάτευε since the name  $\Lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma$  occurs in the text, and that should mean that the *gamma* of  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$  was in the centre of the heading. The *gamma* is lost, but enough is preserved to show that it was opposite the middle, and not the end, of the column that *IG*<sup>2</sup> prints as the third. Therefore, if the

<sup>4</sup> Two columns are just possible, but not likely.  
*RivFil* LI 287-308, especially 303.

<sup>5</sup> *AM* XXV 34.  
<sup>7</sup> *ÖJh* XXI 167.





heading were symmetrical that column should be the middle one, and there should therefore be seven columns.<sup>9</sup> The stele would then be about 0.8 m. or more across, and we should expect four columns on Face A.<sup>8</sup>

It is more difficult than it appears at first sight to place *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2403. Since *IG*<sup>2</sup> states that there is an edge preserved on the right, it seems as if the fragment ought to be in the right-hand column of Face A, but if the edge of the fragment is original, the column could not have been more than 0.18 across, and was probably less, whereas the column on the Aigina fragment, which *was* the right-hand column on Face A, was broader than that, since it is 0.178 from the left edge of the inscribed portion to the right edge of the fragment. Therefore unless the column



FIG. 3.—*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2403, FACE A (TRACED FROM A SQUEEZE).

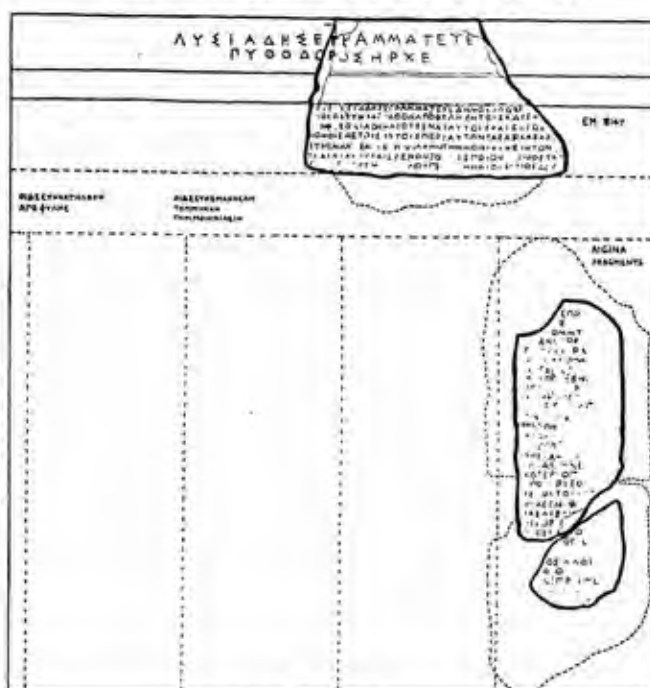
was much narrower at the bottom than at the top, which is not likely, we must assume that the edge of 2403 is not original and that we do not know in which column it should be placed.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The breadths of the preserved columns on Face B are: Aigina fragments, first column, 0.144 m. at line 67, 0.147 m. at 79, 0.151 at 97. EM 8147, first column, 0.116 m., second 0.114 m. The left edge of the first on Face B of EM 8147 corresponds with the left side of the *tau* of *προστα* - in line 8 on Face A, that of the following column to the space between *alpha* and *upsilon* in *αὐτοῖς* in line 5, and that of the following to the left-hand side of the *alpha* in *Ἀθηναίους*. On Face A in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2403, the maximum breadth of that fragment is 0.23 m., the distance from the first letter in the last line to the edge is over 0.165 m. and under 0.179 m., and the column would have been at least 0.17 m. across if Dr. Peek's restoration of line 13 in a letter to me is right, *Ἀπολλωνίδης σὺν* [βαλ(ουσιδός)]. On Face A of the fragments from Aigina the distance from the left edge of the inscribed surface to the right edge of the fragment is 0.178 m. These measurements fit best with columns of about 0.2 m. across, possibly a little more. That, and the measurements on Face B, suggest that the breadth of the stele was rather more than 0.8 m.

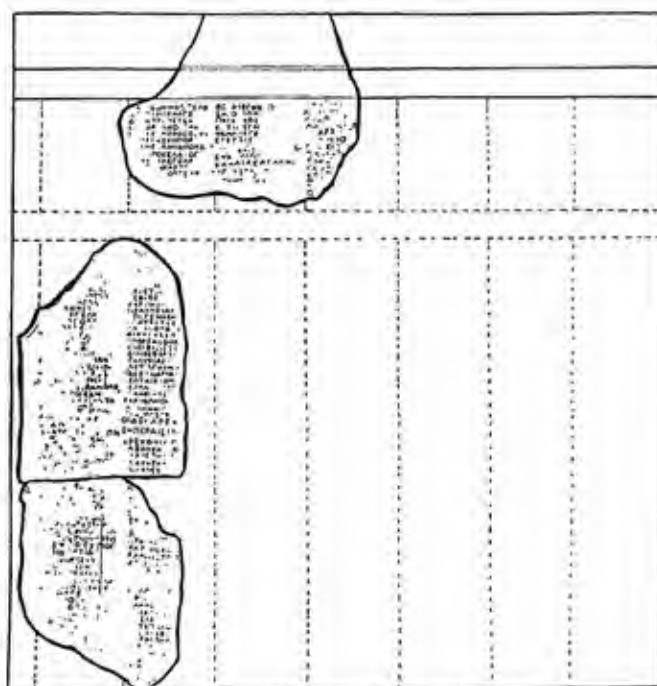
The disposition of the columns on Face A in FIG. 4 is not intended to be more than approximate.

<sup>9</sup> The heading, of course, might not have been symmetrical. The centres of other headings of decrees, which were inset as if meant to be symmetrical, were sometimes not exactly in the centre of the stone, such as *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1 (Kirchner, *Imagines* pl. 19) and 111. Sometimes it is over the central letter of the decree but not in the centre of the stone, as in I<sup>2</sup> 76 and 145, headings which are, however, not inset. In *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 115 and *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1742 measurements from the squeezes suggest that it was in the centre. Gross asymmetry was usually avoided, which argues against Ziebarth (*AM* XXIII 28), who suggested that the secretary's demotic appeared in the heading. A demotic to the left of *τυράννευς* would make the line too long for the formula, while one to the right would be unusual and make the heading grossly unsymmetrical.

<sup>10</sup> If we were to place the name of Hippothontis on Face B of the Aigina fragments after the Aigeis of E.M. 8147, and thus assume fewer than seven columns and a narrower stele, then the edge of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2403 might have been original, because we could assume four columns on Face A. Such an arrangement on Face B, is, however, unlikely, for reasons discussed on p. 111, and also because it would be improbable if there were an equal number of people in each tribe. It might be possible to squeeze it in if we assume five columns on Face A and eight on Face B, but we have seen that this is unlikely.



FACE A



FACE B

FIG. 4.—RECONSTRUCTION OF STELE.

The height of the stele can be calculated approximately by the arrangement of the tribes on Face B. It was at least 1.5 m. with the heading, or 1.4 m. without. The width of the whole stele was probably over 0.8 m., perhaps about 0.85 m. This is calculated from the widths of the preserved columns and the assumption that Hippothontis was holding the prytany, which was suggested by Wilhelm,<sup>11</sup> because of a restoration [Ἱπποθωντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε Λυσ]ιδ[ῆς ἐγραμμάτευε] in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 9, a *stoichedon* inscription with short lines. Even assuming the longest tribal name, the formula does not quite fill the space required for column VII on the other side, assuming that column VII was the same width as the preserved columns on Face B. It may be that one of the lost columns was a little narrower than those that are preserved, or that the letters on Face A, the spacing in which is irregular, were further apart on the lost part of the stone, or that the word θεοί should be added before ἔδοξεν, as in *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 52.<sup>12</sup>

No new text of the decree will be printed here, but only the text of the Aigina fragments and some remarks on the rest.

### TEXT OF AIGINA FRAGMENTS

EM 13103a and b. Two contiguous fragments of Pentelic marble, of which the right edge only is original. Height 0.57 m., breadth 0.22 m., thickness 0.138 m., height of inscribed portion on Face A 0.396 m., breadth 0.135 m. Height of letters, 0.0084 m. on Face A, 0.0068 m. on Face B. Height of letters and spaces, 0.0123 m. on Face A, 0.0084 m. on Face B. Breadth of letters and spaces, 0.0087 m. on Face A, 0.007 m. on Face B. For the forms of the letters see the drawing fig. 1. The probable date is 403/2, less likely 401/400.

#### FACE A

	[. . . . . γ]εωρ(γός)		[. . .]ελης χαλ(κεύς?)
	[. . . . .]ος		[. . .]ίων ἀλ[ιεύ(?)]
	[. . . . .]κρομμυσι(ώλης)		[. . .]χος ἔρισσι(ώλης)
	[. . .]ος ἀμαξορ(γός)		[. . .]ππος χρυσο(χός)
5	[ - ]αγ[ωγ]ός ≡ ΙCΡΑ[ - ]	20	[. . .]ισ[τ]ρατος σιτ(οπώλης)
	[ - - ]ι ΛΙΧΛΛΘΙ-ΛΛ (or Μ)		[ - - ]ρίας γναφ(εύς)
	[. . .]μων ΓΕΙ[.]ΣΟ[ - - ]		[ - - ]ίας λιβαν(ωτοπώλης)
	[Απολ]λόδωρ[ος] γναφ(εύς)		[. . .]ας δορ(υξός)
	[. . .]ΙΓΗ[.]Ι[.]Ρ[ - - ]		[. . .]ππος Ι[ - ]ο[ - ]
10	[ - ]Ι[.]Ι[.]ΚΗΙ[.]Γ[.] - - -	25	[ - - ca. 10 - ]φυτο(ργός?)
	[. . . . .]Σ Ε[.]ΛΔΗ[ - - ]		[ - - ca. 8 - ]υλ[ - - ]
	[. . .]ολης[.]Λ[.]Λ[ - - - ]		[ - - ca. 8 - ]ος ἀλφι(τοπώλης)
	[. . .]ων κάπη(λος)		[ - - ca. 7 - ]ν όνο(κόμος)
	[. . .]ακος πλυν(εύς?)		[ - - ca. 6 - ]νος πριονο(ποιός)
15	[. . .]ΟΝ γεωρ(γός)	30	[ - - ca. 6 - ]λφιτ[.]Λ[ - ]
			[ - - ca. 10 - ]Η[.]Γ[.]

<sup>11</sup> *ÖJh* XXI 164.

<sup>12</sup> One way to avoid either of these alternatives would be to assume that the decree began with ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ only, as do *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 6 (c. 404/3, see p. 117), 13 (399/8), 16, 17, and 18 (394/3), or ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳ, as in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 26 (394-387), and possibly 3 (ca. 403/2). This would mean that there were six columns on Face B and the breadth of the stele would be about 0.72 m. There would then be three columns on Face A. These, and the heading, would be more unsymmetrical than is really likely.

## FACE B

## Col. I

Vac. ca. 5 vs.

## Col. II

[- - - - -] LIIC  
 [- - ca. 4 - γραμ]ματεύ[ς]  
 [- - ca. 5 - ]ΛΓ[.]ΛΛ[- - -]  
 [- - 4 or 5 - ]άντι  
 5 [- - ca. 6 - -]ς γεωρ(γός)  
 [- - ca. 5 - ]αγόρας [- - -]  
 [- - ca. 4 -]ώτας ακ[- - -]  
 [- - - - -]Λ[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]Γ[.]Λ[- - - - -]  
 10 [- - - - -]Ο[- - - - -]Σ  
 [- - - - -]ΝΙ[- - -]Σ  
 Ι[- - - - -]φανι[- - -]  
 [- - - - -]ος ἔμπο(ρος?)  
 [- - - - -]Λ Ε[.]Σ[- - -]  
 15 C[.]ΣΙΔ[.]Χ[- - -]ΠΗ[- - -]  
 [- - - ca. 7 - - -] κεραμολό(γος)  
 Ρ[.]Μ[.]δης κηρυ(ξ)  
 Α[- - - ca. 7 - - -]ς σ[κ]υτο(τόμος)  
 Ι[- - - ca. 7 - - -]ΑΡ[- - - - -]  
 20 [- - - - -]Ε[.]ΙΣΡΩ[- - -]  
 ΟΝ[- - - - -]ΕΙ[- - -]  
 Δ[- - - - -]κ[- - -]  
 Ι[.]ΑΤΗ[- - - - -] κ[ά]πη(λος)  
 [- - -]Ν[- - - - -]ΕΝΤ[- - -]  
 25 [- - -]Ε[.]Ε[.]Α[- - - - -]  
 Α[.]Γ[.]Γ[- - - - -]ΕΥ[- - -]  
 [- - -]Λ[- - -]Α[.]ΗΑΤΙΟ[- - -]  
 [- - - - -]Η[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]Η[- - - - -]  
 30 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]Σ[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]Ι[- - -]  
 [- - - - -]Ο Ρ[- - -]  
 [- - - - -]Ο[- - -]  
 35 [- - - - -]Υ[- - -]  
 Ε[- - - - -]Δ[- - -]  
 [- - -]ΛΛ[.]ΙΙΕΛΑΡ[- - -]  
 [- - - - -]ΣΛ[.]Ρ[.]ΙΩ(- - -)  
 [- - - - -]Ν[.]Η[.]ΝΤΟ(- - -)

[- - - - -]  
 55 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]Η[- - -]  
 [- - - - -]Α[.]ριστο[- - - - -]  
 60 [- - - - -]έξις σ[- - - - -]  
 Χάρων κι[- - - - -]  
 Ἡρακλείδη[ς - - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]Ε[.]πιγένης κ[- - - - -]  
 Γλαυκίας σ[- - - - -]  
 65 Ἀντίδοτος σ[- - - - -]  
 Δίκαιος στα[φιδ(οποιός?)]  
 Ἀνδρέας φορ[τηγός]  
 Σωσίβιος σι[δηρορ(γός?)]  
 Φάνος φορτη(γός)  
 70 Γλαυκίας ξ[- - - - -]  
 Ἀστυάγης μι[σθωτός]  
 Ἀεξανδρίδ[ης - - - - -]  
 Σωταίριδη[ς - - - - -]  
 Σωτα[ίριδης]  
 75 Πάμφιλος [- - - - -]  
 Κρίθων σκ[- - - - -]  
 [Κ]οριυθιάδ[ης - - - - -]  
 Κνήψ γεωρ(γός)  
 Οἶδε παρέμ[εινον τῷ]  
 ἔμ Περαιεῖ δ[ήμωι]  
 Ἐρεχθίδο[ς]  
 Ἀβδης ἀ[ρτ]ο[π(οιός)]  
 Ἀριστοτέλ[ης - - - - -]  
 Ἰδύης κα[- - - - -]  
 85 x Μίκος σ[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 Ι[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 90 ΙΗ[- - - - -]  
 Σ[- - - - -]  
 Β[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 ΠΛ[.]Λ[.]ο[- - -]  
 95 ΛΕΛ[- - - - -]  
 Χαῖρις ἰσχα[δο(πώλης)]



## Col. I

40 E[- -]EY[- -]ος ὑπογ(ραμματεὺς)  
 [Ἱππ]οθ[ω]ντίδ(ος)  
 [- - - -]NIX[- -]EKT[- - -]  
 [- -]I[- - -]IN[- - -]  
 [- -]H[- - -]TIAEI < [- -]  
 45 [- - - -]AKY = ΛΠ(- -)  
 'E[πι]κράτη[ς] σκυτ(οτόμος)  
 [- . . .]ων γε(ωργός)  
 [- - - -]PO[- - - -]  
 [- - - -]O^CX[- -]  
 50 [- - - -]IMII[- -]  
 [- - -]IE[- .]Λ[- - - -]  
 [- - - -]IIKI[- .]N[- - -]  
 [- - - -]Σ[- -]

## Col. II

Καλλίστρ[α]τ[ος - -]  
 ΧΛΛΛΛ[- - - -]  
 [- - -]I[- - - -]  
 100 [- - - - -]  
 I[- - - - -]  
 I^ΛΛI/- - - -]  
 [- .]PI[- - - - -]  
 [K]αλλι[ας - - - -]  
 105 ['Eπ]ικτᾶ[ς - - - -]  
 [Σ]ωσίας[- - -]  
 ['Aτ]υς πιιι[- - - -]  
 [Καλ]λίας ἑ[μπ(ορος)]  
 [Εὐα]ρκίδημ[ος - - - -]  
 110 [- - -]F^VI[- - - -]  
 [- - - -]H[- .]E[- - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 I[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 115 [- .]H[- - - - -]

*Note.* The most likely restoration for the heading in lines 79 and 80 of Face B of the fragments from Aigina is οἶδε παρέμ[ενον τῶι] ἐμ Περαιεῖ δ[ήμωι]. This, however, seems rather too long for the breadth of the column<sup>8</sup> but it is difficult to restore anything else. The best solution would seem to be the supposition that the letters in line 79 were crowded together at the end of the line.

## COMMENTARY

There has been some recent damage to EM 8147, and it was found impossible to read the word ἐγγύησιν in line 9 of Face A. On Face A the first letter of line 4 may be a *nu*. The end of line 9 is τὸς δὲ Λ'. On Face B, in line 7 of the second column, that is column III of the complete stele, the name is more likely to be 'Ο[νησ]ίδη[ς] than 'Ονα[- .]μης, and column IV can be corrected in several places, thus:

'Eργ[ο]κλή[ς - - -]  
 Ω[- .]ιππ[ος] or Ω . νοππ[ος - - -]  
 'Αδωρ[- .]Λ[- - -] possibly MI  
 Λιχν[- .]ΟΟ[- .]O possibly Λιχν[ο]φό[ρ]ο[ς - - -]  
 5 [- . .]ΛΓΛι'[- - - -]  
 [Φρ]ύνιχο[ς - - - -]  
 Γ[- .]ισία[ς - - - -]  
 Ζωίλος [- - - -]  
 Σίμο[ς] θ[- - - -]  
 10 Λήναι[ος - - - -]  
 Εὐαθλ[ος - - - -]  
 ΜΝΑ or ΜΗΔ[- - -]  
 ΜΛC[- - - -]  
 'ΟΝ[- - - -]

In IG II<sup>2</sup> 2403 there are two lines before line 1, containing respectively a final Σ and ΣΗ. The name in line 10 is Ἑρμῶν not Ἑρμός, and that in line 14 is Ἀπολλωνίδης followed by traces for which Peek suggests σάν[δαλ(σποιός)], though σακ[-] is possible. The last line does not begin with *delta* but with ΓΙΦ'Ι' which might be read as Εὐφίλη[τος] (fig. 3).

Since we know that there were names on Face A and at least two columns of names on Face B, of which one included, as well as others, men who παρέμ[ενον τῶι] ἐμ Περαιεῖ δ[ήμωι], this may help to elucidate the problem whether the decree was about two groups of people, of whom one συνεκτῆλθον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς and the other συνεμάχησαν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ Μονιχίᾳσιν, with different rewards for each group, or about one group of people who did both. This has been much debated.<sup>13</sup> Since one of our lists is headed with a note of what the group had done, it is probable that the decree did refer to different groups of people who did different things and received different rewards, but it is not certain whether there were two or more such groups. There may have been a third group, the τὸς δὲ Λ' [-] of line 9 on Face A, or, which is rather more likely, there may have been a third group mentioned between τὸν δὲ in line 7 and ὅτε in line 8, e.g. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον διεπολέμησαν, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι --- ὅτε αἱ διαλλαγὰι ἐγένοντο.

Then we might assume that the first list was on Face A and that the second and third were on Face B. But when we come to arrange the tribes on the stone, assuming that they contained an approximately equal number of names, and knowing the position of three of them, it is difficult. If there are to be ten tribes before the Erechtheis on Face B, there will have to be an eighth column, which, as we have already seen, is unlikely, and the stele would be over 0.9 m. broad, which is not very probable.<sup>14</sup> If, however, we assume only two lists, it is also difficult. We wonder why the stone-cutter did not arrange to put all the first list on one side, so as not to affront some of the people in it by putting them in smaller letters on the back: and it seems that there were more names in the part of the first list that came on Face A than in that on Face B, whereas if there were an equal number of people in the tribes, there should be the same number in each part of the list.<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the best solution is to suppose that there were three lists which were arranged among seven columns on Face B and four on Face A in such a way that the first list occupied the first column on Face A, the second occupied the other three columns on Face A and was continued on Face B, and the third was the list that began with our heading Erechtheis and filled the rest of Face B. Since the third was headed οἶδε παρέμ[ενον τῶι] ἐμ Περαιεῖ δ[ήμωι], it is likely that the second was headed οἶδε συνεμάχησαν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ Μονιχίᾳσιν and the first οἶδε συνεκτῆλθον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς. In that case there were three categories of people.<sup>16</sup>

The question of what was bestowed on them cannot be separated from that of the date of the decree. The usual view is that this decree conferred enfranchisement on at least one category of beneficiaries and that it was passed in the archonship of Xenainetos, 401/400 B.C. This is because the name of that archon is generally restored in the heading. The name of

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, REG XL 88, note 2.

<sup>14</sup> Stelai were not usually as broad as that if they were 0.135 m. thick. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1700 is 1.57 m. high, 0.9 m. broad, and 0.1 m. thick; and 1713 is 0.155 m. thick and over a metre broad. But if there were an equal number of people in the tribes, to postulate eight columns would involve the unlikely assumption that the sides were inscribed as well.

<sup>15</sup> There may not, of course, have been an equal number of people in each tribe. They may have been assigned to the tribes in which they had been fighting in the war (cf. Lysias XIII 79), or have been distributed in some other way which we do not know. In that case we cannot tell how they were distributed on the stone, but an arrangement which implies either more or fewer than seven columns on Face B is, for reasons discussed on p. 104, unlikely.

<sup>16</sup> If there were six columns on Face B and three on Face A, we should have to assume two lists if there were an equal number in each tribe. It would be a further argument that the list on Face A was continued on Face B if the tribal name [AKAMANTIA]ΟΣ were restored in line 2 of the Aigina fragment of Face A, which is likely if the letters of that line were *stoichedon* ([ΠΠΘΩΝΤΙΑ]ΟΣ being just possible), but the letters of tribal names were sometimes spaced more widely than those of the lines above and below (see fig. 1, Face B) in which case it could have been [ΑΝΠΟΧΙΑ]ΟΣ. The surface is destroyed where the *delta* should be.

Pythodoros, 404/3 B.C., has been preferred by von Prott,<sup>17</sup> Hicks and Hill,<sup>18</sup> and Raubitschek,<sup>19</sup> who, at the time he discussed it, thought that this was the proposal of Thrasyboulos that was declared illegal. Which of these two dates is right depends partly on whether the decree was in fact one of enfranchisement.

The chief reason for restoring it as a decree of enfranchisement is that the beneficiaries are arranged in Athenian tribes.<sup>20</sup> But we can see from the decree that there were at least two categories of beneficiaries, of which at least the second was granted ἐγγύησις καθάπερ Ἀθηναίοις, which suggests that they were not being enfranchised.<sup>21</sup> We can see from the stone, however, that it was those in this second or third category who were arranged in tribes, and if they could be thus arranged without being enfranchised, that might have been possible for the first. The phrase νόμοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς χρῆσθαι οἷς καὶ περὶ - - ?] does not suggest full citizenship, whatever be restored. If the decree is an enfranchisement of 401/400 B.C., it is strange, as Raubitschek points out, that none of our sources mention it, whereas there is mention of a promise of *isoteleia* made after the battle at Mounichia to all who had fought on the democratic side. This is why Ziebarth and Wilhelm suggest that the second of our two groups was given *isoteleia*, but there is nothing in Xenophon's text to prevent his referring to both groups.<sup>22</sup> The chief difficulty in restoring this as a grant of *isoteleia* is that the beneficiaries were arranged in tribes, but it might be that to serve in Athenian tribes is what was meant by the phrase στρατεύεσθαι μετ' Ἀθηναίων, which often occurs in grants of *isoteleia*, as can be seen from the index to *IG II*<sup>2</sup>.

The chief objection to Raubitschek's contention that this is the decree of Thrasyboulos which was declared illegal is that the decree of Thrasyboulos is not likely to have been passed after the proposal that he made to enfranchise the orator Lysias personally. The Lysias proposal was made before the Council was set up, and there is a council in our decree.<sup>23</sup> We should have to assume that the Council had been set up, but wrongly constituted, and that brings us back to our chronological problem. The difficulty in assuming that it was a decree about *isoteleia*, or anything like it, in the archonship of Pythodoros, or, for that matter, of assuming that this was the decree that was declared illegal, is the date for the battle at Mounichia implied in Xenophon,<sup>24</sup> and the number of events that are known to have taken place between that date and the return. The return could hardly have been in the calendar year of Pythodoros at all and we should have to assume that his name was inscribed on the decree because no archon had yet been found to replace him. That is quite likely, and would reconcile various dates given for the return,<sup>25</sup> and provide a possible explanation for any illegality.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *AM XXV* 38.

<sup>18</sup> *Greek Historical Inscriptions* 80.

<sup>19</sup> *Hesperia X* 286.

<sup>20</sup> See, e.g., Koerte, *AM XXV* 393.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Wilhelm, *ÖJh XXI* 161. A rather unlikely explanation of this term will be found in *REG XL* 91.

<sup>22</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica II* 4, 25; *AM XXIII* 36; *ÖJh XXI* 162. The formulae for grants of *isoteleia* will be found in the Index to *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, but if there were seven columns of names on Face B the formula used was probably shorter than the average.

<sup>23</sup> *Vit. X Or.* 846a, 835e and f. The two measures are usually identified, but it will be seen from the above references that the decree about Lysias was probably an honorary decree for a single man beginning ἐπεὶ . . . followed by a statement of what he had done. The manuscript reading ἐπεὶ in 835f has, however, been emended to ἐπεὶ or καὶ. If there were two decrees Archinos quashed them both (836a and b).

<sup>24</sup> *Hellenica II* 4, 25.

<sup>25</sup> *Plut. de Glor. Ath.* 349f, *Vit. X Or.* 835f, 836a; *Ἀθην.* 39 and 41. For the events see especially *Xen. Hell.* II 4, 26-42, and we must also consider the date of Lysias XII and of the decree of Phormisios opposed in Lysias XXXIV (p. 691 in the Loeb edition).

We might apply surgery and suggest that Thrasyboulos' decree, Phormisios' decree, and the proposal of *isoteleia* in Xenophon were all proposed on the same day, and identify the most likely one with *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 10, or that the Ἀθην. was mistaken about either the contents, the procedure, or the fate of the proposal of Thrasyboulos.

<sup>26</sup> Pythodoros, if we accept the identification of *PA* 12389 with 12412, was an oligarch and had probably gone to Eleusis. His name was later expunged from the list of archons, and if it was engraved on a decree would offer a good excuse to anybody who wanted the decree declared illegal. But the name seems to have been used in later inscriptions (*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1371, and 1498 line 21, both restored).

There are two other arguments against restoring the name of Xenainetos. One is that a decree,<sup>27</sup> forbidding citizenship to anybody whose parents had not possessed it, was passed in 403/2 B.C., and such a decree is more easy to explain just after our decree than just before it. The other is the improbability that any decree like IG II<sup>2</sup> 10 should have been delayed for two years.

The decree, therefore, is rather more likely to have been passed in the archonship of Pythodoros than in that of Xenainetos, and may or may not be a decree of enfranchisement. If it was one of enfranchisement, it is even more unlikely to have been passed in the archonship of Xenainetos.

Both the fragments from Aigina and those previously published contain names of trades<sup>28</sup> that are attested neither in the *Thesaurus* of Stephanus nor, apart from this inscription, in LS<sup>9</sup>, such as ὀνοκό(μος) in EM 8147, πριονο(ποιός) or πριονο(πώλης) on Face A of the fragments from Aigina, στα[φιδο(ποιός)] on Face B, and σακκ(οποιός) and σανδαλ- in IG II<sup>2</sup> 2403 (see p. 111). 'Ονοκόπος, however, is attested in Alexis 13 (LS<sup>9</sup>, s.v.) and in Stephanus from Pollux, σακκ(οποιός) occurs in papyri,<sup>29</sup> and σταφιδοποιία in *Geoponica* V 52, where it means 'making raisins'.

Some names are poorly attested in literature. Καρσο(πώλης), found in EM 8147, recurs in IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1526, line 19. Κρομμυσο(πώλης) from Face A of the Aigina fragments is not cited in LS<sup>9</sup> before the second century B.C., but φντουργός appears in Darius' letter to Gadatas.<sup>30</sup> On Face B the κλ... in line 61 might be κλ[βωτο(ποιός)] which is found in Plutarch, or κλ[θαρωι(δός)].

Since metics were forbidden to own land, γεωργός, which is found several times, should mean 'farm-hand' rather than 'farmer'.<sup>31</sup> The word γναφεύς, which occurs both in EM 8147 and Face A of the Aigina fragments, attests the spelling with *gamma* for the late fifth century, a question discussed in LS<sup>9</sup> s.v. 'κναφεύς'. The word μισθωτός, which is found both in EM 8147 and Face B of the fragments from Aigina, is more likely to mean 'hired labourer'<sup>32</sup> than 'mercenary soldier'.<sup>33</sup> Οικοδόμος is rendered as 'builder, architect' in LS<sup>9</sup>: 'builder' is more likely in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1685 A 3, 3, but here we cannot tell. On Face A of the fragments from Aigina ἐριοπ(ώλης), occurring in Kritias,<sup>34</sup> is more likely than ἐριοπ(λύτης). The σιτ[-] could be σιτ(οποιός) and probably a slave, or σιτ(οπώλης), who could be a distinguished person. Since slaves' names did not often end in -ίστρατος, σιτ(οπώλης) is more probable. On Face B of the Aigina fragments ἄρτοπ(οιός) and ἄρτοπ(ώλης) are both possible in line 82. For the [γρὰμ]ματεύς in line 2 and the ὑπογ(ραμματεύς) in line 40 we may compare Tod,<sup>35</sup> and Clerc,<sup>36</sup> and also IG II<sup>2</sup> 1556 A, line 14, referring to a freed slave. The word ἔμπορος and its distinction from κάπηλος is discussed in LS<sup>9</sup> s.v. 'ἔμπορος', also by Tod<sup>37</sup> and Clerc.<sup>38</sup> A freed slave is an ἔμπορος in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1557 A, line 59. The word restored κε[ραμολό(γος)] in line 16 of Face B presents a puzzle, for by all analogy<sup>39</sup> the word should mean 'one who collects tiles,

<sup>27</sup> Athenaeus XIII 577b. Cf. REG XL 90, note 2, 99.

<sup>28</sup> Names for trades are discussed by A. Calderini, *La manomissione e la condizione dei liberti in Grecia*, 350-356, M. Clerc, *Les Métiques athéniens*, 390-418, and M. N. Tod, *BSA* VIII 203-211, hereinafter referred to as Calderini, Clerc, and Tod. See also Tod, 'Epigraphical Notes on Freedmen's Professions', in *Epigraphica* XII, 18-22. The references for the use of the words here discussed will be found in LS<sup>9</sup> unless otherwise stated.

<sup>29</sup> Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index* 90.

<sup>30</sup> *SIG* 22.

<sup>31</sup> Tod, 205, cf. Plato, *Th.* 178d. For slaves on the land see T. R. Glover, *The Challenge of the Greek* 66-7.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Tod, 210, and IG II<sup>2</sup> 1673, line 4.

<sup>33</sup> Calderini, 353. The word might, of course, be μισθωτής, which could refer to a metic, cf. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1672, line 180.

<sup>34</sup> Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* B70.

<sup>35</sup> *BSA* VIII 210-211.

<sup>36</sup> Clerc, 411.

<sup>37</sup> *Loc. cit.* 205-6, 209.

<sup>38</sup> *Loc. cit.* 397-403. See also H. Knorrh, *Emporos* (Amsterdam, 1926), *passim*.

<sup>39</sup> Buck and Petersen, 627-628.



wine-jars, or pieces of pottery', and this meaning is rather absurd. Possibly he served wine,<sup>40</sup> or put tiles on a roof (κεραμοῦν). If μάντις is to be read in line 4 of Face B in the same fragments, he might have been one of the amateur oracle-mongers discussed recently by Oliver,<sup>41</sup> but it might be part of a name. The word σκυτοτόμος is discussed by Tod,<sup>42</sup> and interpreted as 'leather-worker' or 'saddler' rather than 'shoe-maker'. Φορτηγός is rendered by 'merchant' in LS<sup>9</sup> and 'porter' by Tod;<sup>43</sup> in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1570, line 71 the second interpretation is more likely, but here it could be either. Τραπεζοποι(ός) in IG II<sup>2</sup> 2403 is rendered by LS<sup>9</sup> as 'a slave who sets the table', but, since Sokrates is not a name that one would expect for a slave, it may be that he was a carpenter who made tables, for which we may compare the word τραπεζοποιία.<sup>44</sup>

The names in the lists on the fragments from Aigina show that many of the beneficiaries were humble folk and some were barbarians, an observation that applies to the names on the other fragments as well, the more noteworthy of which have been included in the following remarks.

Some of the names do not prove this at all, such as *Herakleides*, *Epigenes*, *Glaukias*, *Antidotos*, *Dikaios*, *Aristoteles*, and *Dexandrides*, which occur among the citizens of Athens in all periods down to the Roman Empire, as may be seen from the *Prosopographia Attica*. We may note that there is a tombstone of a *Dexandrides*, an *isoteles*, of the early fourth century.<sup>45</sup> *Peisistratos*, of course, was a respectable name outside Athens.<sup>46</sup>

Others are rare, but there is no reason to think that they were confined to any particular class, such as *Korinthiades*, for which I can find no parallel,<sup>47</sup> and *Sotairides*, of which there is another example, Σωταιρίδης Σωσάν(δρου) Πειραι(εύς), on an unpublished dikast's ticket in the National Museum, Athens, possibly from the Karapanos Coll.<sup>47a</sup> The same would apply to *Euarkidemos*, if that is the correct reading and restoration in Face B line 109. *Krithon*, too, is rare, but seems to belong to a free man it occurs in Rheneia.<sup>48</sup> It may appear in Ps.-Hdt., *Vit. Hom.* 1,<sup>48a</sup> at Oiantheia in the fourth century<sup>49</sup> and at Eretria between 280 and 275 B.C., as the name of a citizen.<sup>50</sup> It is also found at Delphi before 272 B.C.<sup>51</sup>

Other of the names in our list seem to occur rarely, or not at all, before the fourth century: but when they are found they appear as soon among the upper classes as among the lower. *Pamphilos* and *Sosibios*, for instance, are rare before about 400 B.C. and very common later, *Pamphilos* being more common in the fourth century and *Sosibios* later, as can be seen from the *Prosopographia Attica*. The same might apply to *Hermon*, of which there are a good many instances, but few before the fourth century. It occurs as the name of a painter in Troizen,<sup>52</sup> who according to *RE* VIII 894 was very archaic, as that of the tyrant of Myrina in Lemnos in the sixth or early fifth century,<sup>53</sup> and of the father of Hermokrates in Syracuse.<sup>54</sup> In Athens in 411 B.C. a commander of the περίπολοι was so called, and so was a Laconian sailor in 406 B.C. Thereafter it occurs very frequently.

Yet others do not seem to occur among the upper classes before the fourth century.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Menander, *Sam.* 75.

<sup>41</sup> *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore, 1950), Chap. I. On the Κῆρυς, if that is the reading in line 17, I have no conjecture.

<sup>42</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 204.

<sup>43</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 209, note 6.

<sup>44</sup> Strabo IV 6, 2, p. 202.

<sup>45</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 7864.

<sup>46</sup> IG XI (4). 598 and 1135.

<sup>47</sup> Names derived from ethnics and ending in -δης are listed by Bechtel in *HP* 547, and we may compare Νεχσιάδης in IG I<sup>2</sup> 943, line 79. This last was probably given because of the Athenian capture of Naxos, cf. Tod, *GHI* I<sup>2</sup> 112, p. 102.

<sup>47a</sup> Cf. Πολυμνών IV (1949), 1-2, p. 79, note 8.

<sup>48</sup> Athenaeus IV 173b.

<sup>48a</sup> OCT reads, with one MS, *Krithon*.

<sup>49</sup> Polyaeus VIII 45. For the date see *RE* XVII 2, 2085.

<sup>50</sup> IG XII (9). 249A, line 6. For the date see *Hesperia* XVI 116-118.

<sup>51</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes* III i, 111.

<sup>52</sup> Paus. II 31, 6.

<sup>53</sup> Suidas s.v. 'Ερμόκλειος χάρις, Adler I 416.

<sup>54</sup> Thuc. IV 58. Plut., *Apophth. Lac.* 222e, *Alc.* 25, Thuc. VIII 92. Cf. *Vit. X Or.* 835f.



*Andreas*, for example, occurs at Sikyon in the seventh century as the name of the low-born father of the tyrant Orthagoras,<sup>55</sup> and in the fifth century as that of a metic working on the Erechtheion.<sup>56</sup> In the fourth century it occurs on Athenian tombstones,<sup>57</sup> and after that it is found frequently. *Emporion* is another fairly good example; it is the name of the father of a sculptor in IG I<sup>2</sup> 508 and 509, of which 508 is dated by Raubitschek and Jeffery to the early fifth century.<sup>58</sup> It is found on two tombstones of about 400 B.C.<sup>59</sup> and, without a demotic, in a list of dedications compiled in 341/40 B.C.<sup>60</sup> It also occurs on a tombstone of Imperial date.<sup>61</sup> *Phanos* occurs in one early dedication in Athens,<sup>62</sup> and as the name of an unpleasant associate of Kleon.<sup>63</sup> After that it occurs twice, without a demotic, in a list of dedications; <sup>64</sup> it appears also as the name that Demetrius of Phaleron thought prudent to alter,<sup>65</sup> as the name of an *epimeletes* and his father,<sup>66</sup> and elsewhere at Athens.<sup>67</sup> It occurs often at Eretria, Chalkis,<sup>68</sup> and Delos.<sup>69</sup> It is the name of a Pythagorean ridiculed by Antiphanes,<sup>70</sup> and is given to one of the Argonauts by Apollodorus.<sup>71</sup> The name *Mikos* occurs in an Athenian casualty-list in the late fifth century;<sup>72</sup> as the name of a sailor and a sailor's father in an inscription <sup>73</sup> which may be of the late fifth or early fourth century; <sup>74</sup> and later as that of a *theoros* in Thasos,<sup>75</sup> and a respectable person in Crete.<sup>76</sup> Later the name *Mikkos* appears twice at Thebes,<sup>77</sup> and there are similar names in Bechtel.<sup>78</sup>

*Dexios*, *Charon*, and *Chairis* should also be placed in this category, although there are rare occurrences of these names among the upper classes before the fourth century. *Dexios* is an archer at Athens (IG I<sup>2</sup> 949, of 425/4 or 424/3); cf. two sailors in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1951, lines 208 and 215. A worshipper of Bendis is so called in 329/8 B.C.,<sup>79</sup> and the name occurs on two tombstones, IG II<sup>2</sup> 11057 at the end of the fifth century, and 11058 in the middle of the fourth. After the fifth century it is frequent; in Athens, in a list of dedications <sup>80</sup> and elsewhere; <sup>81</sup> in Chalkis as the son of one Ploutarchos, so possibly a rich man; <sup>82</sup> in Hermione; <sup>83</sup> as a *kosmos* in Crete; <sup>84</sup> and at Delos twice, once as a man of good standing.<sup>85</sup> It also occurs twice as the name of a doctor.<sup>86</sup> A possible occurrence among the upper class before the fourth century is that which appears on vases of about 470 B.C.,<sup>87</sup> and also the father of Xenophanes of Kolophon.<sup>88</sup> *Charon* is the name of a woodworker (τέκτων) mentioned by Archilochus,<sup>89</sup> but also of the early fifth-century historian from Lampsakos.<sup>90</sup> There was an alleged brother of Hyperbolos of that name; <sup>91</sup> it occurs in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1951, 171. The other occurrences need not belong to humble folk; they are: the father of the deceased on a tombstone which is probably of the fourth century,<sup>92</sup> a contemporary of Lysander at Sparta,<sup>93</sup> one

<sup>55</sup> Hdt. VI 126; *FGH* (Jacoby) 105, F2, but cf. Hdt. VI 126.

<sup>56</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 10660, between 390 and 365 B.C., and IG II<sup>2</sup> Addenda Nova 7328a.

<sup>57</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 9202, of a Lesbian, and 12194.

<sup>58</sup> IG I<sup>2</sup> 801.

<sup>59</sup> Aristophanes, *Equ.* 1256, *Vesp.* 1220.

<sup>60</sup> Suidas, s.v. Δημήτριος, Adler II 40.

<sup>61</sup> IG XII (9). 245B, line 208, 247, line 6, IG VII 261; cf. the index to IG XII (9).

<sup>62</sup> IG XI (2). 144A, line 22, and very frequently during the third and second centuries.

<sup>63</sup> Athenaeus IV 161c.

<sup>64</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1951, lines 177 and 394.

<sup>65</sup> IG XII (8). 275 and 279.

<sup>66</sup> IG XI (4). 1040, line 3, *Fouilles de Delphes* III i, 359.

<sup>67</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1534, line 215. Without a demotic.

<sup>68</sup> IG IV 731.

<sup>69</sup> IG XI (2). 114, line 17 (the first occurrence of the name of that person), and, another *Dexios*, IG XI (4). 767 and elsewhere.

<sup>70</sup> Celsus V 18, 36, and, for a client of Lysias in the fourth century, Pape-Benseler s.v. 'Δέσιος' (= Bekker, *Anecdota* 129).

<sup>71</sup> Robinson and Fluck, *Greek Love-names* 112-113, but this is not likely to be the archer of IG I<sup>2</sup> 949. The name may also occur as that of a slave in IG I<sup>2</sup> 333.

<sup>72</sup> Diogenes Laertius IX 2, 11 but see Lucian, *Maec.* 20.

<sup>73</sup> *FGH* IIIa, no. 262.

<sup>74</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 5453.

<sup>75</sup> *FGH* (Jacoby) 105, F2, but cf. Hdt. VI 126.

<sup>76</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 10660, between 390 and 365 B.C., and IG II<sup>2</sup> Addenda Nova 7328a.

<sup>77</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 9202, of a Lesbian, and 12194.

<sup>78</sup> IG I<sup>2</sup> 801.

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<sup>80</sup> Suidas, s.v. Δημήτριος, Adler II 40.

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<sup>92</sup> Diogenes Laertius IX 2, 11 but see Lucian, *Maec.* 20.

<sup>93</sup> *FGH* IIIa, no. 262.

<sup>94</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 5453.

<sup>56</sup> IG I<sup>2</sup> 374, line 62.

<sup>57</sup> *Dedications* 408, no. 381.

<sup>58</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> Addenda 7292A.

<sup>59</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1534, lines 82 and 210.

<sup>60</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>61</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>62</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>63</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>64</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>65</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>66</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>67</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>68</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>69</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>70</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>71</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>72</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>73</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>74</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>75</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>76</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>77</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>78</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>79</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>80</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>81</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

<sup>82</sup> Dem. XXIX 23, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4353, 6557.

of the conspirators in Thebes in 379 B.C.,<sup>94</sup> one commemorated on a tombstone at Lebadeia before the Roman period,<sup>95</sup> a Megarian of the period between 320 and 310 B.C.,<sup>96</sup> a person in Delos in 203 B.C.,<sup>97</sup> and an Athenian *ephebos* of the Roman period.<sup>98</sup> It also occurs as the name of a historian from Naukratis,<sup>99</sup> and from Carthage,<sup>100</sup> and of an engineer from Magnesia.<sup>101</sup> *Chairis* is the name of a Theban harp-player in the fifth century whose playing was considered bad.<sup>102</sup> A soldier of that name was killed in Sicily in 413 B.C.;<sup>103</sup> there was a contractor (*ἐργώνος*) in Epidauros who bore it in the early fourth century<sup>104</sup> and an arbitrator from Megara between Epidauros and Corinth in the third.<sup>105</sup> There was also a poet of that name in Corcyra, and other later bearers of the name.<sup>106</sup> The occurrence of the name in aristocratic circles before the fourth century is noted by Robinson and Fluck.<sup>107</sup> Other of our names do not seem to have been popular among the upper classes at any time. *Paidikos* appears to be the name of a potter.<sup>108</sup> *Knips*, too, is hardly an aristocratic name.<sup>109</sup>

Other names are rare, and probably not used among the upper classes. I could find no parallel to *Blepon*, or *Egersis*, which seems almost like a woman's name. There is an Egertios in the fourth century,<sup>110</sup> and that is also the name of the founder of Chios,<sup>111</sup> but the form *Egersis* seems to be feminine in LS.<sup>112</sup> The names resembling *Blepon* are hardly aristocratic.<sup>113</sup> The name *Epiktas*, if that is the correct reading in line 105 of the Aigina fragments, does not seem to occur before the Roman period, although [Ε]πικτέας is found in Argos much earlier.<sup>114</sup> There are some other doubtful names, such as the name transcribed [-]αγ[ωγ]ός in line 5 of Face A of the Aigina fragments. If [Ο]νησ[ι]λ[η]ς is not the correct reading in line B7 of EM 8147, we may think of *Oniales*.<sup>115</sup> *Kauals* of Termessos<sup>116</sup> has a name which might resemble what stood on the stone in line 98 of the Aigina fragments, Face B; we might suggest *Rhathy-mides* for line 17 in the same fragments, and, more hopefully, *Euarkidemos* in line 109.

Other names sound barbarian. This in itself need not imply a servile or even a barbarian origin, as barbarous sounding names often occur in Ionian cities, their bearers being in all probability neither more nor less Greek than the other Ionians. An obvious example is Examyes, the father of Thales of Miletus.<sup>117</sup> A Greek moreover could be named after a foreign king (without being either slave or barbarian); we may instance, perhaps, the name Kroisos.<sup>118</sup> When, however, we find such names accompanied by banausic occupations, a servile origin is suggested.

The name *Astyages* was given to a mythological character,<sup>119</sup> and belonged to a grammarian of unknown date.<sup>120</sup> *Abdes* is Semitic.<sup>121</sup> We may compare *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 9031, the tombstone of a man from Kition which has the letters ΑΒΔ[- -] and is dated by Kirchner to the

<sup>94</sup> Xen. *Hell.* V 4, 3.

<sup>95</sup> *IG* VII 3160.

<sup>96</sup> *FdD* III i, 161.

<sup>97</sup> *Inscr. Delos* 370, line 29. The reading is doubtful.

<sup>98</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2280.

<sup>99</sup> *RE* III 2180.

<sup>100</sup> *Suidas* s.v.

<sup>101</sup> See Pape-Benseler s.v.

<sup>102</sup> References in Pape-Benseler, s.v. 'Χαίρις', and *RE* III 2031; *Suidas* s.v. 'Χαίρις' (*Adler* IV 305), who refers to a second fifth-century harp player.

<sup>103</sup> *Hesperia* VII 88.

<sup>104</sup> *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> (1). 102, line 87.

<sup>105</sup> *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> (1). 71, line 35, between 242/1 and 238/7, in one of the years in which Aratos was not general of the Achaean League.

<sup>106</sup> References in Pape-Benseler, s.v. 'Χαίρις'.

<sup>107</sup> *Greek Love-names*, 90.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>109</sup> I could find no parallel, but cf. *Psen*, a name which, like *Kely*, means 'gall-insect', in *IG* XII (3). 591, an archaic inscription from Thera; *Knopon*, *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> (1). 94b, line 26; *Konops*, a Phrygian, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10487, and *Kniphon*, *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 943 line 66.

<sup>110</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 6105.

<sup>111</sup> *Strabo* XIV 633.

<sup>112</sup> *Empedocles*, *Diels*, *Vorsokratiker* B123.

<sup>113</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1675; but we do not know the status of the deceased in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5329 and 11336.

<sup>114</sup> *IG* IV 552, in the epichoric script. The inscription was copied by Fourmont.

<sup>115</sup> *TAM* III 1, 897, reading doubtful; cf. 904. Cf. also *Oniales*, *TAM* II 3, 1207.

<sup>116</sup> *TAM* III 1, 872, p. 265.

<sup>117</sup> *Diog. Laert.* I 1, 22.

<sup>118</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII 362.

<sup>119</sup> *Ovid*, *Met.* V 203.

<sup>120</sup> *Suidas*, s.v. Ἀστυάγης, *Adler* I 393; *RE* II 1865. In the second century there was an Ἀστυάγος πάγος at Ephesus (*Forschungen in Ephesos* I 17). Cf. also Alyattes in *Hesperia* XV 171 and Tantalos in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2392, line 16.

<sup>121</sup> Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschnennamen* 8. Cf. *BSA* XLVI (1951), 225-6 for Ἀβδόκωσ.

fifth or fourth century. He was a Phoenician, like the *Herakleides* of IG II<sup>2</sup> 9033, for a barbarian could have a Greek name as well as the other way round. Professor Bonfante informs me that the name *Idyes* has an ending that might be Carian. I could not find any parallel, but we may compare the freed slave Milyas,<sup>122</sup> Madyas,<sup>123</sup> a Scythian, Idatyas,<sup>124</sup> and Marsyas, which is common in Asia Minor.<sup>125</sup> The name *Psammis*, though not necessarily the man, is Egyptian. For Greek examples we may compare Psammetichos, the tyrant of Corinth,<sup>126</sup> and Amasis the vase potter. *Psammis* is also an imaginary Indian.<sup>127</sup> Other names like *Psammis* occur occasionally among Greeks,<sup>128</sup> but some may be derived from ψάμμος and have nothing to do with Egypt. *Bendiphanes* need not have been a barbarian, but even so, he probably came from the neighbourhood of Thrace, as the names derived from Bendis are to be found there.<sup>129</sup> *Gerys* (from IG II<sup>2</sup> 2403) is Thracian.<sup>130</sup> In the fifth century it occurs as the name of two slaves who worked on the Erechtheum;<sup>131</sup> it also occurs, spelt differently, in IG II<sup>2</sup> 33<sup>132</sup> as the father of a Thasian; twice in IG II<sup>2</sup> 1951, lines 24 and 151, for the date of which see p. 115 above; in the fourth century,<sup>134</sup> and as an *isoteles* in IG II<sup>2</sup> 7863.<sup>135</sup> This inscription, however, appears to be too late to belong to our *Gerys*. If the letters Mna - - - are to be read in line B12 of 8147, it may be a Doric name, or it may be something like the Phoenician Mnaseas.<sup>136</sup> Professor Wade-Gery suggests restoring the Lydian name *Atys* in line 107 of the Aigina fragments. I can find no historical Greek example of this. It occurs as the name of the son of Croesus<sup>137</sup> and there are also mythological examples of its use.<sup>138</sup>

This list does not claim to be exhaustive, but parallels for the rare names have been collected from Bechtel's *Historische Personennamen* and from the volumes of the *Corpus* which were published after that work, and the list thus compiled should be sufficiently representative to show the probability of the statement in 'Αθηναί, 40: ἐνίοι φανερώς ἦσαν δοῦλοι,<sup>139</sup> and why Archinos thought that it was scarcely wise to enfranchise these people in such large numbers at once. He probably thought that it would increase the μνησικακία that he was trying to avoid, as the defeated side would be more likely than he to disapprove if participation in a civil war against them were to bring Athenian citizenship, and all that that meant, to Phanos and Knips, Mikos and Astyages, Abdes, Idyes, and Atys.

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<sup>122</sup> Dem. XXIX 5.

<sup>123</sup> Hdt. I 103.

<sup>124</sup> TAM II 3, 1101.

<sup>125</sup> TAM II 1, 168a, line 45, IG II<sup>2</sup> 9277, *Inscr. Delos* 384. Professor Bonfante suggests that the ending -yes is ultimately of Illyrian origin.

<sup>126</sup> Aristotle, *Pol.* V 9, 22, 1315<sup>b</sup> 26.

<sup>127</sup> Xen. *Ephes.* III 11.

<sup>128</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup> (1). 264, IG II<sup>2</sup> 8818, *Inscr. Cret.* II p. 28, Athenaeus XIII 586e, IG IV 732 IV line 16.

<sup>129</sup> IG XII Suppl. 493, 460, 504, *CIG* 2034, IG III 3619 (not in IG II<sup>2</sup>), IG II<sup>2</sup> 9223. An exception is IG XII Suppl. 585, from Eretria.

<sup>130</sup> Diller, *Race Mixture* 143.

<sup>131</sup> Stevens and Paton, *The Erechtheum* 384 no. XIV, 392 no. XVII, and 396 no. XVII, a *Gerys* who was employed in channelling the columns. *Ibid.*, 330 no. IX and 340 no. XI, another *Gerys* who sawed timber.

<sup>132</sup> Which Wilhelm, *Att. Urkunden* V 41, associates with IG II<sup>2</sup> 6, and dates about 402 B.C. No 123.

<sup>133</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 10995.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. *Fouilles de Delphes* III i, 41.

<sup>135</sup> See also Keil in *Üjh* XXVIII Beibl. 124.

<sup>136</sup> In Pape-Benseler, s.v. 'Ατῶς. They give an *Atyanas* of Adramyttion, Olympic victor in 72 B.C., and *Atlas* occurs in *Inscr. Delos* 1603, *Attes* in *Herakleia* in the fourth century (IG II<sup>2</sup> 8699), *Atteous* as a genitive in TAM III 1, 144, 784 and 792, and further examples of similar names will be found in Pape-Benseler.

<sup>137</sup> Hdt. I 34.

<sup>138</sup> The word φανερώς may even suggest that the author saw the stone, and either read a mention of slaves in the part that is now missing or read the names and drew the same inference as is drawn here. The unusual substitution of τεχνικά for patronyms may be a device to conceal the servile origin of some of the beneficiaries. Some of the slaves, if this is correct, such as the χωρὶς οὐκὼντες (for whom see Diller, *Race Mixture* 146), would find it easy enough to give their trade, but others may have found it more difficult, and that may be why *Egersis*, for example, has no trade recorded after the name.



## NOTES ON SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALYVIA SOKHAS

I HAVE read with great interest and profit Mr. J. M. Cook's admirably full and lucid account (*BSA* XLV 261 ff.) of the operations conducted by him at Kalyvia Sokhas, three or four miles south of Sparta, in November, 1949. It recalled to mind my first visit to the site, in company with Mr. R. Carr Bosanquet, then Director of the British School, in December, 1903, in the course of a preliminary survey of Sparta and its neighbourhood with a view to the commencement of serious work by the School in the following year. It also revived the memory of the occasion when, at the close of July, 1904, I left Sparta, alone and on foot, before dawn, breakfasted with hospitable friends at Kalyvia, and climbed thence to the peak of Taygetus, where I spent a sleepless but memorable night, tramping back to Sparta *via* Kalyvia on the following day through sweltering heat and stifling dust.

The epigraphical portions of Mr. Cook's report have attracted my special attention. Despite the thoroughness with which he has carried out his editorial task and his command of the relevant evidence, some problems still await satisfactory solution, and it is in the hope of carrying his work one short step further, and thus of enhancing the value of his discoveries, that I offer the following comments and suggestions. Wherever I cite an inscription merely by number, the reference is to the Laconian and Messenian volume of the *Corpus*, *IG* V(1), edited in 1913 by W. Kolbe.

I begin with 229, of which Cook speaks (*op. cit.* 263 n. 6, 266 n. 13), a dedication to Demeter and Kore, copied in 1902 by M. Fraenkel in the ruined church of 'Αγία Σοφία at Kalyvia Sokhas and first published in 1913 by W. Kolbe (*IG* V(1). 229). Wilamowitz's comment was 'diffido lectioni,' but there can be no question of its correctness. Not only is there 'no reason to doubt Fränkel's reading or the completeness of the inscription' (Cook, 226 n. 13), but, as I pointed out in *JHS* XXXIV 62, I copied the text in December, 1903, when the stone was uncovered and thoroughly cleaned, and had no hesitation about a single letter. Yet the inscription presents several problems. Cook would have us write the name of the dedicatrix as Κληνικά, regarding this as an example of the substitution of the *spiritus asper* (for which the Laconians no longer used a separate sign) for intervocalic *sigma*; thus on p. 279 he speaks of 'Klesinika's dedication'. This correction of Kolbe's Κληνικά I find it hard to accept; Κλησινικά is not only unattested, but hardly credible, while Κλη- is a recognized variant of Κλε-, Κλεα-, Κλει-, Κλεο-, or Κλευ- as the first element in a number of compound names (*cf.* Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, 238 ff.), and at Sparta we find Κλήνικος (Κληνίκου) (211.50), Κληνικίδας Κληνίκεος (126.3), and Κληνικίδας Ἅγιος (210.31).<sup>1</sup> Clearly ηι is here incorrectly written in place of the simple η. For the following word, ΜΙΛΑΩΣ, I can offer no suggestion; it is the genitive of a feminine name ending in -ώ, a form common at Sparta and elsewhere, and it obviously gives Klenika's metronymic, but its derivation and meaning I cannot guess; as Cook points out, E. Bourguet, who re-edited this inscription in his *Dialecte laconien*, 117 f. no. XXXIV, took it as a misspelling of Μυλα(σ)ῶς. After a καὶ follows ΟΒΡΙΜΩ, transcribed by Kolbe as Ὀβριμῶ and presumably interpreted by him as a second feminine name in the nominative case. But this is open to grave objections. If Klenika's metronymic is recorded, why not also that of Obrimo? If the dedication is made jointly by two women, why the singular noun σευναρμόσπρηα and the singular verb ἀνέθηκε of Kolbe's text?

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* 33.2, 359.3, 609.4 ([Κ]λεονικίδα). In Messenia we find Κλεονίκης (1366) and Κλεόνικος (1385.7).

Or would he have us understand the  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  as equivalent to  $\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota$  and  $\text{'Οβριμῶ}$ <sup>2</sup> as an alternative name of  $\text{Κληνίκᾱ}$ ? I therefore regard  $\text{'Οβριμῶ}$  as Klenika's patronymic; <sup>3</sup>  $\text{*Οβριμος}$  as a personal name is found on a coin of Dyrrhachium dated between 229 and 100 B.C. (*BMC Coins: Thessaly to Aetolia*, 72 no. 106), and recurs in Cilicia (*CIG* 4428), in two epitaphs from Roman catacombs (*CIG* 9702 f.) and as the name of a rhetor thrice quoted by Stobaeus (*Flor.* XLVI, 69, 97, CXXII, 15).<sup>4</sup> The mention of both parents is not unparalleled in Spartan inscriptions (e.g. 488, 601), and the precedence of the mother's name is not surprising in the case of a woman occupying an official position in the cult of the Eleusinian goddesses; in the similar dedication published by Cook on p. 266 the mother's name alone is recorded.<sup>5</sup> Lastly, there is the problem of the final  $\Lambda$  of 229. Kolbe restored  $\alpha[\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon]$ , thinking that the inscription was completed on an adjoining block, but Cook rightly regards it as complete, and in *JHS* XXXIV 62 I emphasized the fact that 'the final  $\Lambda$  on the stone is so far from the right hand margin as to make it unlikely that anything followed'. Three solutions may be suggested: (1) the dedicatory verb may have been omitted and the final  $\Lambda$  may have been engraved in error, though this is improbable in the case of so carefully cut an inscription; (2) the final  $\Lambda$  may possibly be an abbreviation for  $\alpha(\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon)$ , for it appears to be so used in 981 and perhaps also in 1014; (3) Cook transcribes  $\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\eta\acute{\alpha}\alpha$ , i.e.  $\theta\omicron\iota\nu\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha$ , thinking that the dedication was made not during Klenika's tenure of the office, but after its expiry.<sup>6</sup> This explanation is ingenious and attractive, and I am prepared to accept it, though a little uneasy about the appearance of a verb not only unknown hitherto but also, so far as I can see, unparalleled in formation. I should have expected a verb denoting tenure of the office of  $\theta\omicron\iota\nu\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\iota\alpha$  to be formed from the (theoretical) masculine  $\text{*}\theta\omicron\iota\nu\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$ , and so to lack a second  $\rho\eta\omicron$ ; thus, the verb corresponding to the title  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\iota\alpha$  would be  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\omega$  or  $-\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ , which, though formed from  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ , are used of feminine subjects. If, however, the absence of  $\text{*}\theta\omicron\iota\nu\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$  prevented this, I should expect at least the retention in the verb of the second  $\iota\omicron\tau\alpha$  of  $\theta\omicron\iota\nu\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\iota\alpha$ . But the hyperarchaistic language of the Laconian Eleusinion appears to be untrammelled by the fetters of analogy and normal usage.

Of the new and complete dedication, published by Cook (pp. 266 f.) and dated by him in the middle or late Hellenistic period, little need be said. The editor speaks, at the top of p. 266, of 'Etymokledeia's dedication', but at the foot of the same page he writes  $\text{'Ετυμοκ(λ)ηιδε\iota\alpha}$  in the text and Etymokle(si)deia in the translation, and adds in footnote 14 'For the long form, which I have restored after some hesitation, cf. *IG* V. i 591, where Dodwell noted a  $\sigma\iota\gamma\mu\alpha$  in the ninth place in the name before the letter was chipped off'. I unhesitatingly prefer the shorter form. It recurs in the honorary inscription from Kalyvia Sokhas published by Cook on p. 278 (if, as I believe, the restoration there offered is correct), as well as in 488.4 and 534.13 (where Fourmont's  $\text{ETYMOKΛΗΔΑΙΑΣ}$  is corrected to  $-\delta[\epsilon]\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ ), while it must be restored, as Cook rightly points out on p. 278, in 604.4, found at Kalyvia but wrongly restored by Kolbe. In face of this evidence we may confidently regard the  $\eta\iota$  of the new dedication (like the  $\eta\iota$  of  $\text{Κληνίκᾱ}$  in 229) as a mere variant of  $\eta$ . Personal names compounded with  $-\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  are very frequent in Laconia (forty-five different names of this type are found in *IG* V (1), and others in Laconian inscriptions subsequently published) and cognate names in  $-\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 698  $\text{'Οβριμῶς} \tau'$   $\delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma\sigma\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \text{Κόρης}$ , and the scholiast *ad loc.*  $\text{'Οβριμῶ} \eta\ \text{Περσεφόνη} \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\ \delta\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}$ .

<sup>3</sup> This view I stated in *JHS* XXXIV 62; Bourguet accepts it without discussion (*op. cit.* 118).

<sup>4</sup> The name  $\text{Λεόβριμος}$  registered by Bechtel (*Hist. Personennamen*, 276, 343; cf. *SGDI* 5345 (13)) is not quite certain, resting only on the evidence of *IG* XII (9). 56.117, 240; Roehl (*IGA* 372. 111, 223) and Ziebarth wrote  $\text{Λεώβριμος}$ .

<sup>5</sup> Another possible example is Cook, p. 275, for which see below.

<sup>6</sup> The use of the aorist participle here, as contrasted with the perfect ( $\delta\pi\sigma\alpha\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha$ ) of the dedication on p. 266, suggests the meaning 'retired' rather than Cook's 'retiring'.



or -κλειδης (occasionally written -κλίδας or -κλίδης) are also common. Thus we might have 'Ετυμοκλῆς and 'Ετυμοκλείδας, though in fact neither has yet been found.<sup>7</sup> The feminine forms of names in -κλῆς end in -κλεία, and if a feminine of -κλείδας was sought, we might expect the ending -κλείδεια; this, however, I have not met, and the only parallel I have found in Laconia to 'Ετυμοκλήδεια is the Σωκλήδεια of 597.2, where also -κλει- becomes -κλη-. Thus 'Ετυμοκλήδεια is a natural and easily explicable formation, whereas 'Ετυμοκλησίδεια lacks all analogy and probability, unless Cook's appeal to 591 (see above) is well founded. To this I now turn.

The text of 591 depends upon three copies, (a) that of E. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, II 400, (b) that of W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III 13 and no. 73, and (c) an unpublished copy by L. Ross, used by Kolbe in editing 591. Kolbe inserts at the end of ll. 3, 4, 5, 6 an underlined letter, given by Dodwell but not by Leake, and in the *apparatus criticus* he reports the addition by Dodwell of ΗΣ at the close of l. 2. These letters are, however, to my mind, valueless. Seeing ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤ in l. 2, Dodwell added ΗΣ (of which the Σ at least is demonstrably wrong) to complete the name; false is also the Σ added by him to l. 3. The addition of Ι to l. 4, completing the word καί, was an obvious guess, as was also that of Σ in l. 6 after ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟ. In the same way ETYMOKLH in l. 5 seemed to demand a final Σ, which Dodwell inserted, obviously postulating the name 'Ετυμοκλῆς, which cannot have occurred here; considerations of space preclude the restoration 'Ετυμοκλησ[ιδε]ας. Cook takes this *sigma* as the basis of his preference of the form 'Ετυμοκλησίδεια in the new dedication, and supposes that the letter was 'chipped off' between the time when it was seen by Dodwell and that at which Leake made his copy, in which the existing edge of the stone is clearly marked. But this assumption is extremely improbable. True, Dodwell's work was published in 1819 and Leake's not before 1830, but both travellers saw the stone at the same place and copied it within a month of each other—Dodwell on February 26 and Leake on March 26, 1806. At the end of l. 5 Dodwell and Ross copied Η, Leake Ε; here Leake appears to be at fault, and we may therefore accept the restoration 'Ετυμοκλη[δε]ας offered by Kolbe.

Before leaving the new dedication I call attention to two further points. One is the surprising inversion of the normal order in the phrase Κόραι [κ]αὶ Δάματρι; in all eight examples in *IG V* (1) of the collocation of these two deities Δημήτηρ precedes her daughter, as also in *BSA XLV* 276, 277. Another curious feature is the use of τετάρτα before ἀπισαλιτευκυῖα. Cook translates 'the fourth daughter of Androtelia to have discharged the amphithalitic office', and this seems to me more probable than the alternative 'the fourth daughter of A., who has discharged, etc.'; but I cannot help wondering whether it may not indicate the completion of four years' tenure of an office not yet expired, which might be held for as many as eight or even ten years (*BSA XLV* 276 f.). In that case we should have an explanation of the use of the perfect participle with reference to Etymokledeia as contrasted with the aorist in the two cases just cited.

The dedication published by Cook on p. 275 is brief, but puzzling. The restoration -άνδρα is very probable, though not certain; [Φα]ίδρα, for instance, is a possible alternative. Πέρφαντος as a patronymic also makes me uneasy; the omission of the *iota* is easily paralleled, especially at Sparta (e.g. Περφίλα 209.22, Περκλῆς 1295.6, Περκλεί[δας] 1126, Πέρκαλον Hdt. VI 65; cf. *SGDI* 5116.7), but what of the second element in the name? Many names end in -φαντος (Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, 441 f.), but I recall only 'Ελέφας (699) and, a closer parallel, 'Αντίφας (*IG V* (2). 323, 54) comparable with Πέρφας, and in neither case is the form of the genitive known. I am therefore tempted to wonder whether we have another metro-

<sup>7</sup> The 'Ετυμοκλῆς restored in 604 is, as we have seen, an error.

nymic, like Ἀνδροτελίας of p. 266, and should regard Πέρφαντος as an error for Περφαντῶς, genitive of Περφαντῶ.<sup>8</sup> Ἐλευθυλ[αι (or αἰς)] also presents a difficulty, though, as Cook points out, this form should probably be restored in 364.6, if we may believe that Fourmont copied a Υ as Σ, nor is the second *upsilon* unexampled, as Cook shows (to his citations we may add IG XII (3). 330.39, 70). What is strange, if true, is the substitution of *theta* for *sigma*, a reversal of the normal process exemplified in the συγάτηρ of this same inscription. This may possibly be due to a confusion with Εἰλείθυια, who also enjoyed a cult in Laconia and whose name is spelled Ἐλευθία (1276, 1345a), Ἐλευσία (236, 868, 1118), or Ἐλυσία (867).

The two honorary dedications on pp. 276 f. are fairly straightforward, and Cook's probable identification of the Damocles of the first with the Ταῖνάριος of 210.26 provides a welcome chronological clue. The fluid nature of the language used is illustrated by the variant forms ἀμπ[ισαλιτεῦ] | ἄν and ἀνφιθαλει | τεύσααν; in the former the insertion of *sigma* before -ἄν is precluded by the syllabic division of the lines. For feminine names in -ῶ Wilhelm's posthumous discussion (*Symb. Oslo. Suppl.* XIII 9 ff.) should be consulted. The existence of the word \*θυγατριδεύς, from which the genitive θυγατριδοῦς is derived, though unattested hitherto, is rendered highly probable by the analogous terms γαμβροτιδεύς, πνευθεριδεύς, υἱιδεύς (cf. the Byzantine ἀνεψιαδεύς), together with the long array of words denoting the young of animals and birds, e.g. ἄλωπεκιδεύς, πιθηκιδεύς, ἀηδονιδεύς.

The fragment of a sacrificial calendar (pp. 277 f.), of which the readings are in many places marked as doubtful, is tantalizing rather than illuminating. Cook does not mention in this connexion the two fragments of similar documents previously published—363, of uncertain provenance, but associated by Kolbe with Kalyvia Sokhas, and 1511, discovered there by Dawkins in 1910 and edited by Woodward (*BSA* XVI 58 ff.).<sup>9</sup> It would be interesting to compare the new fragment with these and to determine whether any two, or even all three, are portions of the same inscription; the thickness of 1511 is given by Woodward as 45 cms., that of the new fragment by Cook as 48 cms., but the question could only be settled by a careful comparison of stone and script. Here I confine myself to a few suggestions, based on the photograph (pl. 26, 4), to be confirmed or rejected by examination of the original. In col. ii l. 9 I doubt Cook's οἶν(ον?) κορυφ(αῖα) ἄρτον?, though both οἶνος and ἄρτος occur frequently in documents of this type. The word κορύφαντος, which, though not in LS<sup>9</sup>, occurs in Hesychius s.v. κεκρυφάλους,<sup>10</sup> is obviously out of place here. The stone seems to me to read ΙΔ οἶν Κόραι, ἄρτον, and the following line to begin ΙΘ Δάμ(ατρι) οἷς δ', while in l. 11 I suggest Κ εἰς τὸ τᾶς Ἀ[θ]ᾶνας [ἱερὸν] (cf. 4.16 εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Ἀθᾶνας). Cook comments (p. 278) 'It is tempting to restore in the rubric the word εἰσαρχία after that which qualifies the *thoinarmostria's* office in IG V. i 606'. This is true if we (a) take as correct Cook's reading ΕΙΣΑΡΧ, (b) assume that these letters belong to a single word, and (c) accept in 606 the reading θοι|[ν]αρμόστριαν εἰσαρ|χίας. Boeckh suggested εἰσαρ|[χ]ίας, Wilamowitz commented 'εἰς Ἀρ. ἱας latet nomen vici potius quam feriarum', Meister emended to εἰς [Δα|μ]ίας, and I proposed εἰς Ἀρ|[ε]ίας (*JHS* XXXII 102), which was recorded by Kolbe (*IG* V (i), p. 304) and accepted by Bourguet (*Dialecte laconien*, 130). I am not now convinced of the correctness of my view; Cook rightly points out (p. 279 n. 41) that it 'does not tally with the oblique stroke remarked in the fourth place from the end of the phrase in question'. But the oblique

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Cook, who has kindly read the present article in manuscript, reports that, though the letters are very badly worn, a careful re-examination of the squeeze shows that Ω is certainly as likely as Ο, if not rather more so, as the penultimate letter of the name.

<sup>9</sup> Though 364 also contains ritual regulations, it is engraved on a marble seat and so cannot be part of the same inscription.

<sup>10</sup> Hsch. κεκρυφάλους: τοὺς τῶν ἱππῶν κορυφαστήρας, καὶ κορυμάντους (such is the MS. reading).

stroke is found only in Fourmont's copy, for I vouched (*loc. cit.*) for the fact that 'in l. 5 nothing was distinguishable before ΑΣ' in December 1903, and the same was probably true when Fraenkel copied the stone in 1902. Further, the oblique stroke suggests Α, Λ or Μ rather than Χ, and neither Boeckh nor Cook offers any interpretation of the word εἰσαρχία, otherwise unknown.

The last inscription from Kalyvia published by Cook (pp. 278 ff.) offers a good illustration of mutual aid in the task of textual restoration. Cook restores completely (and, I believe, correctly)<sup>11</sup> with the assistance of 584 for ll. 1-9 and of 604 for ll. 11-16, while on the other hand the new inscription necessitates a drastic revision of the texts of 584 and 604 as given by Kolbe. In particular it gets rid of the ἀμφ[ιπολεύσασαν] of 584, 6 and the ἀ[μ]φ[ι-π]ο[λ]ον of 589, 1 f., in each case substituting ἀμφοτέρων (as also in 1515 a, b), and so removes the title ἀμφίπολος from Laconian cult usage. It also shows that Kolbe wrongly associated the phrase μεγαλοπρεπ[ῶς κτλ. with a preceding participle instead of with one which follows ([ἀμφιθα]λ[ι]τεύσ[ασαν, preserved in ll. 10 f. of the new text) and mistakenly restored ἐνεκα to account for the genitives τῆς τε εὐ[σεβείας] (now proved to be εὐ[γενείας] κτλ., which really depend on the adverb ἀ[ξίως].

MARCUS N. TOD

<sup>11</sup> I prefer Kolbe's *Ξενοκράτιαν* (i.e. *Ξενοκράτειαν*) to Cook's *Ξενοκρατίαν*. Cook's text would have been easier to follow had he inserted commas in l. 5 before τὴν, in l. 7 after [ἀμ]φοτέρων and in l. 11 before προσ-. I do not know why he inserts a question-mark in l. 9 after οὐκείας, as the word is sufficiently attested by 584.9.

# A LIST OF CLAZOMENIAN POTTERY

(PLATES 29-33)

By 'Clazomenian' is usually meant what seems to be the main group of East Greek pottery decorated in a mature b.f. style. It is most obviously distinguished from Attic, on which it is partly dependent, by its greater tendency to decorative forms and details, as for example in the more extensive use of rows of white dots, and by such favourite motives as sirens and scales containing white drops. The home of Clazomenian is in northern Ionia: from Samos southwards, where its counterpart is the reserving and more traditional pottery known as Fikellura, no important b.f. school developed.<sup>1</sup>

The first and still the only big find of Clazomenian pottery was made by W. M. Flinders Petrie in 1886 at Tell Defenneh in Egypt: most of this find went to the British Museum and a selection of the pieces was promptly and fairly published in 1888.<sup>2</sup> In this publication Petrie, though not expert in Greek archaeology, noted the unity of the group, but—mainly (I suspect) on grounds of frequency—considered it to be a local Greek product of Tell Defenneh.<sup>3</sup> In this he was followed by H. B. Walters in his summary catalogue<sup>4</sup> and by F. Dümmler,<sup>5</sup> who gave further drawings and details of Petrie's material. It was R. Zahn who first compared potsherds and painted sarcophagi found at Clazomenae and shrewdly argued that Petrie's group was Clazomenian.<sup>6</sup> Ten years later H. Prinz made a useful list of Clazomenian pots and sherds known to him.<sup>7</sup> E. Pfuhl in his comprehensive survey of Greek vase-painting collated the work of his predecessors without adding much that was new.<sup>8</sup> E. R. Price gave a shorter but more intelligible summary and a clearer definition of what was meant by 'Clazomenian'.<sup>9</sup> Finally A. Rumpf exploded the argument for the early

It is my pleasant duty to thank all those who have helped me in this study. I am especially indebted to Sir John Beazley for the loan of photos and for advice, to Dr F. Brommer for much information, to the officers of the British Museum for the facilities they have always given me. In checking details I have had the kind help of Mme S. B. Mollard and M. F. Villard of the Louvre, Mr J. Boardman, Dr E. Kukahn of Bonn, Dr G. H. Chase of Boston, Prof. C. Blümel and Dr E. Rohde of Berlin, Dr B. Neutsch and Dr K. Schauenburg of Heidelberg, Dr R. Lullies of Munich, Prof. B. Schweitzer of Tübingen, and Prof. E. Eichler of Vienna. Some other debts are acknowledged later. For permission to reproduce their photos I am grateful to Dr F. Brommer (PLATE 29, 3), and to the authorities of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (PLATE 30), of the Pelizäus Museum, Hildesheim (PLATE 31, 2), of the Archäologisches Institut, Heidelberg (PLATE 29, 1-2), of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel (PLATE 33, 3), of the National Museum, Athens (PLATE 31, 1), and of the Antiquarium, Berlin (PLATES 32 and 33, 1-2).

Besides the regular abbreviations I have used *Izv* for the Russian *Izvestia*. By 'amphora' I throughout mean the neck-amphora: the amphora where neck passes into body in an unbroken curve I call 'one-piece amphora'. Reference to plates of *CVA* is by the national serial number.

After this paper was written Dr G. R. Edwards very kindly sent me photos of the Clazomenian fragments from Tell Defenneh now in Philadelphia: I am sorry if they are rather awkwardly incorporated in my catalogue. I have also added a few more pieces in the Louvre from the large collections from Naucratis (given by Seymour de Ricci) and from Clazomenae and the Smyrna region (given by P. Gaudin). There is still more Clazomenian from the Anglo-Turkish excavation at Old Smyrna.

<sup>1</sup> The so-called Ionian Little Masters, probably working in Samos, did not fulfil their promise (E. Kunze, *AM* LIX 81-122). In Rhodes there have been found some feeble imitations of Attic as well as more independent ventures in b.f.; they are probably local (Kunze, *op. cit.*, 119 n. 2; J. D. Beazley, *EVP*, 14; see also below, pp. 140-1, F e-g). There are traces of other East Greek b.f. workshops in the finds from Naucratis, Old Smyrna, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> *Tanis* II 47-96.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 62.

<sup>4</sup> *BMC Vases* II (1893), B. 102-129 *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> *Jdl* X (1895), 35-46; *AD* II, pl. 21.

<sup>6</sup> *AM* XXIII 38-79. Zahn further argued that in the mid-sixth century Clazomenae must have held the leadership of Greek painting: but his conclusion, though logically developed from the current assumption that Greek occupation of Tell Defenneh ended about 565 B.C., was not generally accepted. Isolated comparisons between Clazomenian sarcophagi and pots had been made before Zahn (C. Smith, *JHS* VI (1885), 180-91 for D 1).

<sup>7</sup> *Funde aus Naukratis* (Klio, Beiheft VII: 1908), 42-57.

<sup>8</sup> *Muz* I (1923), 171-9.

<sup>9</sup> *East Greek Pottery* (1928), 22-30.



date of the finds from Tell Defenneh (doubted only by Walters and Dümmler) and opened the way for a fresh study.<sup>10</sup> Even so, two serious obstacles remain: first the amount of Clazomenian pottery available is comparatively small,<sup>11</sup> and secondly no good grave group or other closely datable deposit containing Clazomenian has yet been published. So the student must rely on the method of stylistic comparison, and that in a small provincial school of pottery is hazardous. But now that the British Museum is publishing its relevant material from Tell Defenneh and elsewhere<sup>12</sup> some general comments are required on the Clazomenian school and its connections.

### A. TÜBINGEN GROUP

The pieces listed here are generally large pots with several bands of decoration, the principal subject being a chain of women dancers. Purple and white are used freely. Tongues, unless it is otherwise stated, are in a series of dark, white, dark, purple; there is usually a dot or a spike between one tongue and the next. On broad bands of the dark paint there are often narrow purple stripes.

1. Munich 570. Fragmentary pyxis with lid, at the top of which is a four-reeded handle terminating in plastic female heads. There is a hole in the centre of the lid. Lid—H. (excluding handle) 13.6 cm, D. 47.3 cm; pyxis—H. 16.3 cm, D. 46.1 cm. From Asia Minor. The outer surface, which had a whitish slip, is badly worn, so that the decoration is not

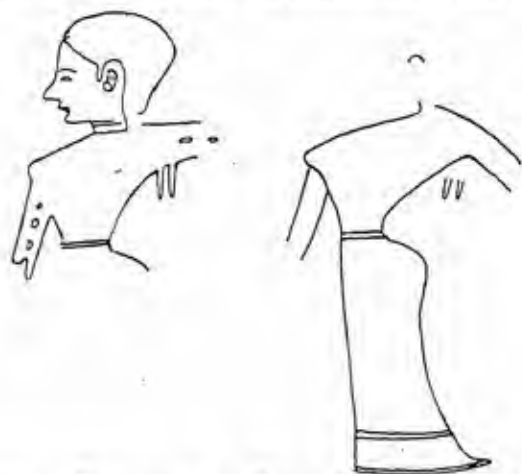


FIG. 1.—DETAILS FROM PYXIS, MUNICH 570 (A.I).

Scale 2 : 3.

everywhere clear. Lid—on either side of handle two swans with outstretched wings: lotus-palmette cross between sirens: groups of animals (including lion, panther, bull, and perhaps boar): on edge of rim, chequers. Pyxis—on edge of rim, chequers: women dancers and altar: on projecting edge, open cable. White for female flesh. A few traces of purple. J. Sieveking and R. Hackl, *Vasensg.*, pl. 20. P. Ducati, *Storia Cer. Gr.* I, fig. 135. A. Merlin, *Vases Grecs* I, pl. 18b. C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, fig. 68 (and p. 105). FIG. 1.

2. Oxford G.131.9. Fragment from near shoulder. From Naucratis. Part of woman dancer.

3. Berlin Inv.4531. Fragmentary amphora with shoulder handles; the handles are four-reeded and end in plastic female heads. H. to necking ring 43 cm. From Clazomenae. Shoulder, tongues: A. chariot, woman, . . . ; B. soldier, women, a horse, small deer gambolling (like dogs). Belly, white crescents: women dancers and flute-player: animals (lions, bulls, deer). Foot, tongues. Details on white incised (note the cheek of the flute-player). AD II, pl. 55.

<sup>10</sup> *Jdl* XLVIII (1933), 60. For Walter's and Dümmler's earlier criticism see *BMC Vases* II, 2 and 42, and *Jdl* X (1895), 36. Since writing this paper I have seen the catalogue of Clazomenian compiled with exemplary industry by G. Ricci (*Antichità* II 1, 2-20).

<sup>11</sup> Little new has been published in the last fifty years, and even Petrie's material—to judge by the number of joins recently made—had not been closely studied.

<sup>12</sup> *CVA British Museum* VIII, pls. 582-95.



- 3a. Louvre CA.1542. Fragment of amphora. From Clazomenae. Shoulder, paws of facing sphinxes (one white, one dark). Belly, white crescents: women dancers. Details on white incised. By the same hand as no. 3.
4. Upsala. Fragment of belly of amphora. From Clazomenae. Lower part of woman. Details on white incised. *AD II*, pl. 57, 4.
5. B.M. 88.6-1.574 (B.103.11). Fragment of belly of amphora. From Naucratis. White crescents: parts of woman flute-player and another woman. Details on white of fist only incised. *CVA VIII*, pl. 590, 15.
6. Berlin Inv.4530. Fragmentary amphora with shoulder handles as no. 3; the foot is missing. H. (as restored) 54 cm. From Benha. Edge of lip, chevrons. Neck, sirens and sphinx (with dark faces): cranes (three are white) and a bearded man.<sup>13</sup> Shoulder, tongues: A. cocks; B. two sirens on each side of a lotus-palmette cross; under each handle, a siren in silhouette. Belly, white crescents: women dancers and flute-player: dots with white centres:<sup>14</sup> sirens (with dark faces).<sup>15</sup> Details on white cock and cranes incised. *AD II*, pl. 54. E. Pfuhl, *MuZ III*, figs. 143-4.<sup>16</sup>
7. Cambridge 94-6.N.43. Fragment of belly of dinos or krater. From Naucratis. Part of siren or bird: sirens. *CVA II*, pl. 498, 9.
8. Bonn 1120.4. Fragment from near shoulder of amphora. From Clazomenae. White crescents: head of woman.
9. Athens. Fragment of amphora. From Clazomenae.<sup>17</sup> Shoulder, tongues: sphinx. Belly, white crescents: women.
10. Tübingen 2656. Amphora with shoulder handles; the handles have a reed applied on either side and a boss in the centre. H. 52 cm. From Clazomenae. Edge of lip, chevrons. Neck, cranes (some white). Shoulder, tongues: lotus-palmette cross between two swans. Belly, crescents (alternately white and purple): women dancers: rays. Foot, lotus flowers and buds (not, I think, joined). C. Watzinger, *Gr. V. in Tübingen*, pl. 2 (an unreliable sketch).

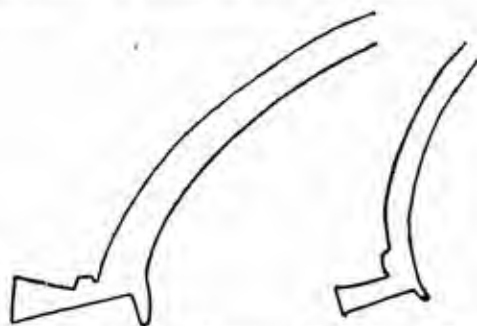


FIG. 2.—PROFILES OF LIDS: A. Tübingen 1469 (A.20); B. Tübingen 1470 (A.21).

Scale 1 : 2.

11. B.M. 88.2-8.66 (B.121). Fragmentary amphora: neck and handles are missing, and the foot does not belong. H. to necking ring (as restored) c. 35 cm. From Tell Defenneh. Shoulder, tongues: three sirens and a small decayed palmette. Belly, crescents (alternately white and purple): women dancers: rays. *CVA VIII*, pl. 594, 3-4. By the same hand as no. 10 and contemporary with it; but shoulder and curve of belly are flatter.
- A fragment from the upper part of a neck, Philadelphia E.157.14-15, with chevrons on the edge of the lip, was found at Tell Defenneh, and may (by analogy with no. 10) belong to this amphora.
12. B.M. 1952.5-4.1 (B.99). Fragment of amphora. From Mytilene. Shoulder, —: siren (or bird). Belly, white crescents. *CVA VIII*, pl. 590, 12.
13. Vienna University 506.2. Fragment of amphora. Bought in Smyrna. Neck, perhaps beak of crane. Shoulder, tongues: cocks. *CVA Wien (Deutschland) I*, pl. 199, 1.
14. Cambridge 94-6.N.44. Fragment of belly of dinos or krater. From Naucratis. Bird or siren: sirens: crane. *CVA II*, pl. 498, 11.
15. Cambridge N.42. Fragment of shoulder of hydria (?). From Naucratis. Sirens. *CVA II*, pl. 498, 8.
16. Upsala. Fragment of amphora. From Clazomenae. Shoulder, siren and sphinx. Belly, white crescents: women dancers. *AD II*, pl. 57, 2.
17. Oxford G.129.1 (one fragment was formerly B.M. B.102.26). Fragments of amphora. From Naucratis. Neck, sphinx. Body, lotus flowers and buds: women dancers. Incision on white. *CVA II*, pl. 401, 12.
18. Heidelberg. Fragment of neck. From Naucratis. Crane. *CVA I*, pl. 3, 5 (provisionally).
19. Plovdiv.<sup>17</sup> Fragment of lower part of lid. D. originally c. 20 cm. Cranes. Traces of purple on lip.
20. Tübingen 1469. Fragment of lid. Diam. originally c. 50 cm. Horses ridden by white youths, dogs below: open cable (without dots) over white paint: sphinxes and sirens. Edge of rim, dark and white chevrons. C. Watzinger, *Gr. V. in Tübingen*, C.10. FIGS. 2a and 3.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. B.13.

<sup>14</sup> White dots with dark centres are common in the Petrie group.

<sup>15</sup> One is apparently bearded, but I suspect that the 'beard' is a slip of the painter's brush.

<sup>16</sup> A fragmentary pyxis found recently at Old Smyrna looks from the drawing that has been exhibited to be by the same hand.

<sup>17</sup> From the excavation of G. Oikonomos, on which see p. 151.

<sup>18</sup> Two fragments perhaps from the foot of a big amphora of this group were with this sherd in Plovdiv Museum. There is no record of the provenance of the mixed batch of sherds in which they were.

21. Tübingen 1470. Fragment of lid. D. originally c. 49 cm. Animals (perhaps deer and lion): tongues (some white). Watzinger, *op. cit.*, C.10a. FIG. 2b.  
 22. Louvre CA.873 bis. Fragment of neck of amphora. From Clazomenae. Sphinx and siren.  
 23. Louvre AM.1361. Fragment of belly of amphora. From Naucratis. Cranes: dark band: crescents (white, dark, purple, .) on reserved ground.  
 24. Louvre CA.1606. Fragment of amphora. From Clazomenae. Shoulder, tongues: siren, sphinx. Belly, white crescents.

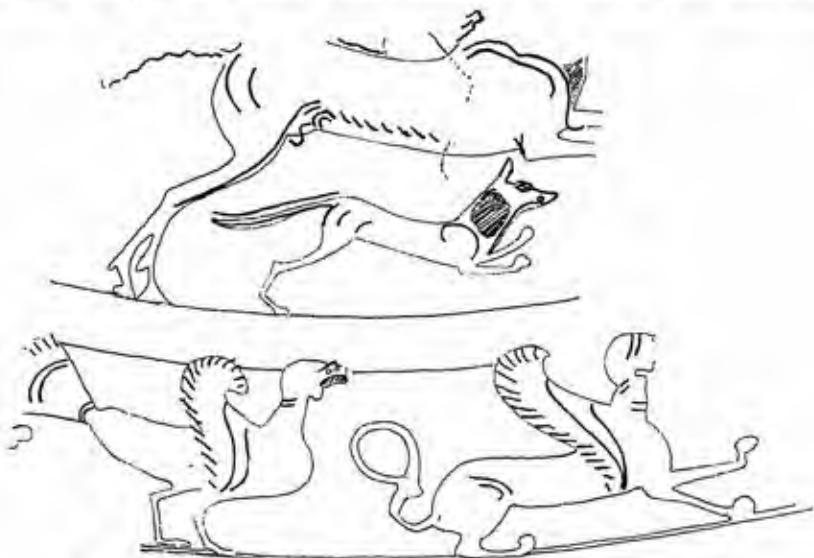


FIG. 3.—DETAILS FROM LID, TÜBINGEN 1469 (A.20).

Scale 3 : 4.

25. Louvre CA.1603. Fragment of large lid. From Clazomenae. Sirens.  
 26. Louvre CA.873. Fragment of shoulder of amphora. From Clazomenae. Satyr and maenad. Detail on white incised. PLATE 29, 4.

Plastic female heads ornament the handles of nos. 1, 3, and 6. There are other similar handles and heads now detached from their pots. Probably all these heads had a whitish slip.<sup>18</sup>

- a. Heidelberg. Head from four-reeded handle of amphora. Said to be from Corinth. Exceptionally well preserved. H. Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis*, fig. on p. 134. CVA I, pl. 3, 3-4 (provisionally). PLATE 29, 1-2.  
 b. Oxford 1921.1204. Head. From Zagazig (Bubastis). CVA II, pl. 401, 22.  
 c. Louvre CA.868. Head. Probably from Clazomenae.  
 d. Louvre CA.1462. Head from four-reeded handle of amphora. Probably from Clazomenae. Below the head the wing of a bird.  
 e. Louvre CA.869. Head. Probably from Clazomenae.

<sup>18</sup> Mr M. Gjedesen, to whom I owe my introduction to the examples in Paris, has been good enough also to give me his opinion of the arrangement and dating of the heads. As he observes, they show a considerable range in style; and though this may be the result of unequal workmanship, yet at this stage of Clazomenian studies it is reasonable to assume that the differences indicate chronological development. The order in my list is that suggested by Gjedesen and I here add his comments. a-b he dates c. 560-50, and compares a to the marble head Berlin 538 (C. Blümel, *Kat. II* 1, A.20, pls. 45-7; G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 91, figs. 270-1). c-f he places c. 550-30, inserting the heads of my nos. 1, 6, and 3 between e and f: to d and e, which may perhaps both be from one mould, and to nos. 1 and 6, which may both be from another, he compares the heads from Ephesus, B.M. B. 90-1; to no. 3 the face from Ephesus, B.M. B. 89; to f, conceivably from the same mould as no. 3, the marble head Munich 48 (C. Blümel, *Gr. Bildhauerarbeit*, pls. 7-8; *Gr. Bildhauer an der Arbeit*, figs. 20-1). g-k come last, c. 530-20; j and k might be from one mould.

The dates that Gjedesen gives for the heads of nos. 3 and 6 are close enough to my dates for the paintings of those pots; and though he considers no. 6 to be rather before and no. 3 rather after 540, inverting my order, I do not think that at present that matters much. What is more disconcerting is that the heads—and therefore the large amphorae and lids—should continue into the 520's, but further discoveries may provide pots of those shapes with late decoration.

- f. Louvre CA.1153. Head from four-reeded handle of lid. Probably from Clazomenae.  
 g. Oxford G.76. Head. From Naucratis. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 23.  
 h. Louvre S.74. Head from three-reeded handle of lid. Perhaps from Clazomenae.  
 i. Munich Inv.5338. Four-reeded handle of amphora with both heads. Bought in Athens. To be published in *CVA* III.  
 j. Berlin Inv.30408. Most of two four-reeded handles of an amphora with heads. From Sardis. Under the handle a crane, carelessly drawn.  
 k. Paris, Musée Rodin T.C.35. Half of four-reeded handle of amphora with head. *CVA*, pl. 696, 1.

No. 1 seems from its women to show the earliest stage in this group, and no. 2 is close. No. 3 is not much later: the necklace with pendant on the side is repeated by the Petrie painter (e.g. B. 9). No. 6 with its softer faces and figures alternately shod and barefoot looks forward to the Urla group, but it has connections also with the Petrie painter: the lotus-palmette cross is feebly constructed and in type later than those of nos. 1 and 10. Nos. 10 and 11 are of a robust style, in spirit more akin to the Petrie painter: the lotus of no. 10 is closer to Fikellura than the published illustration suggests. No. 16 is late and might well be classed in the Urla group.<sup>19</sup> No. 17 is the crudest hackwork. With this arrangement by the women the other scenes on the whole agree. The animals of nos. 1 and 3 are refined versions of earlier East Greek types, and the human scene of no. 3 vaguely recalls the Attic Tyrrhenian amphorae. No. 20 is more assured and looks later. No. 26 is related to the Urla group. The sirens and sphinxes develop little.

The ancestry of the Tübingen group is in East Greek pottery of the first half of the sixth century, particularly it seems (though the evidence is scanty) in Chiot. It is from these sources that there come the chain of women dancers,<sup>20</sup> the tight Ionic drapery, the facial type, perhaps the craving for sirens and sphinxes,<sup>21</sup> the shapes of amphora and big pyxis. With the contemporary Fikellura style there is little connection; most obvious is the use of crescents.<sup>22</sup> Attic influence is probable in the swans, in the lotus-palmette crosses,<sup>23</sup> in the rows of white dots<sup>24</sup> which are so familiar on Clazomenian b.f., and more subtly in the improved quality of the b.f. technique and style.

The shape of the amphora, which in its general proportions resembles the contemporary Fikellura amphora, has antecedents in East Greek pottery—in the Aeolian amphorae from Myrina<sup>25</sup> and a now neckless amphora from Berezan decorated in an orthodox Late Wild Goat style,<sup>26</sup> all of which have shoulder handles. But the varied elaboration of the profiles of lip, neck, and foot is new, inspired perhaps by metalwork. The attachment to handles of plastic heads was taken from Chiot, from which the type also developed. The large pyxis or open bowl, with projecting ledge before it curves in to its base, is similar to Aeolian bowls, mostly of bucchero ware, though there the area above is normally broken by projecting vertical bars and bosses.<sup>27</sup> For the profile of the lower part of the lids there are several parallels in the British Museum among unpublished sherds of Late Wild Goat style from Naucratis.

This group, to judge by the little development within it, covers only a short period of time.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the women's heads with CII.5.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. B.M. 88.6-1.520 (B.103.5; *Naucratis* II, pl. 13, 1; E. Pfühl, *Muz* III, fig. 123). Files of women holding wreaths are frequent in the Chiot Chalice style. For shod and barefoot women cf. a chalice fragment in the British School, Athens (no. 13). For a flautist cf. fragments of a Chiot chalice, Cambridge 94-6. N.81 (*CVA* II, pl. 496, 40; *JHS* XLIV 215 fig. 54); and of a Late Wild Goat style dish, Oxford 1925. 608 d. 1 (*CVA* II, pl. 395, 18).

<sup>21</sup> But they are common on the Attic Tyrrhenian amphorae. It is anyhow probable that Attic influence is the reason why the Clazomenian monsters do not wear spirals on their heads.

<sup>22</sup> Crescents occur earlier in Fikellura. See below, p. 143-4.

<sup>23</sup> See below, p. 145. The lotus-palmette crosses (nos. 1, 6, 10) have their descendants in the Enmann class (D 6, 7).

<sup>24</sup> See below, p. 146.

<sup>25</sup> Louvre B.561 and 561.1 (*BCH* VIII 509-14, pl. 7). Cf. also the similar amphorae, probably Aeolian, Rhodes 14225 and 14226 (*Clara Rhodes* VI/VII, Nisyros, figs. 33-4) and Istanbul (K. F. Kinch, *Vroulia*, pl. 20, 2).

<sup>26</sup> Leningrad 17567 (*Izv. GAIMK* V, pls. 19-20).

<sup>27</sup> E.g. *Larisa* III, pl. 35, 15; pp. 83-4, 103-8.

It is the earliest of the Clazomenian b.f. groups listed here, but probably overlaps with the Petrie group and reaches the beginning of the Urla group. For its date I suggest about 550-40 B.C. Perhaps further help could be derived from the plastic heads.<sup>28</sup>

## B. PETRIE GROUP

Most of the items in this group are tall slim amphorae, of which several are by one painter. Purple and white are used freely. Unless it is otherwise stated, tongues are in a series of dark, white, dark, purple, with a dot between one tongue and the next; there are two narrow purple stripes at the top of the dark area of the lower body and (to judge by no. 1) three more further down; the bold necking ring is painted purple. On the inside of the lip, which is painted dark, there is a narrow purple stripe: the outside has two stripes if plain, one if grooved.

1. B.M. 88.2-8.71a (B.107). Fragmentary slim amphora. H. 46 cm. From Tell Defenneh. Neck, sphinx. Body, tongues: A. (B. is missing) cloaked women: alternate dots: swans. *CVA* VIII, pl. 582.
2. B.M. 88.2-8.72 (B. 112). Fragments of body of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Cloaked women: open cable: sirens. *CVA* VIII, pl. 584, 4.
3. B.M. 88.2-8.71b (B.115.11). Fragment of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Body, tongues: cloaked women. *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 2.
- 3a. Philadelphia E.147.28. Fragment of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Body, small tongues without dots between: head of woman.
4. B.M. 88.2-8.71c. Fragment of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Body, tongues: woman. *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 3.
5. Reading 14.ix.76. Fragment of body of slim amphora.<sup>29</sup> From Tell Defenneh. Cloaked woman. *CVA*, pl. 550, 31.
6. B.M. 88.2-8.171. Fragment of body of amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Cloaked women: white dots with dark centres: bird. *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 7.
7. B.M. 88.2-8.81 (B.115.6). Fragment of body of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Cloaked women: alternate dots: lion and bull. *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 12.
8. B.M. 88.2-8.67 (B.115.12). Fragment of neck of slim amphora; the lip is grooved. From Tell Defenneh. Siren. *CVA* VIII, pl. 589, 1.
9. B.M. 88.2-8.74 (B.113). Fragments of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Body, tongues: satyr following two maenads: alternate dots: sphinxes. Perhaps B.M. 1952.5-5.3. with parts of two women and Philadelphia E.201.A.1 with parts of two sphinxes are from the body of this pot. *CVA* VIII, pls. 583, 2-4, 587, 5.
- 9a. Philadelphia E.201.B.2. Fragment of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Neck, A. and B. sphinx. Shoulder, tongues. The sphinxes are very close to those of no. 9, and possibly it is from the same pot.
- 9b. Philadelphia E.156.B.2. Fragment of body of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Feet and lower part of skirt of woman: alternate dots: head of sphinx. The style suggests that it is from the same pot as no. 9, but inappropriately the woman has both feet on the ground.
10. B.M. 88.2-8.77a (B.109). Fragments of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Body, tongues: scales: alternate dots: comasts. *CVA* VIII, pl. 586, 3-4.
11. B.M. 88.2-8.78a (B. 108). Fragments of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Decoration as no. 10. *CVA* VIII, pl. 586, 1-2. Two sherds from Tell Defenneh in Philadelphia, E.147.2 and 43, with similar scales, may be from this or the preceding pot.
12. Boston 86.576 (N.171). Fragment of body of slim amphora. From Naucratis. Comasts. A. Fairbanks, *Cat. Vases*, pl. 37, 339, 1. *A7A* XXIII 284 fig. 3a.
13. B.M. 88.2-8.79a (B. 110). Fragments of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Neck, siren. Body, tongues: scales: alternate dots: cranes and a bearded man (cf. A.6). Perhaps B.M. 88.2-8.120 is from this pot (fragment of neck with siren—details on white incised). *CVA* VIII, pls. 585, 3-4, 587, 1.
14. B.M. 88.2-8.69 (B. 115.13-14, 116.1). Fragmentary slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Neck, cock. Body, tongues: A. white youth<sup>30</sup> riding horse with dog below, man with spear; B. similar, but no man: white dots with dark centres: animals.<sup>31</sup> Incision on white for dog on B. *CVA* VIII, pl. 585, 1-2. *AD* II, pl. 21, 2 (of part).
15. B.M. 88.2-8.68, 70a-f, 76d (B. 115.2, 7, 8). Fragments of body of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. A. procession to altar (?); B. satyrs and boy: white dots with dark centres: cranes. *CVA* VIII, pl. 584, 1-2 and fig. 4.
16. Cambridge 94-5.N.193. Fragment from dinos or krater. From Naucratis. Male figures. *CVA* II, pl. 499, 30.

<sup>28</sup> Mr M. Gjedesen is studying them with other East Greek plastic work of the sixth century: see above, n. 18.

<sup>29</sup> Perhaps this piece belongs rather to the Urla group, but my impression was that it came from a slim and not a broad amphora.

<sup>30</sup> There is no good reason for supposing that the riders are female. The protuberant pectoral occurs in one form or another on other works of this group (B.9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 18) as well as on A.6, CII.25, and F.2, and in a more surprising form on Cl.4 and II.18. On white for male flesh see below, p. 141.

<sup>31</sup> There remains what is probably the neck and horn of a goat; cf. the deer of A.3 and D.3, 4.



17. B.M. 88.2-8.112 (B. 115.1). Fragments of body of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Tongues: A. white archer,<sup>32</sup> hoplite duel—; B. parts of archer and hoplite. Incision on white. *CVA* VIII, pls. 584, 3, 587, 10. *AD* II, pl. 21, 3 (of part).
18. B.M. 88.2-8.115 (B. 115.5). Fragments of body of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Draped man and attendant. *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 11.
19. B.M. 88.2-8.75a (B. 114). Fragments of body of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Two satyrs assaulting a maenad: white dots with dark centres: sirens. *CVA* VIII, pl. 583, 1.
20. Cambridge 99.N.43a. Fragment of dinos. From Naucratis. Two cranes. *CVA* II, pl. 498, 16.
21. B.M. 1952.5-5.4. Fragment of body of slim amphora. Probably from Tell Defenneh. Scales: alternate dots: cranes. *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 9.
22. University College, London. Fragment of body of slim amphora. From Naucratis. Scales.
- 22a. Philadelphia E.147.6. Fragment from lower corner of panel of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Scales: white dots (presumably with dark centres).
23. B.M. 88.2-8.75b. Fragment from lower part of body of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Siren, sphinx. *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 8.
24. Reading 14.ix.75. Fragment from lower part of body of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Siren: white dots with dark centres: perhaps wing of swan. *CVA*, pl. 550, 30.
25. British School, Athens, and Heidelberg. Fragment of body of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh (so the Heidelberg sherd). Scales (containing in alternate rows white drops with dark centres and dark drops with white centres): three rows of crescents (every fourth crescent is white). *CVA* Heidelberg I, pl. 3, 2 (provisionally).
- 25a. Heidelberg. Fragment of body of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Part of three rows of crescents (as no. 25). *CVA* I, pl. 3, 2 (provisionally).
26. B.M. 88.2-8.119. Fragment of neck. From Tell Defenneh. Siren. *CVA* VIII, pl. 588, 11.
27. B.M. 1952.5-5.5. Fragment of neck; the lip is grooved. Probably from Tell Defenneh. Sphinx or siren. Incision on white. *CVA* VIII, pl. 588, 12.
- 27a. Philadelphia E.153.A. Fragment of neck. From Tell Defenneh. Head of sphinx or siren. Incision on white. The ear is marked by a row of strokes above an ear-ring.
28. Oxford G.130.19. Fragment of shoulder with small necking ring, probably from a broad amphora. From Naucratis. Tongues: wing (?).
29. Oxford G.129.6. Fragment of shoulder perhaps of slim amphora. From Naucratis. Tongues: female head. Incision on white. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 16.
30. Alexandria 24052. Fragment of body of apparently slim amphora. Bought in Alexandria. Tongues: white youth riding horse and throwing spear, man. F. Brommer, *Bull. Soc. R. d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* XXXIII 288-92, fig. 2.
31. Philadelphia E.176.A. Fragment of body probably of slim amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Tongues: bearded draped man. The style is neat, but weak.

No. 1, the most complete of these pieces, makes the easiest starting point. Details of face and feet show that the siren of no. 8 and the women of nos. 2, 3, 3a, 6, 7 are by the painter of no. 1: nos. 4 and 5 may be.<sup>33</sup> The same hand is visible in the sphinxes and maenads of no. 9, and—through their relationship to its satyrs—in the comasts of nos. 10-12 and perhaps in the errant man of no. 13. Nos. 9a and b evidently go with no. 9. The rider of no. 14 is a brother of the women of no. 1 etc., but the attendant shows a new and weaker style of face and a shortened eye. So far the unity of the group is clear, but whether the next four pieces are also by the Petrie painter may be doubted. The style is pettier and feebler, though there are some connections of detail and the general similarity of the decorative plan. However, since the Petrie painter has already shown his unevenness, I incline to think that these pieces too are his, perhaps stale later work. No. 17, then, is connected by the white archer's head, and its hoplites' eyes are of the new form of no. 14. No. 15 repeats the squiggly knee markings of no. 17, and the cranes have at the base of the head the same unusual semicircle as the swans of no. 1.<sup>34</sup> No. 16 is perhaps from a scene like that on the back of no. 15: the knee is a poor version of the old form. So too is the knee of no. 18, which is near nos. 15 and 17; here the old man wears his necklace askew as on no. 9 and perhaps no. 14. Of the remaining items no. 19 has a quality similar to no. 9 and is (I guess) a contemporary work of the Petrie painter; nos. 20-24, and still more 25, offer too little to allow a close attribution; nos. 26-29 are doubtful

<sup>32</sup> There is a similar archer's cap on Reading 26.ii.74 and 75, a fragment from the shoulder of a broad amphora from Naucratis (*CVA*, pl. 550, 36).

<sup>33</sup> The siren of the fragment of a neck, which may belong to no. 13, could be by the same painter: much of its difference of aspect comes from a clumsy use of incision instead of paint for details of the white area.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. also no. 20 and CH.2. The semicircle may be a rudimentary ear; for parallels in 'Chalcidian' see A. Rumpf, *Ch.V.*, pl. 33, and later in Corinthian O. Broneer, *Hesp* XVI (1947), 216, pls. 50, 1 and 3, 51.



members of the group; and no. 30 is included mainly for its shape. That so much has survived of the work of the Petrie painter is largely chance. The Greeks at remote Tell Defenneh, where most of these pieces were found, seem not to have needed much painted pottery and presumably bought occasionally and from only a few dealers; thus the finds may illustrate the arbitrary stock of a merchant rather than (as on richer sites) an average selection of current manufacture or export.<sup>35</sup> Even so, the Petrie painter gives the impression of a personality of a robust assurance that is unusual in East Greek vase-painting.

The Petrie painter had studied Attic more carefully than other Clazomenian painters. Attic models inspired the cloaked women<sup>36</sup> which he preferred to the tightly draped dancers of the Tübingen group, his scenes of satyr life, and the general appearance and arrangement of his pots. But he retained a fondness for painting instead of incising detail on white, rejected the Attic b.f. eye, and wantonly exaggerated such details as the box-like marking of the knee. His fauna he inherited and adapted from the Tübingen group.<sup>37</sup> On the whole there is in this artist as much of Attic as Ionian. For all his borrowings and frequent negligence he had a marked personality, particularly evident in his satyrs and other male figures and in such ornaments as the scales which his intermittent taste for colour enlivens with a stuffing of white drops with dark centres.<sup>38</sup> His influence can be traced in the rather later Urla group.

The commonest shape, perhaps through the accidents of survival, is the slim neck-amphora:<sup>39</sup> the height ranged from about 30 to 55 cm., but is normally about 45 cm. A similar tendency to slimness occurs in the third quarter of the sixth century in Fikellura<sup>40</sup> and Attic.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps the Clazomenian shape prompted the miserable Egyptian-Greek pot, Cairo 32.377.<sup>42</sup>

There is in the work of the Petrie painter a hint of the Attic Tyrrhenian amphorae and some general kinship with Lydos and the Amasis painter. On the other hand the folds of the drapery on no. 15 are certainly of the second half of the sixth century and perhaps hardly earlier than the late 530's,<sup>43</sup> and the creases in the belly of one satyr on no. 9 are paralleled in the b.f. work of the Andocides painter. It seems reasonable to date the Petrie painter from a little before 540 to near 530 B.C.

### C. URLA GROUP

Most of the pieces that follow are fragments of broad hydriae and amphorae of medium size: only the hydria no. 1 is complete. Purple and white are used freely. Generally the necking ring is painted purple and tongues are shrunken to dots and monochrome. Below the panel near the top of the dark area there are normally two narrow purple stripes.

<sup>35</sup> See *CVA British Museum VIII*, App. A. Perhaps even all the slim amphorae from Tell Defenneh were bought in one lot; if so, my division into an early and a later group becomes less likely.

<sup>36</sup> On the transmission of the type see H. R. W. Smith, *Origin of Chalcidian Ware* (*Univ. Calif. PCA I*), 129 and nn. 112-3. But I think the Petrie painter received it through Attic, where it is common in the mid-sixth century (e.g. A. Rumpf, *Sakonides*, pls. 1, 2, 6, 7).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. e.g. the lions and bulls of no. 7 and A.3. The swans perhaps are remodelled on Attic.

<sup>38</sup> He also uses a row of similar drops as a dividing band. Dark dots with white centres appear on A.6, which may be no earlier than the Petrie painter, and in alternate rows of scales on B.25 and 25b.

<sup>39</sup> Only no. 1 is reasonably complete, though its handles are restored: the lower attachments usually come further down the body. Lips are sometimes grooved, as of Tyrrhenian amphorae.

<sup>40</sup> See *BSA XXXIV* 46-51 and 58-60. The scale is much smaller than Clazomenian and the quality inferior: the most comparable Fikellura piece is that of pl. 15b.

<sup>41</sup> E.g. some amphorae by 'Elbows Out' (J. D. Beazley, *BSA XXXII* 20, nos. 1-3).

<sup>42</sup> C. C. Edgar, *Greek Vases*, pls. 5-6.

<sup>43</sup> As A. Rumpf noted (*Gnomon I* 330).

I. *Hydriae*.

1. Temruk 113. Complete. H. 26.5 cm. From a grave at Stanitz, Taman. Shoulder, tongues: sirens. Belly, two cocks: broad dark band: rays. Neck, handles, and foot painted dark. *AA* 1929, 44-7, fig. 2.
2. B.M. 88.2-8.80a (B.115.4). From Tell Defenneh. Shoulder, sirens. Belly, scales containing white drops. *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 14-15.
3. University College, London. From Naucratis. Shoulder, sirens.
4. B.M. 88.2-8.110 and 116 (B. 126). Fragments from middle of neck to below panel. From Tell Defenneh. Shoulder, sirens. Belly, satyrs and maenads. *CVA* VIII, pl. 592, 3-4.
5. Philadelphia E.159.1. From Tell Defenneh. Shoulder, sirens. Belly, parts of two probably female heads. *Proc. Num. and Antig. Soc. of Philadelphia* 1890/1, 73, fig. 19 (left).
- 5a. Philadelphia E.208.1. From Tell Defenneh. Shoulder, sirens. *Ibid.*, fig. 19 (right). Perhaps from the same pot as no. 5.
6. B.M. 88.2-8.172 (B. 115.4). From Tell Defenneh. Shoulder, sirens. Belly, part of male head. *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 13.
7. Bonn 1120.1. Fragments of neck and shoulder. From Clazomenae. Shoulder, sirens.
8. Oxford G.131.6. From Naucratis. Shoulder, sirens. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 20.
9. University College, London. From Naucratis. Shoulder, sirens. Belly, part of male head.
10. B.M. 88.2-8.117 (B.128.1). From Tell Defenneh. Shoulder, cocks. Belly, parts of male and probably female heads. *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 17.
11. B.M. 88.2-8.118 (B.125.12). From Tell Defenneh. Shoulder, cock and hen. *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 16.
12. B.M. 86.4-1.1113 (B.102.13). From Naucratis. Shoulder, sirens (of which one at least shows both wings). *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 18.
13. Oxford G.130.4. From Naucratis. Shoulder, tongues: cranes (one is white). *CVA* II, pl. 401, 5.
14. B.M. 88.2-8.104 (B.127). Upper part of body, with much flatter shoulder and wide necking ring. From Tell Defenneh. Shoulder, large tongues (dark, white, dark, purple): myrtle branch. Belly, goddess mounting chariot. Incision on white. *AD* II, pl. 21, 1. *CVA* VIII, pl. 594, 1.
15. Oxford G.129.5. From Naucratis. Shoulder, much as no. 14. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 2.

II. *Amphorae*.

1. B.M. 88.2-8.106h (B. 125.4 and 14). From Tell Defenneh. Body, tongues: women dancers. *CVA* VIII, pl. 593, 2.
2. B.M. 88.2-8.106f-g and 113a-b. From Tell Defenneh. Body, women dancers. *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 3-4. Perhaps from the same pot as no. 5.
3. B.M. 88.2-8.106a-d. From Tell Defenneh. Body, women dancers. *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 5-8.
4. B.M. 88.2-8.113c. From Tell Defenneh. Body, dots: woman dancer. *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 11.
5. B.M. 88.2-8.73a (B.125.14). From Tell Defenneh. Neck, palmette. Body, dots: women dancers. *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 1. Perhaps from the same pot as no. 2.
6. B.M. 88.2-8.73b (B.125.14). From Tell Defenneh. Body, dots: woman dancer. *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 2.
7. Cairo, German Institute. From Bubastis. Body, dots or tongues: woman dancer. Rather larger scale than usual.<sup>42a</sup>
8. Oxford G. 129.7. From Naucratis. Body, dancer or cloaked woman. Incision on white. Scale slightly larger than no. 7.
9. B.M. 88.2-8.73c (B.125.14). From Tell Defenneh. Body, dots: cloaked woman. *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 9.
10. B.M. 88.2-8.113e. From Tell Defenneh. Body, cloaked woman. *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 16.
- 10a. Philadelphia E.152.4. From Tell Defenneh. Body, three cloaked women.
11. B.M. 88.2-8.73d (B.125.14). From Tell Defenneh. Body, cloaked woman. *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 10.
12. Cambridge 94-5.N.42a. From Naucratis. Body, head of woman. Possibly there were sizable tongues above. *CVA* II, pl. 498, 10.
13. Oxford G.131.18. From Naucratis. Body, perhaps cloaked woman. Incision on white.
- 13a. Philadelphia E.156.A. From Tell Defenneh. Body, head of woman, perhaps cloaked. Incision on white.
14. B.M. 88.2-8.101 (B. 122). From Tell Defenneh. Neck, palmette. Body, dots: (A. and B.) cloaked man and sphinx. *CVA* VIII, pl. 593, 3-4 (with perhaps pl. 588, 13).
15. Oxford G.130.3. From Naucratis. Body, draped men. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 11.
16. Boston 86.572 (N.173). From Naucratis. Body, comast. A. Fairbanks, *Cat Vases*, pl. 37, 339, 3.
17. B.M. 88.2-8.82 and 107. From Tell Defenneh. Neck, palmette. Body, short tongues: comasts and women. *CVA* VIII, pls. 588, 10 and 589, 2.
18. B.M. 88.2-8.108 and 77c, and 109 (B.123 and 125.7). Perhaps parts of two amphorae. From Tell Defenneh. Neck, palmette. Body, dots: (A. and B.) comasts and woman playing flute. *CVA* VIII, pls. 592, 1-2, and 590, 18.
19. B.M. 88.2-8.114 (B. 125.13). From Tell Defenneh. Body, A. a half-boar companion, Odysseus threatening Circe; B. (if from same pot) companions. *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 20-1.
20. B.M. 1952.5-5.13. Probably from Tell Defenneh. Body, man with hands tied behind him and grasping a white object. *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 17.
21. B.M. 88.2-8.76c. From Tell Defenneh. Body, comasts (one with eyes for nipples). *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 19 (perhaps from the same pot as no. 18).
22. B.M. 88.2-8.76a (B.125.6). From Tell Defenneh. Body, satyrs and maenad. *CVA* VIII, pl. 588, 9.
23. B.M. 1952.5-5.12 (B. 102.38). From Naucratis. Body, probably a satyr. *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 14.

<sup>42a</sup> I am grateful to Prof. K. Schefold and Prof. H. Junker for knowledge of this sherd.

24. B.M. 88.2-8.70c (B.125.5). From Tell Defenneh. Body, dots: horse. *CVA* VIII, pl. 590, 13.
25. B.M. 88.2-8.70d (B.116.2). From Tell Defenneh. Body, white youth riding horse. *CVA* VIII, pl. 593, 1.
26. B.M. 88.2-8.70a (B.116.3-4). From Tell Defenneh. Body, dots: A. white youth riding horse, hoplite; B. head of horse probably from similar group. *CVA* VIII, pl. 591, 1-2.
27. B.M. 1952.5-5.16 (B.125.8). From Tell Defenneh. Body, chariot with white driver. *CVA* VIII, pl. 594, 2.
28. B.M. 86.4-1.1192 (B.102.19). From Naucratis. Body, chariot. *CVA* VIII, pl. 588, 7.
29. Oxford G.131.11. From Naucratis. Body, sphinx (?). *CVA* II, pl. 401, 19.
30. B.M. 1952.5-5.6. From Tell Defenneh. Neck, palmette. *CVA* VIII, pl. 589, 3.
31. B.M. 1952.5-5.7. From Tell Defenneh. Neck, similar palmette. *CVA* VIII, pl. 589, 4.
- 31a. Philadelphia E.147.40. From Tell Defenneh. Neck, palmette—similar except that there are no radial rows of white dots.
32. Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology, NA.135. From Naucratis. Neck, similar palmette.
33. Bonn 1120.7. From Clazomenae. Neck, similar palmette.
34. Oxford 1925.608d (2). From Naucratis. Neck, silhouette palmette.
35. Oxford 1912.34. From Naucratis. Neck, silhouette palmette.
36. Philadelphia E.147.62-63. From Tell Defenneh. Body, feet and belly of sphinx.
37. Philadelphia E.155.A and B.2. From Tell Defenneh. Body, hindquarters of similar sphinx.
38. Philadelphia E.176.B.2. From Tell Defenneh. Neck, woman nuzzling bearded draped man.
39. University College, London. Probably from Naucratis. Neck, woman and man in similar style.<sup>44</sup>

### III. Lids. (All are fragments of lower parts of big lids.)

1. Berlin Inv.4531Aa. From Clazomenae. Sphinx: sirens. *AD* II, pl. 56, 1.
2. New York 37.11.4. Said to be from Egypt. Crane: alternate dots: siren, swan. *BullMetMus* XXXII (1937), 175-6, fig. 1.
3. Berlin University D.155. From Clazomenae. Animal (?): alternate dots: confronting sphinxes. *PLATE* 29, 3.
4. Bonn 1120.8. From Clazomenae. Sphinxes.

### IV. Fragments of other shapes.

1. Bonn 1120.5. Fragment of a large neck or stand. From Clazomenae. Satyrs and maenad. Incision on white. *AA* 1936, 382 no. 32, fig. 35.
2. Upsala. Fragments of krater. From Clazomenae. Tongues: comasts. *AD* II, pl. 57, 3.<sup>45</sup>
3. Upsala. Fragment of dinos. From Clazomenae. Lip, chequers. Body, dots and tongues (one looks to be white): cock. *AD* II, pl. 57, 1.<sup>46</sup>
4. Oxford G.121.4. Fragment of dinos or krater. From Naucratis. B.f. head.

The *hydriae* nos. 1-12 form a close group, though they are not, I think, all by one hand. The satyr of no. 4 resembles in his weaker face that of B. 9, in the rest of his anatomy the men of CII. 18-22. The sirens are of the same type as in the preceding groups, but softer and more slickly drawn. Some of the other fragments showing scales with white drops<sup>47</sup> may come from these or similar *hydriae*. No. 13 with its dark and white cranes recalls the Tübingen group; but shape, short tongues, and the inept dotting of the wing tips perhaps put it early in this group. No. 14, in style as well as shape, stands apart.

The *amphorae* follow a uniform plan. Where enough of the neck survives it was decorated with a clumsy palmette as on no. 18:<sup>48</sup> the silhouette degeneration of nos. 34-35 may belong not to *amphorae* of this group, but to such pieces as F. 21. Below the necking ring, which is usually broad and flat as in the Tübingen group, there is commonly a row of dots, vestiges of the older tongues. Below, a broad panel on each side of the pot displays human or mythical figures. Nos. 1-7 retain the women dancers of the Tübingen group. Nos. 9-13 have cloaked women as in the Petrie group; the faces of nos. 5-7 take after A. 16, no. 9 has a look of the

<sup>44</sup> Prof. C. M. Robertson kindly sent me a tracing of this fragment.

<sup>45</sup> Dr E. Bielefeld kindly told me that there was in 1937 in the market in Paris a fragment of a pyxis in shape similar to A.1 and decorated with long-bearded comasts like those of the Upsala piece.

<sup>46</sup> I have included this fragment in the Urla group only because of the form of the tongues: the cock is not decisive, since there is no development from the Tübingen and Petrie groups to the Urla group.

<sup>47</sup> See below, n. 102.

<sup>48</sup> The variations are that the incision on the butt has the shape not of a V, but of a U (so on no. 14); and that the radial white dots are omitted on nos. 31a and 32. On no. 33 the butt is not incised and there may be no white dots or purple. There is more elaborate decoration on nos. 38-9, if they belong to this group.

Petrie painter. The men of nos. 14-16 have the full beards of the preceding groups, but the drawing is hastier and weaker. Nos. 17-23 show naked male figures, sometimes in company with females: there is in them some range of style. The horses of nos. 24-28 are of the same breed as the Petrie painter's (B.14); on no. 26 the hoplite also recalls that group (B.17), though the rider's chest is unusually correct and the head of the horse is less close than that of no. 24. Nos. 29 and 36-39 are doubtful additions. The *lids* seem early and might be better placed in the Tübingen group: no. 2 is close both to the hydria no. I.6 and to A.6.

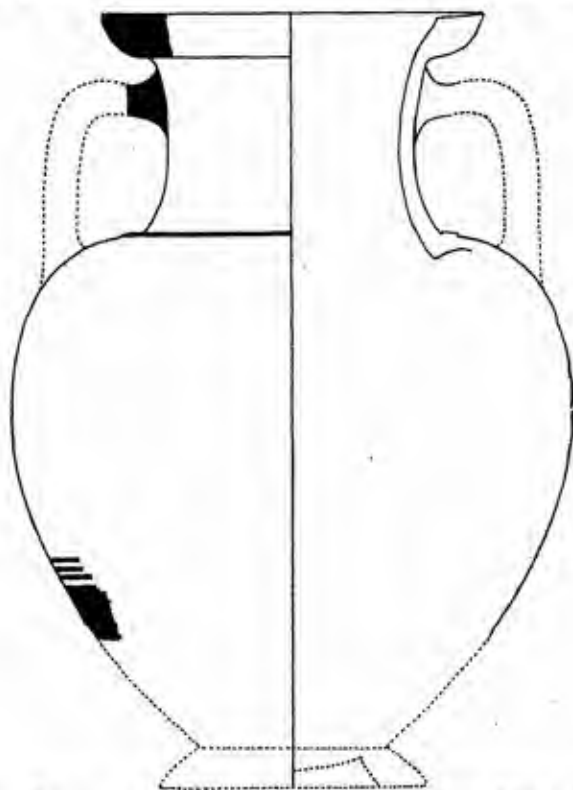


FIG. 4.—RESTORED SHAPE OF AMPHORA OF THE URLA GROUP.

*Dotted lines for parts for which no evidence survives, hatching for purple. Height 33.5 cm.*

The hydriae appear to be painted more neatly than the amphorae, but the style is similar. The use of incision, especially on legs, is stupidly fussy, more so than in the later pieces of the Petrie group. Characteristic details are the forelock, which had already been used by the Petrie painter (borrowing from Attic) for male figures but is here worn also by women and even sirens, the weak hatching of the belly, the small U-shaped dimple on the buttock, and the scrabbly toes. The male chest is drawn in various ways. For female ears the favourite formula is now a row of strokes above an ear-ring,<sup>49</sup> but both the old and the new ears sometimes appear on the same pot (no. II.5). The general effect of the style is of an impotent weariness with the accepted tradition.

Some of the subjects are more enterprising. No. II.19 gives Odysseus threatening Circe;

<sup>49</sup> As already on A.3a and 9, and B.27a. The form appears also on a large Fikellura head (BSA XXXIV 41-S.12, fig. 6).



though his transformed companions appear on Attic pots of the mid-sixth century and once perhaps on Fikellura,<sup>50</sup> this is so far as I know the earliest representation of the final scene. No. II.14 may well be Oedipus and the Sphinx, since the length of beard and of chiton (to judge respectively by the comasts of other amphorae and by Chiot gentlemen) need not indicate old age. The tied man on no. II.20 might possibly be Prometheus. On no. II.26 the figures are probably not Troilus and Achilles, or the horse would be galloping. For the rest we have women in the dance or procession, satyrs or comasts with their girls, men in procession, and chariots.

Unfortunately the only complete hydria (no. 1) is published in a photo taken from above, but no. 4 helps, fragmentary though it is. The ordinary form, that of nos. 1-13, which has a narrow necking ring and a normal height of about 30 cm., has no ancestry in East Greek, where the hydria is anyhow rare, and the nearest parallel both in shape and system of decoration is in Attic of the middle and third quarter of the sixth century.<sup>51</sup> The typical amphora cannot be reconstructed certainly, since none is preserved much below the panel: FIG. 4 is based on fragments in the British Museum with supplements from the hydria and from the amphorae of the preceding groups.<sup>51a</sup> The shape has a general connection with Attic of the third quarter of the sixth century. The large lids appear to belong early in this group and presumably come from large pyxides like A.1.

The Urla group continues and develops from the tradition of the Tübingen and Petrie groups and should in the main be later in date. But its frequency at Tell Defenneh suggests that it was in full production before 525 B.C.<sup>52</sup> The affected poses of the figures on the belly of no. I.4 cannot be earlier than the 530s. No. I.1 was found near EIII.7 and may be of much the same date. Perhaps then the Urla group begins about 540 B.C. and lasts for some fifteen or twenty years. It had no direct successor.

#### D. ENMANN CLASS

Apart from the preceding groups but only loosely connected with each other are some amphorae decorated with a large panel on each side. A few pots of other shapes may be added.

1. Berlin Inv.2932. Fragmentary amphora. H. 25 cm. From Rhodes. A. two satyrs holding amphora, above which is a rosette; B. tail of a cock (?) and above it a rosette, below it (according to JHS) two small birds. Purple for scalp of satyr. Divisions of rosettes and cock's tail alternately purple and white. White for the projecting ends of the satyr's wreath and for the volutes and dots of his amphora. About 540 B.C. JHS VI 180-91, figs. 1-2. E. Buschor, *Gr. Vasen*, fig. 106. P. Jacobsthal, *Orn.*, 44 and fig. on p. 45 (details of the amphora painted on A). The shape, which is unusually wide for this class, vaguely recalls Attic amphorae of around 540 B.C.: the amphora held by the satyrs is more normally proportioned. There are resemblances to the Northampton group: compare the head of the satyr with that of the centaur of Munich 585, and the wreath of the satyr here and on the amphora in Castle Ashby.

2. Kief, Chananenko Collection. Askos. H. (presumably excluding handle) 15.4 cm. Probably from Olbia. On each shoulder a comast, a kantharos, and a bud on stalk. Purple on hair, beard, loincloth. White (now perished) for wreath and some details on arms and legs of comast. 540-30 B.C. AA 1929, 235-7, figs. 1-3. Perhaps by the painter of no. 1: cf. especially details of calf, knee, chest.

3. Vienna, Kunsthist. Museum (on loan). Amphora. H. 30.6 cm. Tongues (dark, white, dark, purple). A. satyr and deer; B. siren, hare, cloaked woman. Purple on hair and beard of satyr, belly stripe of hare, cloak of woman. White (besides its normal use) for spots on body of siren and perhaps on neck of hare. Under the foot is painted ΣΥ. About

<sup>50</sup> The Fikellura pot is Louvre A.330 (BSA XXXIV 20-L.3 and 24 n. 2). On two Attic cups in Boston (AJA XXVII 426-7 figs. 1-2) Odysseus is sneaking up behind Circe.

<sup>51</sup> See A. Greifenhagen, *AA* 1935, 449-50 no. 25, fig. 37.

<sup>51a</sup> It is unlikely that the foot was moulded, or Petrie would have preserved a specimen. If the fragment F.23 comes from an amphora of this type, it adds—as is anyhow to be expected—that there were rays below the dark band. Two other fragments from Tell Defenneh in Philadelphia (E.147.9-12 and E.147.24-27) also show rays below a dark band; but I am not sure that they are Clazomenian or from amphorae.

<sup>52</sup> For the use of Tell Defenneh for dating see *CVA British Museum VIII*, App. A.

530 B.C. *Wiener Jb. der Bildender Kunst* V (1922), 46 and fig. on p. 36. *Acta Arch* XIII 36 fig. 22. PLATE 30. The patterning of the satyr's calf recalls the last two pieces, but the style is limper. The single zigzag down the tail of the satyr (which appears also in the Urla group) suggests a date later than the Petrie painter (B.9), from whom too comes the cloaked woman.

4. Leningrad 17793. Amphora. H. 32.5 cm. Probably from Taman. Shortish tongues: A. and B. spotted deer. White for belly stripe, pizzle, and spots of deer. *Izv (IAK)* XLV 92-5, fig. 1, pls. 7-9. *AA* 1912, 334-7, fig. 21.<sup>53</sup> M. Ebert, *Südrußland in Altertum*, fig. 76. *Izv (GAIMK)* V 89-90 no. 2, fig. on p. 93—no. 1. The deer are not far from that of no. 3, though by another hand.

5. Leningrad? One-piece amphora (with necking ring): the lip seems to be grooved. H. c. 13.8 cm. From Olbia (grave 36, but context unhelpful). A. siren. 540-30 B.C. *CRend (Olet)* 1913/15, fig. 25.

6. Leningrad 20280. Amphora. H. 32 cm. From Kerch. Tongues: A. sphinx and vertical ivy branch; B. lotus-palmette cross. Probably purple and white alternately on tongues, feathers, and petals. Purple on top and bottom quarters of lotus. White for face and neck of sphinx, usual rows of dots, larger dots on ivy branch and between leaves. About 530 B.C. *AA* 1911, 205, figs. 14-5. *Izv (IAK)* XLV, 95-7, fig. 2, pls. 10-1. For the palmette ornament compare the Tübingen group (A.1, 10, 6) and note particularly the degeneration of the flower. For the double incision on the rump compare A.22, though there it is straight.

7. Leningrad? Fragments probably of one amphora. From Olbia. A. female panther; B. lotus-palmette cross (the lotus flowers atrophied). Apparently purple on the neck and belly stripe of the panther, and white for a stripe above its forehead and rings on its body. On the palmettes alternate white and purple petals, the usual rows of white dots, and perhaps purple cores. About 530 B.C. *AA* 1909, 173-4, figs. 33-4. *Izv (IAK)* XXXIII 120, figs. 26-7.

8. Hildesheim 1539. One-piece amphora (the foot does not belong). H. 37.7 cm. Bought in Luxor. A. lion mauling bull (restorations to muzzle of bull, and to scalp, jaw, hind legs of lion); B. two cocks flanking a tall stiff flower (an alien sherd inserted in the neck of the right cock). Purple for eye and nostril of lion and bull, for comb and wattle of cocks. Feathers alternately purple and white. White for spots on cocks' bodies and rows of dots at root of feathers. About 530 B.C. PLATE 31, 2.

9. Mykonos KE.992. Fragmentary amphora. H. 26.2 cm. From Rheneia. A. and B. cock. 540-30 B.C.

10. Berlin Inv.2979. Fragmentary amphora. H. (as restored) 29.5 cm. From Rhodes. Tongues (dark, white, dark, purple): scales with white drops. A purple stripe on the dark band below the panel. 540-30 B.C. C. Watzinger, *Gr. Holzsk.*, fig. 17.

11. Turin 4655. Amphora. H. 33 cm. Scales with white drops, some apparently with dark centres. 540-30 B.C.<sup>54</sup>

12. Lausanne 4281. Amphora. H. 28 cm. From Camirus. Scales with white drops. About 530 B.C. S. Zervos, *Rhodes, Capitale du Dodécanèse*, fig. 272. The shape is less careful.

The following pots and fragments seem to fit best into this class.

a. Kassel T.438. Oinochoe. H. 12.2 cm. From Clazomenae. Triton and dolphins. White for face, body, and underside of tail of Triton. No incision. About 530 B.C. *AD* II, pl. 56, 2. For the subject compare the neck of the amphora of the Northampton group in Castle Ashby: there the Triton's belly stripe is mistakenly prolonged to his nipple.

b. Upsala. 'Teapot stand'. D. (excluding handles) 7.5 cm, H. 2 cm. From Clazomenae. Winged woman (Nike?). White for flesh and dress of woman, and for dots of dot-rosettes in field. No incision. About 530 B.C. *AD* II, pl. 56, 6. The lavish use of white and absence of incision connect it with the preceding piece.

c. Berlin Inv.3220. Probably a neck (the upper edge is original, but the bulge below and the foot which appear in the illustrations do not belong). H. (as preserved) 10.4 cm. Bought in Rome. Four comasts. Purple for hair and beard. About 530 B.C. *AA* 1893, 83, fig. in text. J. Endt, *Beiträge zur ion. Vasenmalerei*, fig. 9. K. A. Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 20 left.

d. Boston 88.838 (N.174). Fragment of belly. From Naukratis. Draped youth, perhaps carrying ceremonial object(s). Middle of second half of sixth century. A. Fairbanks, *Cat. Vases*, pl. 37, 339, 2. *AJA* XXIII 284 fig. 3b.

e. Istanbul. Fragment of shoulder of amphora. From Larisa in Aeolis. Youth holding horse. Purple for hair. About 530 B.C. *Larisa III*, pl. 58, 1.<sup>55</sup>

This is not a compact group. Its distinguishing marks are the favourite shape of the amphora, the decorative scheme of panel and banding, and the generally weak and mannered quality of composition and drawing. No. 3 is the most characteristic: on one side is a confrontation of satyr and deer, on the other a careless miscellany of stock figures. In Attic b.f. of the mid-sixth century subjects are sometimes as meaningless, but the composition is balanced.

No. 1 looks the earliest: its satyr is probably a little later than the Petrie painter. On no. 2, which is near in date, the comast and his accessories show a resemblance to Fikellura of about the 540's. Most of the other pieces are later and degenerate in style, and the dates I have suggested are little more than guesses based on the assumption that the Enmann class generally precedes the Knipovitch class.

<sup>53</sup> It is here said that this amphora has a thin white slip, and that similar pieces were frequent in South Russia.

<sup>54</sup> For knowledge of this pot I thank Sir John Beazley, for a photo and other details Signora F. Bonajuto and the authorities at Turin.

<sup>55</sup> K. Schefold interprets the subject, wrongly I think, as Herakles gripping Kerberos or some other savage animal (*op. cit.*, 172).

The typical shape is the neck-amphora with egg-shaped body: it has a small necking ring and the handles are usually flattish, sometimes two-reeded. This Enmann amphora does not develop from the neck-amphora of the Late Wild Goat style, but is adapted from Attic of the third quarter of the sixth century, as are the one-piece amphorae and the broader neck-amphora no. 1.

The connection in style with the preceding Clazomenian groups, though strong, is not intimate; this is clearest in the types which are directly borrowed—siren, sphinx, cloaked woman. On the whole it seems that though the Enmann class belongs to the Clazomenian sphere, it is not a continuation of any earlier Clazomenian group; it was probably produced in other workshops, perhaps in another city. For this suggestion there is some support from the places of finding, since except for the unusually small pots *a* and *b*, which stand some way apart from the other pieces in my list, no example of the Enmann class (or of the Knipovitch class which I think develops from it) has been recorded from Clazomenae or its neighbourhood.<sup>55</sup> A few resemblances to the Northampton group have been noted already.

### E. KNIPOVITCH CLASS

This class consists mainly of amphorae of a peculiar shape and decorated (as are those of the Enmann class) with a large panel on each side and with bands of paint. The favourite subjects, which are the same on front and back of the pot, are the forepart of a winged horse, bridled and usually facing right, and scales with white centres.

#### I. Group of Mykonos KE.988.

1. Mykonos KE.988. Fragmentary amphora. H. 28 cm. From Rheneia. Forepart of winged horse, the mane spreading on to the wing.
2. Oxford G.130.9. Fragment of amphora. From Naucratis. Part of head and neck of horse. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 3 (4 in text).
3. Oxford G.130.11. Fragment of amphora. From Naucratis. Part of chest and forelegs of horse. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 1.
4. Oxford G.130.5. Fragment of amphora. From Naucratis. Part of head and neck of horse facing left, the style coarser than that of the preceding pieces. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 13.

#### II. Group of Mykonos KE.990.

1. Cambridge 99.N.44a. Fragment of amphora. From Naucratis. Head and part of neck of horse facing left. *CVA* II, pl. 498, 12.
2. Mykonos KE.990. Fragmentary amphora. H. 27.5 cm. From Rheneia. Forepart of winged horse facing left, in style bolder and more fluent than the last.
3. Oxford G.130.2. Fragment of amphora. From Naucratis. Part of head, neck, and wing of horse facing left, more drily mannered in style. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 10. *BSA* V, pl. 8, 5.
4. Oxford G.130.6. Fragment of amphora. From Naucratis. Part of head and neck of horse facing left.
5. Leningrad 13967. Amphora. H. 32.2 cm. From Kerch (grave 70). Forepart of winged horse facing left, the style not distinct in the illustrations but generally suggestive of this group. *CRend (Oilet)* 1902, 54, fig. 91. *Izv (IAK)* IX 85 fig. 6. *Izv (GAIMK)* V 90-1, fig. on p. 93—no. 2, pl. 11, 1.

#### III. Temrjuk Group.

1. B.M. 88.2-8.45 (+1906.3-1.16). Fragments from panel of amphora. Original H. c. 27 cm. From Tell Defennch. Forepart of winged horse. *CVA* VIII, pl. 591, 3.
2. Athens 12713. Amphora. H. 26.5 cm. From Rhodes. Forepart of winged horse. *PLATE* 31, 1.
3. Mykonos KE.989. Fragmentary amphora. Original H. c. 28-29 cm. From Rheneia. Forepart of winged horse.
4. Oxford G.130.7. Fragment of amphora. From Naucratis. Part of neck and chest of horse.

<sup>55</sup> There is now one example of the Knipovitch class from Old Smyrna (E III. 8).

5. Oxford G.130.8. Fragment of amphora. From Naucratis. Part of head of horse. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 8.
6. Oxford 1912.33(c). Fragment of amphora. From Naucratis. Part of head of horse.
7. Temrjuk 112. Amphora. H. 28 cm. From a grave at Stanitz, Taman. Forepart of winged horse. *AA* 1929, 43-4, fig. 1.
8. Smyrna. Fragments probably of one amphora. From Old Smyrna. Forepart of winged horse.<sup>55a</sup>

Nos. 2-8, and possibly also no. 1, are by the same painter.<sup>56</sup> For the pieces that follow there is not enough to decide.

- a. Oxford G.129.8. Fragment of amphora. From Naucratis. Part of chest of horse with incised hatching along the front (cf. F.15).
- b. B.M. 1952.5-5.8. Fragments probably of one amphora. Probably from Tell Defenneh. Parts of wing. *CVA* VIII, pl. 589, 5.
- c. Leningrad, Olbia 455. Askos. H. (excluding handle) 7.8 cm. From Olbia (1911: grave 4, no. 32b). On each shoulder a wing. *CRend (Oitset)* 1911, 19, fig. 23. *AA* 1912, 357-8, fig. 47. *AA* 1929, 238-9 no. 4.<sup>57</sup>
- d. Leningrad, Olbia 457. Askos. H. (excluding handle) 12.4 cm. From Olbia (1910: grave 8, no. 32b). On each shoulder an octopus, with white dots on its legs. *AA* 1929, 238, figs. 4-5.

Not far from the Temrjuk painter are:

- e. Mykonos KE.991. Fragmentary amphora. H. 27.5 cm. From Rheneia. Forepart of winged horse.
- f. Leningrad 15847(b). Fragment of amphora. From Berezan. Parts of head, chest, and foreleg of horse. *Izv (GAIMK)* V 95, pl. 12, 2.

#### IV. *Nasbeh Group*.

1. Mykonos KE.987. Amphora. H. 25.5 cm. From Rheneia. Scales—in alternate rows alternate scales have dark instead of the normal white drops. On base dipinto in the form of a Z with a bar across the middle. The shape of the pot is unusually attenuated.
2. Leningrad 20269. Fragmentary amphora. H. 19.4 cm. From Olbia. Scales. *Izv (GAIMK)* V 91, fig. on p. 93—no. 3, pl. 11, 2.
3. Jerusalem 32.2545. Fragmentary body of amphora. Original H. c. 19 cm. From Tell-en-Nasbeh (near Jerusalem). Scales. *BASOR* no. 82, 31-2, figs. 7-8; no. 83, 26-7. C. C. McCown, *Tell-en-Nasbeh* I 175-6, pl. 59.
4. Bonn 2002.3-4. Fragments of neck and shoulder of amphora. From Abusir. Scales.
5. Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology, NA 136. Fragment of shoulder of amphora. From Naucratis. Scales.

Some of the other fragments with scales (see p. 143, n. 102) may come from amphorae of this shape.

#### V. *Other pots*.

1. Leningrad 20267. Amphora. From Taman. Tongues (dark, white, dark, purple?): in the panel, horizontal ivy branch—white for branch and spots between leaves. *Izv (GAIMK)* V 99-100, fig. on p. 93—no. 4, pl. 14, 1.
2. Leningrad, Olbia 452. Askos. H. (excluding handle) 7 cm. From Olbia (1912: grave 28, no. 163b). On each shoulder an ivy branch—white spots between the leaves. *AA* 1929, 239-40, figs. 8-9.

The Knipovitch class uses the same decorative scheme as the Enmann class, but is more timid in its motives, sharing only the panels filled with scales. Its most elaborate effort, the forepart of a winged horse, is common also on East Greek coins.<sup>58</sup> The type is not, I think,

<sup>55a</sup> I thank Mr J. M. Cook for knowledge of this piece.

<sup>56</sup> Nos. 2-6 and 8 have mane brushed forward, no. 7 brushed back, no. 1 parted. On no. 1 the horse is also more richly caparisoned.

<sup>57</sup> In this paper, publishing several askoi, O. Waldhauer expressly says that none is slipped (p. 236). The statement of E. Pfuhr (*Muz* I 176) that this askos is slipped I suppose mistaken. Of Waldhauer's askoi Olbia 455 and 457 are similar in shape and belong, I think, here: Olbia 452 is listed below (EV.2), and Kief above (D.2): the rest I omit.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. *BMC Coins, Ionia*, pls. 1, 10, 22; 31, 8, 9, 11: *Troas*, pl. 15, 3-11: *Mysia*, pls. 18-20: *Caria*, pls. 18, 1-2, 4-7; 35, 6: *Lycia*, pl. 7, 11. These coins extend over a long time, but some are of the sixth century: the type seems most popular at Lampsacus. (A similar type occurs on some small coins of Corinth, but there it is an abbreviated Pegasus.) A whole winged horse appears in the upper panels of a Clazomenian sarcophagus of the end of the sixth century (Berlin Inv. 3347; *AD* II, pl. 27, 2), and another forepart on a late archaic marble relief from Thasos (*Mon Piot* XXXV 25-48, pl. 3).



to be interpreted as Pegasus, since such meaningless types as the forepart of a winged boar appear at the same time in East Greek art.<sup>59</sup>

The shape of the amphora, which I have made the criterion of the Knipovitch class, appears to be a degeneration from the stronger amphora of the Enmann class, though the lip has received a new and unpleasant profile. Its lower projection is perhaps corrupted from the ridge on the amphorae of the Tübingen group. Sections of a typical Enmann lip and foot are sketched on FIG. 5. The necking ring has now disappeared, except on the amphora from Temrjuk (EIII.7) and even there—to judge by the published photo—it is insignificant.

For the derivation and dating of this class there is some evidence in the shape of the amphora and the heads of the horses. The heads of group I recall those of the Petrie painter (B.14), but are later; they are parallel to CII.26. From group I diverge groups II and III, the one affectedly decorative and the other aridly progressive. The amphora from Tell Defenneh (III.1), which is transitional between groups I and III, should be earlier than 525 B.C.<sup>60</sup> On the other hand the jaw folds regular on the other amphorae of group III first appear in Attic about 530 B.C. and are not obviously earlier in East Greek.<sup>61</sup> As for the shape

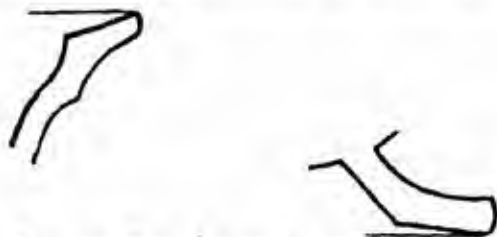


FIG. 5.—SECTIONS OF LIP AND FOOT OF AN AMPHORA OF THE KNIPOVITCH CLASS.

of the amphora, though the Knipovitch class may overlap with the Enmann, it should in general be later. For these reasons I suggest that group I is to be dated in the 530's and groups II and III in the 520's and into the 510's. Group IV with its scales should follow on from the similarly decorated amphorae of the Enmann class. In general the outside limits of the Knipovitch class may be 540–510 B.C. Its home is uncertain. Clearly it belongs to the Clazomenian circuit, but no specimens have been recorded from Clazomenae and only one from Old Smyrna, so that it is reasonable to suppose provisionally that its place of making was some other city of northern Ionia.<sup>62</sup> Much the same has been said about the Enmann class, of which this seems to be a later stage.

## F. MISCELLANEA

1a. Cambridge 94-6.N.35-37 and 39. Fragments of dinos. D. (at lip) 34 cm. Whitish slip. From Naucratis. Lip, riders and deer. Body, paired strokes: deer: . . . (from below middle) centaur (?). CVA II, pl. 498, 1-6. BSA V, pl. 6, 9-10.

1b. Cairo. Fragment apparently from near middle of dinos. Crane: rider.<sup>63</sup>

1c. Oxford G.130.10. Fragment from below middle of dinos. Whitish slip. From Naucratis. Rider.

<sup>59</sup> CVA British Museum VIII, text to pl. 584, 3.

<sup>60</sup> See CVA British Museum, VIII, App. A.

<sup>61</sup> A similar stage is shown by sherds in Alexandria (F.4) and Istanbul (D.e). The jaw folds are common on Clazomenian sarcophagi.

<sup>62</sup> T. N. Knipovitch, publishing some of the pieces listed above, suggested that they were made in Samos (*Izv GAIMK* V 94 and 100-1: I owe my understanding of these passages to the kind help of Prof. T. Sulimirski). I think Knipovitch wrong in choosing Samos, but right in segregating his pieces from the main group of Clazomenian. Those who fancy an outside chance might plump for Lampsacus, where the forepart of a winged horse was common on coins. Little else is known of archaic Lampsacus.

<sup>63</sup> I know this sherd only from a photo kindly given me by Dr. F. Brommer.

The fragments 1a-c are in the same style and a-b at least very likely from the same pot. They are, I think, to be dated a little before the middle of the sixth century, earlier than any of the pieces listed above. If so, they mark an early—probably experimental—stage in the Clazomenian b.f. style.<sup>64</sup>

2. B.M. 88.6-1.580b (B.103.14-3). Fragment from shoulder of hydria (?). From Naucratis. Rider. *CVA* VIII, pl. 588, 6. Near no. 1.
3. B.M. 86.4-1.1280 (B.102.32). Fragment from shoulder of dinos or krater. From Naucratis. White rider, goading his horse. Incision on white. *CVA* VIII, pl. 587, 19. Mid-sixth century.
4. Alexandria 25158. Fragment of amphora. Bought in Alexandria. Rider. *Bull. Soc. R. d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* XXXIII 287-8, fig. 1. The style of the horse is near the Knipovitch class.
5. B.M. 88.6-1.580a (B.103.14-4). Fragment from shoulder of amphora (?). From Naucratis. Rider. *CVA* VIII, pl. 588, 4. About 540-30 B.C. I am doubtful whether this should be classed as Clazomenian.
6. Oxford 1912.33(a). Fragment of dinos or krater. From Naucratis. Horse. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 4 (3 in text). About 530 B.C.
7. B.M. 1900.2-14.2. Fragment of amphora (?). From Naucratis. Boy holding cock, a monstrous cock behind him. Incision on white. *CVA* VIII, pl. 588, 5. About 540-30 B.C. On the subject—a courting incident—see K. F. Johansen, *From the Collections* III 134-40; J. D. Beazley, *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum*, 18-24.
8. Oxford G.131.1. Fragment from flat part of plate. From Naucratis. Cock: alternate dots: tongues (dark, white, dark, purple). Presumably there were a pair of cocks (or a cock and a hen) in the exergue. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 17. The cock looks earlier than the other Clazomenian cocks: perhaps mid-sixth century.
9. Cambridge 94-6.N.41. Fragment from shoulder of dinos or krater. From Naucratis. Tongues (dark, white, dark, purple): sphinx or siren facing palmette (?). *CVA* II, pl. 498, 7. Style close to Urla group, though more elaborate. About 540 B.C.
10. B.M. 86.4-1.1256 (B.102.27). Fragment from belly of a large pot. From Naucratis. Sphinx or siren, small palmette in field. *CVA* VIII, pl. 588, 3. Style close to Urla group, though more elaborate.
11. Oxford 1912.33(f). A thick and twisted sherd. From Naucratis. Siren. Perhaps Urla group.
12. Bonn 2042. Fragmentary pyxis. Diam. (at rim) c. 6 cm. From Clazomenae. Sirens. On rim painted in white  $\text{A}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\rho\gamma\omega\rho\eta$ :  $\text{E}\rho\mu\eta$ :  $\eta\theta\epsilon\alpha$ .<sup>65</sup> *AM* XXIII 62-4, fig. 1. *GDI* 5608. Feeble style: latish.
13. Oxford G.129.3. Fragment from near shoulder of large pot. From Naucratis. Sphinx. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 15. Near Urla group.
14. Bonn 1120.2. Fragment perhaps of oinochoe. From Clazomenae. Body, tongues: dark-faced siren, lion: chequers: lion: . . . *AM* XXIII 65-7, fig. 2. This piece stands apart. Third quarter of sixth century.
15. Berlin Inv. 4531Ab-d.<sup>66</sup> Fragments of krater. From Clazomenae. Body, tongues (dark, white, dark, purple): A. white rider and dog (the scene may be Troilus pursued by Achilles, two of whose fingers are perhaps visible behind the rider); B. centaurs; under a handle a cloaked woman (?). Details on white incised. *AD* II, pl. 56, 3-5. About 550-40 B.C.
16. Bonn 1586 and Upsala. Fragments from neck and shoulder of large one-piece amphora (?). From Clazomenae. Legs probably of satyrs and maenad: meander and star:<sup>68</sup> sirens and sphinxes: scales with white drops. *AA* 1936, 381-2 no. 31, fig. 34. *AD* II, pl. 57, 5 (Upsala sherd only). Around 540 B.C.
17. Würzburg H.4710. Fragment from body of krater (?). Bought in Taranto. Tongues (?): satyr. The incision is unusually detailed and intelligent. Perhaps Clazomenian. About 530 B.C. or later.
18. Oxford 1924.264. Fragments of big amphora. From Karnak. Body, A. vineyard; B. satyr, men, and monstrous boar:<sup>69</sup> lotus flowers and buds. *CVA* II, pl. 401, 24. Perhaps Clazomenian. Middle of sixth century.
19. Brussels M.831 and Athens 5610. Fragments of probably one hydria. Bought in Smyrna (said to have been found near Clazomenae). Shoulder, short tongues: Achilles mounting his chariot, to which is tied the body of Hector.<sup>70</sup> Belly, chariot, herald, seated old man and woman.<sup>71</sup> R. Zahn, *AM* XXIII 38-48, pl. 6. E. Pühl, *Muz* III, figs. 146-7. *CVA* Brussels III, pl. 106, 5. About 540 B.C.
20. B.M. 86.4-1.1257 (B.102.28). Fragment of dinos or krater. From Naucratis. Archer and hoplite (both have white flesh). *CVA* VIII, pl. 588, 8. Perhaps Clazomenian. Third quarter of sixth century.

<sup>64</sup> E. R. Price stressed the importance of the Cambridge sherds, but because they are slipped regarded them as a link between the Clazomenian pots and sarcophagi (*East Greek Pottery*, 22). Dates and styles do not permit the connection. Of the other slipped pieces mentioned by Price I have identified the archer (F.6); perhaps the cock is B.M. 86.4-1.1197 (*CVA* VIII, pl. 589, 9); the rider I suspect is the sherd in Oxford (F.16): but there does not seem to be a close group. Neither her 'probable' krater nor her 'possible' plate belongs here.

<sup>65</sup> Mr. G. Woodhead kindly advised me on this inscription. For confusion of  $\epsilon$  and  $\eta$  cf. *Delos* XI, figs. 146 and 149.

<sup>66</sup> Berlin Inv. 4531Af could be from this pot. Fragment of lip of krater: from Clazomenae: top, ivy leaves; edge, chequers.

<sup>67</sup> This is R. Zahn's suggestion.

<sup>68</sup> Related patterns appear on some Clazomenian sarcophagi and on the perhaps Egyptian Greek amphora, Bonn 1524 (*AA* 1936, 396-8 no. 45, fig. 51: E. Pühl, *Muz* III, fig. 167).

<sup>69</sup> Perhaps a travesty of the Calydonian hunt. The file of men and the boar seem to come from the same (very wide) panel, so that there is only one band of lotus.

<sup>70</sup> The dark area below Achilles' shield is a shield-apron, the earliest example I know.

<sup>71</sup> Zahn interpreted the lower scene as Troilus pursued in sight of Priam. But the band below the tassels across the horse's chest should be harness for a chariot. E. R. Price describes it as Priam and Hecuba receiving the herald, but without specifying the occasion.

21. B.M. 63.3-30.4 (A.1333). Amphora (with wide necking ring). H. 44 cm. From Rhodes. Neck, silhouette palmette. Body, tongues (dark, white, dark, purple): scales with white drops: banding. *CVA* VIII, pl. 591, 4. Probably Clazomenian, though the shape is not paralleled and the ornaments are simple enough for imitation. Presumably third quarter of sixth century.

22. Leningrad 15847(a). Fragment of hydria (?). From Berezan. Body, lotus flowers and buds: lion and bull. *Izv* (GAIMK) V, pl. 12, 1. The detail, incised and painted, is extravagant<sup>72</sup> but seems of Clazomenian type; whether the painter was Clazomenian or not I cannot tell.<sup>72a</sup> Second half of sixth century.

23. Philadelphia E.150. Fragment of belly of amphora or hydria. From Tell Defenneh. Legs of two comasts: dark band with a purple stripe at top and bottom: rays. Possibly Clazomenian of Urla group, but there the panel has a separate base-line and the purple stripes are doubled. Third quarter of sixth century.

Some other pieces which, though not Clazomenian, are sometimes mentioned with Clazomenian, are listed here.

a. Berlin Inv.5844. Amphora (egg-shaped). H. 35 cm. Said to be from Karnak (bought in Luxor). Neck, palmette. Body, tongues (alternately dark and purple): A. boxing match; B. spotted satyr leading ram: rays. F. Brommer, *Satyros*, fig. 17 (of B). *PLATE* 32. The uncouth drawing resembles that of the Campana dinoi. Last quarter of sixth century.

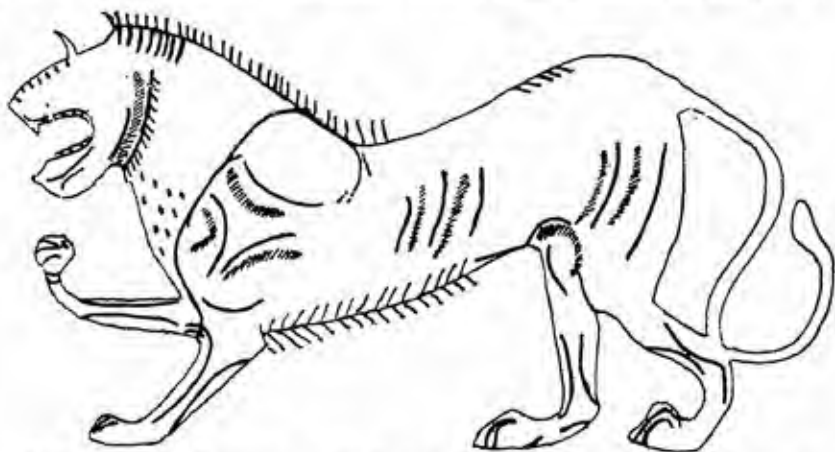


FIG. 6.—SKETCH OF A LION FROM A CLAZOMENIAN SARCOPHAGUS (DRESDEN 1643).

The inner detail, some of which is missing, is in white and purple (here shown by fine hatching).

Scale 4 : 5.

b. B.M. 88.6-1.575 (B.103.12). Fragment from belly. From Naucratis. Whitish slip. Archer. *CVA* VIII, pl. 589, 8. Perhaps last quarter of sixth century.

c. Cambridge N.44d. Fragment from body of krater or dinos. From Naucratis. Men's legs: ?. White lines (not visible in the illustration) supplement incision on calf and round anklebone. *CVA* II, pl. 498, 15. Perhaps last quarter of sixth century.

d. B.M. 1904.6-1.1. Fragmentary krater (missing lip, handles, foot). H. (as restored) 29.9 cm. From Cyme in Aeolis. Neck, ivy branch. Body, A. satyrs and maenad; B. two riders: animals (lion, goat) and youth. Details in white paint and not incised. *CVA* VIII, pl. 595. *RM* III, pl. 6. As A. Rumpf has remarked,<sup>73</sup> the use of white lines for inner details suggests dependence on the Clazomenian sarcophagi. So too do the flowers and the satyr's hair style. The late date so given for the krater is confirmed by the *kolpos* of the maenad's dress, which has parallels in Attic of the sixth century, and by the twisting of the satyr's body,<sup>74</sup> clumsily reflecting the new anatomy visible in Attic r.f. painting of the same time. About 500 B.C.

e. Rhodes 13339. Amphora of special shape. H. 32 cm. From Camirus. Body, tongues (alternately white): A. Herakles and the lion; B. cock and woman. Details in white paint and not incised. From grave LIV, with an Attic black cup of the end of the sixth century. *Clara Rhodos* IV, figs. 138-9, pl. 2. *CVA* I, pls. 430 and 432. Last quarter of

<sup>72</sup> The b.f. animals in subsidiary bands on Clazomenian sarcophagi of the end of the sixth century were as lavishly embellished with detail, though it has usually perished. FIG. 6 offers a rough sketch of a lion from the top band of the headpiece of the sarcophagus Dresden 1643. Cf. also an amphora in Rhodes (e, below) and an Ionian b.f. cup in Samos (K.1383; E. H. Wedeking, *Archaische Vasenorn.*, figs. 4-5).

<sup>72a</sup> There is a rather similar sherd from Naucratis in Munich.

<sup>73</sup> *Jdl* XLVIII 67.

<sup>74</sup> The satyr turns his chest to the spectator, not his back (as F. Dümmler, *RM* III 161, and R. Zahn, *AM* XXIII 74). The twist has been doubted, but I think that the set-back of the markings on the belly implies twisting.

sixth century. Since this and the next two items, which also have a plastic ring below the lip, were all found in Rhodes, they may be Rhodian.<sup>75</sup>

f. Rhodes 6251. Amphora of similar shape. From Ialysus (grave 94). Body, tongues (alternately white): scales with white drops. *Clara Rhodus* IV, fig. 140. Last quarter of sixth century.

g. Louvre AM. 1057. Amphora: the neck with weak lip and plastic ring below recalls the last two pieces, the body the ordinary amphorae of the Enmann group. H. 25.6 cm. From Rhodes. Body, tongues: A. and B. siren and vertical branch. White over dark undercoat: incision on white. Feathers alternately white and purple. Later sixth century. Probably imitation of Clazomenian.

### TECHNIQUE

In clay and paint Clazomenian b.f. imitates Attic, as did the rather earlier Ionian Little Masters.<sup>76</sup> The clay is generally less fine than Attic, containing a little mica but few gross impurities. It is fired to a leather brown, usually paler than the standard of Attic but within its range. The surface has a fair sheen. The paint, shiny too, is normally a near-black, sometimes overoxidised towards brick red. When thin, as often for details, it ranges to a golden brown. In addition a matt purple and a white are common, the purple usually over the ordinary dark paint, the white according to convenience either directly on the clay ground or over dark paint.<sup>77</sup> For the dark areas, inner detail and much of the outline are incised. Incision is occasionally used for the white areas too, but much more often the details and exposed outlines are painted in the dark paint. On the whole Clazomenian painters are sober in their use of white: occasionally they let themselves go and break the Attic convention of sexual colours.<sup>78</sup>

The traditional cream slip of East Greek was not wanted for the fine brown surface of these pots. It survived for the plastic heads (see p. 126) and was used on the very early dinos F.1 and on A.1, though their clay was fine enough not to need a slip. Among other pieces that have been called slipped Clazomenian I suspect that some are not slipped<sup>79</sup> and others not Clazomenian—at least as I have defined it.<sup>80</sup>

### SHAPES

The important shapes have already been discussed under the groups in which they were used.<sup>81</sup> *Amphorae* are much the most frequent, partly because an amphora was a regular offering in graves and partly because of the curious nature of the find at Tell Defenneh. In the Tübingen group the amphora was big and spreading and had shoulder handles, in the Petrie group it was very slim and more elegant, in the Urla group broad and of middling size: there is no obvious evolution. The normal amphora of the Enmann class is egg-shaped, that of the Knipovitch class often sags and has a concave lip.<sup>82</sup> These are all neck-amphorae; the one-piece amphora is rare (D.5 and 8). The *hydria*, a broadish pot with curving or flattened

<sup>75</sup> But other apparently Rhodian b.f. products are not in this style (see p. 123 n. 1). For the lion cf. fig. 6.

<sup>76</sup> E. Kunze, *AM* LIX 81-122.

<sup>77</sup> It is not clear why contemporary Attic painters preferred a dark undercoat for their white paint. To judge by our Clazomenian pots, the white was no more durable for the undercoat and often (when thin) took from it a greyish tone. Perhaps the explanation is that Attic painters regarded white as an embellishment rather than an original part of the design.

<sup>78</sup> White males on B.30, CII.26, F.3, 7, 15, 19, and probably on A.20, B.14, 17, CII.25, 27, F.15, 20. Most are beardless youths. The Clazomenian use of white—direct on the clay and with painted details and outline—comes from East Greek tradition, especially Chiot, where, too, male flesh is often light. I do not think there is any direct influence of the exuberant Corinthian red-ground painting.

<sup>79</sup> D.4, EIII.c.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. p. 139 n. 64. I cannot tell from my notes if Berlin Inv. 30409 is Clazomenian, but think it is not. Fragment of krater from Sardis: on the rim vertical zigzags, on the handle plate a siren, on the shoulder animals—between the handles a goose; inside over dark paint white, purple, and white bands. The surface has a thin whitish slip.

<sup>81</sup> Generally, I hope, there is a coherence of style in each group, but where style failed I have used shape as a secondary characteristic in my grouping. So the results are probably too simple.

<sup>82</sup> The necking ring seems a useful criterion for fragments—in the Tübingen group broad and flat, in the Petrie group large and round, in the Urla group usually small and round for *hydriae* and broader and flatter for *amphorae*. The Enmann class has generally a small necking ring, the Knipovitch class none.



shoulder, is common in the Urla group. Only one *large pyxis* or open bowl has survived (A.1),<sup>83</sup> but there are remains of several *lids* (A.1, 19-21, CIII.1-4): all seem to be early. There are many fragments from *kraters* and *dinoi*, these, too, mostly early. An *oinochoe* or two (F.14, D.a), a *plate* (F.8), a *small pyxis* (F.12), and a 'teapot stand' (D.b) are uncanonical in style also. In the Enmann and Knipovitch classes there is the *askos*.

## SUBJECTS

### I. Groups A, B, and C; and F.

As black-figure painters the Clazomenians naturally preferred scenes with human figures and after them animals. The favourite subjects are *women dancers* who hold one another by the wrist;<sup>84</sup> *cloaked women* in procession;<sup>85</sup> *comasts*, sometimes with women;<sup>86</sup> *satyrs and maenads*;<sup>87</sup> *riders on horses*, sometimes attended.<sup>88</sup> Less frequent are *chariots*,<sup>89</sup> *battles*,<sup>90</sup> and mixed *processions*.<sup>91</sup> *Centaurs* appear on F.15 and perhaps F.1, a *boy with a cock* on F.7,<sup>92</sup> a scene in a *vineyard* on F.18. Particular incidents from mythology are *Odysseus threatening Circe* (CII.19), *Achilles dragging Hector's body* and perhaps the *reception of an embassy* (both on F.19), perhaps *Oedipus and the Sphinx* (CII.14); perhaps—as has just been noted—*Troilus*, and conceivably *Prometheus* (CII.20). But generally the Clazomenians are not interested in their subjects except as decoration: so they tend to repeat on the back of the pot the scene of the front, and their anatomical drawing is unequal and often arbitrary or negligent.

The fauna includes the regular subsidiary animals—*lion*, *panther*, *bull*, *boar*, *deer*, and perhaps *goat*—in the familiar groupings. *Sphinxes* are common, *sirens* very common, with white or dark faces according, usually, to their position above or below the middle of the pot: following Attic fashion they have discarded the spiral that early East Greek sphinxes wear on their heads.<sup>93</sup> There are *cocks* (with a rare *hen*),<sup>94</sup> '*cranes*' feeding (some white),<sup>94a</sup> and *swans*. The monsters and birds rarely mix with the animals and are generally in file, or in closed fields pose antithetically. A bearded man wanders among cranes on A.6 and B.13.<sup>95</sup>

### II. Enmann and Knipovitch classes.

The composition is still feebler in the Enmann and Knipovitch classes. We have *satyrs* with a man-size amphora (D.1) and a deer (D.3), *comasts* (D.2<sup>96</sup> and c), a *cloaked woman* in odd

<sup>83</sup> For fragments of others see p. 125 n. 15a and p. 132 n. 45.

<sup>84</sup> Groups A and B. On the type see p. 127.

<sup>85</sup> Groups B and C. An isolated woman apparently on F.15. For the type see p. 130. Cloaked men are a variant on CII.15.

<sup>86</sup> Groups B and C.

<sup>87</sup> Groups B and C, A.26, F.16 and 17. On F.18 satyr with a great boar. Clazomenian satyrs are hooved; but the nature of the feet and legs of satyrs seems to be unimportant (see H. R. W. Smith, *Origin of Chalcidian Ware* (Univ. Calif. P.C.A.I.), 134-5; and F. Brommer, *Satyroi*, 31-3).

<sup>88</sup> A.20, B.14, CII.24-26, F.1-6 and 15. Some of these scenes may represent or be inspired by Troilus (see *CVA British Museum VIII*, text to pl. 585, 1-2). For the horses and their trappings see J. D. Beazley, *Lewes House Coll.*, 22-4.

<sup>89</sup> CII.14 (presumably a goddess—Athena?—mounting), CII.27-28. There is on A.3 a chariot in a larger scene.

<sup>90</sup> B.17, F.20—both include archers: cf. also F.b. Soldiers and women in a probably meaningless scene on A.3.

<sup>91</sup> B.15 and 18, perhaps sacrifices.

<sup>92</sup> The subject is taken from Attic but characteristically provided with another enormous cock.

<sup>93</sup> Chiot sphinxes keep the spiral, which reappears (though not regularly) on sphinxes on Clazomenian sarcophagi. Fikellura does without the spiral.

<sup>94</sup> The long stiff wing is characteristic of Clazomenian: cf. the cocks on a Clazomenian sarcophagus by the Dennis painter (B.M. 86.3-26.5-6: *CVA VIII*, pl. 613, 2). The division of the wing, but more neatly done, appears in Attic b.f. on lip cups of Tleson. The cock of F.8 has not the special Clazomenian tail; perhaps the fragment is not Clazomenian.

<sup>94a</sup> The feeding 'cranes' recur on an early Clazomenian sarcophagus, once in the Evangelical School, Smyrna (*AD I*, pl. 46, 1): it is probably by the Borelli painter, who has some affinity to Clazomenian vase-painters.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. the youth in the animal zone of F.d. Such strays turn up sporadically in Attic from the beginning till the middle of the sixth century.

<sup>96</sup> Nearer to the comasts of some Fikellura pots than to those of groups B and C.

company (D.3), *sirens* (D.3, 5), *sphinx* (D.6), *spotted deer* (D.3, 4),<sup>97</sup> *cocks* (D.8, 9),<sup>98</sup> *lion mauling bull* (D.8), *female panther* (D.7), *hare* (D.3), perhaps also a *Triton with dolphins* (D.a) and a *winged female* (D.b). The forepart of a *winged horse* is a criterion of the Knipovitch class: once, on an askos, there is a *wing* alone (EIII.c), and on another askos is painted an *octopus* (EIII.d). These are all principal subjects, since in neither class is there a subsidiary band of decoration.

## ORNAMENTS

In the principal field scale pattern often substitutes for a figure scene. Other abstract and vegetable ornaments occur in subsidiary positions, but they are not important even in the Tübingen group, in the Petrie group dwindle to narrow dividing bands, and (apart from the palmette of the neck) disappear in the Urla group.

*Scales.* Rows of scales often fill the principal panel, but only once to my knowledge are used in a shallower band (F.16). So they are not suited to the Tübingen group which keeps to decoration in zones, but are common in the other groups. Clazomenian scales are drawn freehand and are longish; they regularly contain white drops,<sup>99</sup> further embellished in the Petrie group with dark centres<sup>100</sup>. Scales, monochrome or with purple on the drops, appear rather earlier in Fikellura,<sup>101</sup> from which the Petrie painter may have adapted them. Since so simple an ornament could easily be copied, the scales with white drops are not a certain criterion of Clazomenian.<sup>102</sup>

*Crescents.* On the large amphorae of the Tübingen group a row of crescents, white or

<sup>97</sup> There is little development from the larger b.f. deer of the end of the Wild Goat style.

<sup>98</sup> The cocks D8, though affected, are of the same kind as those of groups A-C.

<sup>99</sup> White crosses on Oxford G.129.4 (no. 2 in the list of n. 102): crosses for drops occur in Fikellura too.

<sup>100</sup> On B.25 and 25b alternate rows of scales have white drops with dark centres and dark drops with white centres.

<sup>101</sup> BSA XXXIV 78-9 (the Göttingen amphora is Attic: B.M. 88.2-8.57 is republished in CVA VIII, pl. 606, 3).

<sup>102</sup> As E. Kunze has remarked (*AM* LIX 82 n. 1). Cf. also for general similarity the scales on some Attic squat lekythoi and alabastra of the fourth century (C. Bulas, *BCH* LVI 392-8). Still I imagine that most of the following sherds belong to one or other of the groups listed above. The scales contain white drops unless it is otherwise stated.

1. Berlin University D.764. From Luxor. White drops with dark centres.

1a. Heidelberg. From Tell Defenneh. White drops with dark centres. CVA I, pl. 3, 1 (provisionally).

2. Oxford G.129.4. From Memphis. White crosses with dark centres. CVA II, pl. 401, 14.

3. Oxford 1910.531. 1-4. From Memphis. Small white drops. W. M. F. Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis* III 41.

4. Heidelberg I.28 and 29. From Naucratis. CVA I, pl. 2, 27 and 29 (provisionally).

5. Brussels A.1797. From Naucratis. This amphora had a small necking ring.

6. Boston 86.555 (N.254). From Naucratis. A. Fairbanks, *Cat Vases*, pl. 37, 338.

7. Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology, NA.137. From Naucratis.

8. B.M. 86.4-1.1267b. From Naucratis. CVA VIII, pl. 590, 27.

9. B.M. 1924.12-1.1156 (A.1329). Probably from Naucratis. This amphora had a small necking ring. CVA

VIII, pl. 590, 23.

10. B.M. 88.2-8.80b. From Tell Defenneh. Perhaps from the hydria CI.2. CVA VIII, pl. 590, 24-6.

11. B.M. 88.2-8.79b-c. From Tell Defenneh. Probably from a hydria or amphora of Urla shape. CVA VIII, pl. 590, 30-1.

11a. Philadelphia E.147.38. From Tell Defenneh. Perhaps from the same pot as no. 11.

12. Istanbul. From Lindos. C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* I, pl. 48, no. 1058.

13. Athens. From Clazomenae.

14. Istria. From Istria. I noted two or three fragments in 1935.

15. Athens, Agora Museum P.8801. From the Agora, Athens (found in a context of the early fifth century).

16. Athens, Agora Museum P.3578. From the Agora, Athens. Vestigial tongues above the scales, but no necking ring. (I thank Mr. B. Shefton and Miss Lucy Talcott for knowledge of these two items.)

Some other pieces with abnormal scales are not Clazomenian, but perhaps dependent.

a. B.M. 86.4-1.1295 and Cairo 26.149. Fragments of amphora. From Naucratis. Body, outlined tongues on cream ground: scales with doubled outline and containing white drops (on orange-brown clay ground). CVA VIII, pl. 590, 29; and C. C. Edgar, *Greek Vases*, pl. 3.

b. B.M. 86.4-1.1267a (A.1331). From Naucratis. Large coarse scales without drops. CVA VIII, pl. 590, 28. (Cf.—still more degenerate—Leningrad, Olbia 456: askos: AA 1911, 222, fig. 29 and 1929, 238 no. 2, figs. 6-7; *Mat. Russ. Arch.* XXXIV, pl. 3.2.)

c. B.M. 88.2-8.57. Amphora. From Tell Defenneh. Neck, band of opposed triangles. Shoulder, cable. Belly, coarse scales without drops. CVA VIII, pl. 606, 3. Perhaps made in Egypt.

alternately white and purple on a dark ground, is normal at the top of the belly. Outside that group crescents occur only on an exceptional slim amphora (B.25; cf. also B.25a)—here in a sequence of three dark and one white and there are three rows of them. Crescents occur sporadically in Greek vase-painting from the Late Geometric style down to the sixth century,<sup>103</sup> but (whirligigs excepted) are first used regularly in Fikellura from about 560 B.C. Probably then it was Fikellura that inspired the Clazomenian painters,<sup>104</sup> though the dark ground normal in the Tübingen group strongly recalls the inside of Chiot chalices and phialae.<sup>105</sup>

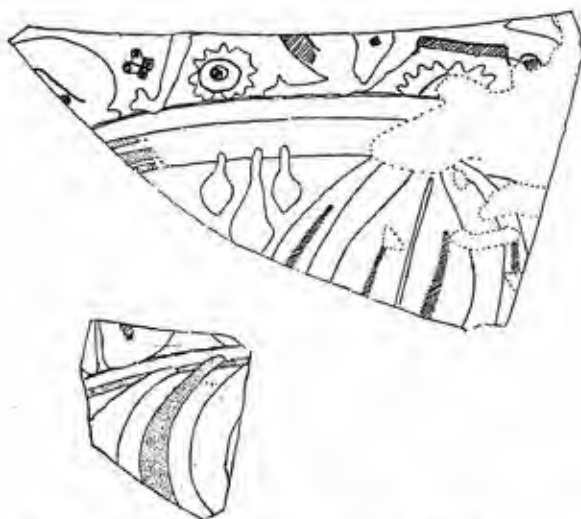


FIG. 7.—FRAGMENTS OF CHIOT B.F. DINOS (MANCHESTER III.D.12 AND CAMBRIDGE, MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, NA.107).

*Hatching for purple, dots for diluted dark paint. Scale 2 : 3.*

*Chequers.* Large chequers two deep sometimes decorate the projecting edge of lips (large pyxis—A.1; lids A.1, 20; big amphora—A.6; krater—p. 139 n. 66). There are similar chequers on the top of the lip of the dinos CIV.3. On an abnormal oinochoe (F.14) a band of five rows of small chequers runs round the top of the belly.

*Chevrons.* This ornament appears twice, on the edge of the lip of A.10 and (perhaps) 11. On the doubtful krater Berlin Inv. 30409 (p. 141 n. 80) there are zigzags on the top of the lip.

*Tongues.* Tongues are regular at the top of the shoulder in the Tübingen and Petrie groups: they are usually large, set in compartments with a dot (or occasionally a spike) in the angle, and coloured in series dark, white, dark, purple. In the Urla group tongues, if

<sup>103</sup> See *BSA* XXXIV 73. The two Attic examples mentioned there have been supposed to be Clazomenian (R. Zahn, *AM* XXIII 54; he was followed for the sherd in Eleusis—from Megara—by Prinz, and by Pfuhl and Price): a third Attic example is on an aryballos by Nearchos, New York 26.49 (*AJA* XXXVI (1932), 272-5, pls. 10-1). For Chiot crescents see n. 105. Crescents in a whirligig appear on a large plate of Late Wild Goat style from Clazomenae (Kassel T. 469, on which see below, n. 156). There are also crescents of a sort in the outer zone of an Aeolian t.c. shield from Larisa (Göttingen Lar. 209: *Larisa* III, pl. 36, 15).

<sup>104</sup> B.25 looks like a fairly direct copy of Fikellura.

<sup>105</sup> There are purple and white crescents on the dark inside of a Chiot phiale, Boston 88.961 (A. Fairbanks, *Cat. Vases*, pl. 32, 302, 3: *JHS* XLIV (1924), 208, fig. 38). If we had more phialae, which are on the inside more closely decorated than the chalices, this ornament might prove less rare. Crescents alternately in dense and dilute dark paint occur on a sherd from a Chiot b.f. dinos from Naucratis, Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology, NA.107, probably from the same pot as Manchester Museum III. D.12 (*Mem. and Proc. Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc.* LXXVII, pl. 1, 3-middle right): here FIG. 7.

retained, are usually all dark and very short or reduced to dots. Sometimes tongues are put on other parts of pots—on the foot of the amphora A.3, round the lower part of the lid A.21, as a frame on the plate F.8.

*Rays.* The two simplest of the big amphorae (A.10 and 11, which are by the same hand) have rays round the base. Of the hydriae and amphorae of the Urla group only CI.1 still has its base, but I think it likely that rays were normal. The Petrie group does without them, and so too do the Enmann and Knipovitch classes.

*Lotus flowers and buds.* The band of lotus flowers and buds occurs too rarely to have a regular form. (1) The Fikellura type, where the flower has two separated outer and one inner petals, decorates the foot of A.10,<sup>106</sup> and the top of the shoulder of the strange piece F.22. (2) A probably similar form, but with two vestigial extra petals inserted, is placed below the main panel on the remarkable fragments F.18. (3) A clumsy variety of the Late Wild Goat style's flower with outer petals joined and a three-pronged white centre appears on the loutish fragments A.17.<sup>107</sup>

*Lotus-palmette cross.* Three early pots have a large lotus-palmette cross as a centrepiece between sirens or birds.<sup>108</sup> Typologically the earliest is A.10; the interlacings are simplified on A.1, and reduced to rings on A.6. The ornament comes to Clazomenian from Attic,<sup>109</sup> where generally similar forms occur on Tyrrhenian amphorae, though the flower has usually an emphatic central petal;<sup>110</sup> later it becomes common to stuff the flower with an uninterrupted palmette, and this is the type found in Clazomenian. Two amphorae of the Enmann class fill panels with degenerate forms of this cross: on D.6 the flowers are diagonally quartered and the interlacings straightened out, on D.7 the interlacings have an incoherent complication and the flowers are little more than a forked bar.<sup>111</sup>

*Palmette.* Another type of palmette, shaped something like a busby, seems to be the normal decoration of the neck of amphorae of the Urla group. The regular form has incised detail and touches of purple and white (CII.5, 14, 17, 18, 30-32; 33 is simpler). I have not details of the palmette of Fa, but it seems to be generally similar. Other palmettes are fully silhouette (F.21, CII.34-35—whether the last two belong to Urla amphorae is uncertain).

*Myrtle.* A myrtle branch with white dots shares with tongues the shoulder of two hydriae (CI.14-15).

*Ivy.* A doubled ivy branch, again with white dots, appears in the Enmann and Knipovitch classes; on D.6 it is upright and fills the side of the panel,<sup>112</sup> on EV.1 and 2 it is horizontal and the sole decoration.<sup>113</sup>

*Ornaments in the field.* Such ornaments are very rare. Part of a simplified *palmette* remains between two sirens on the shoulder of A.11;<sup>114</sup> and a neat small *palmette* of normal type

<sup>106</sup> The flowers and buds are not, I think, joined as Watzinger's drawing has them.

<sup>107</sup> Lotus flowers as filling ornaments in the main field occur on two pots which I have excluded from Clazomenian—F.a, with palmette filling; and F.d, with the central linked to the outer petals (as on some Clazomenian sarcophagi of around 500 B.C.).

<sup>108</sup> Perhaps also F.g.

<sup>109</sup> A useful collection of these ornaments is given by H. Thiersch, *Tyrrh. Amphoren*, 69-86. Note incidentally on A.10 the difference between the lotus flowers of the cross and of the chain round the foot; they come from different sources. On A.6 the flower is akin to those of F.a (see n. 107).

<sup>110</sup> An exception on Louvre E.855 (CVA I, pl. 35, 9). Similarly on the Attic neck-amphorae of about 560-50 B.C. from Tell Defenneh the central petal, though rather less emphatic, is omitted only once (CVA British Museum VIII, pl. 607, 2—upper member).

<sup>111</sup> Some Nikosthenic amphorae approach this form.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. the indeterminate branch on F.g.

<sup>113</sup> There are plain ivy branches on the lip of Berlin Inv. 4531Af (n. 66) and the neck of the Cyme krater (F.d).

<sup>114</sup> This variety of the palmette—like a tongue with chevrons incised across it—is not uncommon in the Late Wild Goat style (e.g. Boston 88.1030: A. Fairbanks, *Cat. Vases*, pl. 33, 317). It appears also in Laconian and Etruscan, probably independently. A palmette similarly constructed but in outline style occurs exceptionally on an oinochoe of Late Wild Goat style of unknown provenance, B.M. 67.5-8.925.



hangs on F.10. In the Enmann class field ornaments are less uncommon—on D.2 a *bud* springing from the ground, on D.8 a stiff thin *flower*, on D.b a *dot rosette*, on D.1 a *solid rosette*. On this last piece there is also a sketchy version of the band of *volutes* and *palmette*, done in white on the shoulder of the amphora that is painted in the panel on the front; it vaguely recalls Fikellura.

*Dividing bands.* Narrow bands of ornament are regular on slim amphorae between the main panel and the subsidiary zone below. They occur also in the Tübingen group and on some lids which appear to be transitional to the Urla group, as well as on one or two other early pieces. The motives used are *open cable* with white dots in their centres (B; on A.1, which is earlier, the dots are dark; on A.20 there is no central dot); *white dots with dark centres*<sup>115</sup> (B; on A.6 the colours reversed); *alternate dots* (B; CHL.2, 3; F.8); and on a very early dinos *paired strokes* (F.1). On F.16 there is a broader band of *meander and star*.

### GENERAL CHARACTER

Of the three main groups of Clazomenian b.f. the Tübingen group is the earliest.<sup>115a</sup> Its style is in general old-fashioned and in an East Greek, particularly Chiot, tradition; Attic influence is not yet strong. The Petrie painter, who overlaps with the Tübingen group, is both more original and more aware of contemporary Attic work. The Urla group owes something to the Petrie painter, but in spirit at least is the successor of the Tübingen group; it draws also on Attic, but without discernment. Attic is, of course, the standard of b.f. vase-painting. Judged so, the Clazomenians show an unusual independence, based on obstinacy rather than active vigour. Their composition is ingenuous, their drawing tends to decorative pattern and is often negligent. More specific characteristics are the soft female faces, the files of sirens, the shape of male eye, the rows of white dots,<sup>116</sup> the scales with white drops, though none of these is peculiar to Clazomenian. The ultimate test is in the personality of the style.

As the most successful East Greek b.f. school of its time Clazomenian was imitated. Some of the imitations, such as F.e and g, can be distinguished by the ingredients or quality of their style. Others, more impersonal, are less easy to detect: so F.f is betrayed only by its shape and F.21 (for example) remains uncertain. It seems to me that the Enmann and Knipovitch classes also are imitations, rather than developments of Clazomenian,<sup>117</sup> though in the main they are later than the Petrie and Urla groups. There is some Clazomenian influence in the Campana dinos, little or none in the Northampton group. With the Clazomenian sarcophagi the closeness of the connection has been exaggerated; it is perceptible in the Borelli painter,<sup>118</sup> but rather vague when we come to the main group round the Albertinum painter.<sup>119</sup> It is interesting to compare Clazomenian b.f. with Fikellura, the last important schools of painted

<sup>115</sup> As in the scales of the Petrie group (cf. p. 130).

<sup>115a</sup> Further discoveries should make it possible to disentangle the Tübingen group, which is probably the main body of Clazomenian. The relatively compact Petrie and Urla groups are clearer mainly because they happened to be well represented at Tell Defenneh.

<sup>116</sup> This decorative use of white dots, often within a pair of incised lines, was first systematically exploited at Corinth around 600 B.C. (H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 285 n. 4: for the date of the early examples in Corinthian see D. A. Amyx, *Univ. Calif. PCA* I 220). Though there are a few examples in Corinthianising work of the Late Wild Goat style, the Clazomenian painters probably learnt from Athens, where rows of white dots are common around the middle of the sixth century and continue later.

<sup>117</sup> See pp. 136 and 138.

<sup>118</sup> See *CVA British Museum VIII*, text to pl. 614, 1 (cf. text to pl. 613, 2).

<sup>119</sup> *Op. cit.*, text to pl. 610.

pottery in northern and southern Ionia.<sup>120</sup> Fikellura begins earlier and lasts later, but both are responses of East Greek art to the competition of maturing Attic black-figure. The two schools have in common little more than a liking for crescents and scales, and even for these simple ornaments each has a distinctive form. Their difference is basically one of attitude. Fikellura tries to suit current taste by reforming the old tradition of the Wild Goat style: in northern Ionia the lively Chiot Chalice style had intruded, and Clazomenian professes to be a modern b.f. school. Both attempts failed from inertia. They were, as it happened, outlived by the unregenerate Wild Goat style which flaunts its senility on Clazomenian sarcophagi.

It is often said that archaic Ionian art had an unusually strong taste for gay colouring. This is not true of Fikellura, which uses the ordinary dark paint even for its women,<sup>121</sup> nor of Clazomenian b.f. pottery, which keeps fairly close to Attic standards; and even the Clazomenian sarcophagi, for all their purple and white details, do not attempt a balanced polychromy. The only certainly Ionian painting that shows a remarkable sense of colour is on some fragments of the Chiot Chalice style,<sup>122</sup> and those are earlier than the middle of the sixth century. In fact the reasons for belief in Ionian polychromy, anyhow in the later archaic period, come mainly from Etruria, where the painted tombs, Pontic vases, and Caeretan hydriae have been supposed to exhibit a peculiarly Ionian quality.<sup>123</sup> But from Ionia itself there is nothing to suggest that a feeling for colour was exceptionally strong.

## PLACE OF MANUFACTURE

### I. *Groups A, B, and C, and F.*

R. Zahn over fifty years ago attributed to Clazomenae the ware since known as Clazomenian,<sup>124</sup> and later finds have reinforced his main arguments. These rest on distribution, since literary references, subjects, and the solitary painted inscription give no precise help. Clazomenian b.f. is an East Greek style, but the only East Greek sites at which it has been found in considerable quantity are Clazomenae and Smyrna. The same is true of the related Clazomenian sarcophagi. This does not prove definitely that Clazomenae was the place of manufacture, since there are other sites in northern Ionia of which nothing is yet known; even so, it is safe to say that what we call Clazomenian was made, if not at Clazomenae, then at some neighbouring site. Another argument gives a similar result. Other East Greek wares contemporary with Clazomenian b.f. are Fikellura and bucchero, the one dominant from Samos to Rhodes and the other in Aeolis: so the territory of Clazomenian should be in northern Ionia.

### II. *Enmann and Knipovitch classes.*

The Enmann and Knipovitch classes, which I do not think properly Clazomenian, are notably rare or absent at Clazomenae. A few specimens have been found in Rhodes, but too

<sup>120</sup> I exclude the Caeretan hydriae, supposing that they were made in Etruria. After reading the proofs of this paper Mr. J. M. Cook kindly informed me that other more serious schools of East Greek b.f. contemporary with Clazomenian have been revealed in the Anglo-Turkish excavation at Old Smyrna: unfortunately I know very little of the finds from that excavation and so cannot take account of them at this stage, but I imagine that it is true to say that by the test of exports Clazomenian was the most important school of East Greek b.f. of its time.

<sup>121</sup> *BSA* XXXIV 6—B.7; 41—S.12. I now think p. 40—S.8 male.

<sup>122</sup> E.g. *JHS* XLIV (1924), pl. 6.

<sup>123</sup> *AD* II, pl. 21, the finest illustration of Clazomenian b.f. pottery, may have contributed. For a coloured plate the editor naturally chose three of the most colourful Clazomenian pieces.

<sup>124</sup> *AM* XXIII 38—79. But I do not accept one of Zahn's arguments, that there is a significant similarity in the types of Clazomenian painting and coins (pp. 58, 69: see *CVA British Museum* VIII, text to pl. 584, 3).

few for it to be likely that they were made in that much excavated island. I imagine that the home of these two classes was not Clazomenae or Smyrna, but probably some other north Ionian city.

### DATE

The principal evidence for the dating of Clazomenian b.f. pottery is indirect, since it depends on stylistic comparisons with Attic: I have regularly assumed that Clazomenian was the borrower. Some check is given by the finds from Tell Defenneh, if it is right to conclude that the main part of them belong to the years 560-525 B.C.<sup>125</sup> No other useful deposit or grave has been published. Some sort of lower limit is set by the Clazomenian sarcophagi, most of which are distinctly later in style: from this it may be inferred that the painted pottery did not reach anyhow far into the last quarter of the sixth century. So it seems likely that Clazomenian b.f. vase-painting is confined more or less to the third quarter of that century, though the Knipovitch class may have persisted longer. More precise dates have been given already in the course of the catalogue, but I hope that I have made clear the weakness of the reasoning behind them.

It is curious to observe how careless Clazomenian painters were of one much cherished principle of art. The painters of the b.f. pottery lived through the Persian conquest, the painters of the sarcophagi through the Ionian revolt: neither event is reflected in their styles.

### DISTRIBUTION

#### I. *Clazomenian (A, B, C, F).*

The distribution of Clazomenian b.f. is much as might be expected. It had a limited vogue in the East Greek region, and could not compete across the Aegean. In Egypt it found a good market. Whether it sold well in the Pontic colonies cannot yet be determined, but certainly very little from those sites has been published. For Italy and the West all we have is a single abnormal fragment, bought in Taranto and so probably found in South Italy.<sup>126</sup>

#### II. *Enmann and Knipovitch classes.*

These two classes show a distribution rather different from that of true Clazomenian, and so have been entered separately in the list below. They are rare or absent at Clazomenae, but appear—infrequently—in Rhodes. Six examples come from Delos by way of Rheneia, and there is much from Egypt and the north coast of the Pontus. One possible fragment was bought in Rome and may be from Etruria.

### List of Provenances

(An asterisk means that the attribution is not certain)

Clazomenian (A, B, C, F).	Indeterminate (see p. 143 n. 102).	Enmann and Knipovitch classes.
Clazomenae: A.3, 3a, 4, 8, 9, 10, 16, 22, 24, 25, 26, c*, d*, e*, f*, h*; C I.7; C II.33; C III.1, 3, 4; C IV.1, 2, 3; F.12, 14, 15, 16, 19*.	Sc.13	D.a, b.
Smyrna: finds reported. <sup>127</sup>		E III.8
Chios: perhaps one sherd. <sup>128</sup>		

<sup>125</sup> See *CVA British Museum VIII*, App. A.

<sup>126</sup> M. Santangelo implies that Clazomenian was not unusual at Caere (*Mon Piot XLIV* 38 n. 1). I doubt it, as I do some other reports of Clazomenian: the term is often used very loosely. A more recent claim has been made for Megara Hyblaea (*AJA LV* 187).

<sup>127</sup> From the recent Anglo-Turkish excavations. Some pieces of Clazomenian b.f. have been published in current reports, but it is too early yet to form a general idea of the finds as a whole.

<sup>128</sup> *BSA XXXV* 162.

Clazomenian (A, B, C, F).	Indeterminate (see p. 143 n. 102).	Enmann and Knipovich classes.
Larisa:		D.e.
Mytilene: A.12.		
Sardis: A.j.		
Rhodes:	Sc.12; F.21.	D.1, 10, 12; E III.2.
Asia Minor (exact site unknown): A.1, 13*.		
Delos (Rheneia):		D.9; E I.1; E II.2; E III.3, e; E IV.1.
Athens:	Sc.15, 16.	
Corinth: A.a.		
Italy: F.17*.		D.c*.
Tell-en-Nasbeh (nr. Jerusalem):		E IV.3.
Naukratis: A.2, 5, 7, 14, 15, 17, 18, 23, g; B.12, 16, (n. to 17), 20, 22, 28, 29; C I.3, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15; C II.8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 23, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 39*; C IV.4; F.1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 20	Sc.4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9*.	D.d; E I.2, 3, 4; E II.1, 3, 4; E III.4, 5, 6, a; E IV.5.
Tell Defenneh: A.11; B.1, 2, 3, 3a, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 9a, 9b, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22a, 23, 24, 25, 25a, 26, 27, 27a, 31; C I.2, 4, 5, 5a, 6, 10, 11, 14; C II.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 10a, 11, 13a, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 31a, 36, 37, 38; F.23.	Sc.1a, 10, 11, 11a.	E III.1, b.
Bubastis (Zagazig): A.b; C II.7.		
Attribis (Benha): A.6.		E IV.4.
Abusir:		
Memphis:	Sc.2, 3.	
Karnak: F.18.		
Luxor:	Sc.1.	D.8*.
Elephantine(?): <sup>128a</sup>		
Egypt (exact site unknown): C III.2*.		
Istria: <sup>129</sup>	Sc.14.	E III.f.
Berezan: F.22.		D.2*, 5, 7; E III.c, d; E IV.2; E V.2.
Olbia:		D.4; E III.7; E V.1.
Taman: <sup>130</sup> C I.1.		D.6; E II.5.
Kerch:		

## APPENDIX A: the Northampton Group

The Northampton group consists of four pots painted by one hand about 540 B.C. or not much later.<sup>131</sup> Behind the technique, shapes, and style of this painter there is a strong Attic influence, modified partly by his own lively and competent personality, partly by a different environment. But what this environment was cannot yet be determined with certainty. The view of R. Zahn that the Northampton group represents a late, Atticising phase of the Clazomenian b.f. school<sup>132</sup> can no longer be supported; for if the group is Clazomenian it

<sup>128a</sup> See H. Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis*, 148: on this sherd was a painted inscription—VOAO(?). The sherd is not accessible and I do not know if it is Clazomenian.

<sup>129</sup> There is probably more Clazomenian from Istria (see M. Lambrino, *Vases Archaiques d'Histria*, 361).

<sup>130</sup> Pieces similar to D.4 were said to be frequent in South Russia (*AA* 1912, 337).

<sup>131</sup> 1. Castle Ashby (the 'Northampton vase'): J. D. Beazley, *BSR* XI 1-2; pls. 1, 1 and 3, 2, 4: *Burlington Cat.* 1903, pls. 89-92 (G.12): E. Gerhard, *AV*, pls. 317-8. 2. Munich 585: J. Sieveking and R. Hackl, *Vaseng.* pl. 21 and figs. 69-70 (reproduced by E. Buschor, *Gr. Vasenmal.*<sup>2</sup>, figs. 78-9, *Gr. Vasen*, figs. 109-10; E. Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, fig. 148; P. Ducati, *Storia Cer. Gr. I*, fig. 154; A. Merlin, *Vases Grecs I*, pl. 23a). 3. Munich 586: Sieveking-Hackl, pl. 21 and figs. 71-3 (reproduced by Buschor, *Gr. Vasenmal.*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 77, *Gr. Vasen*, fig. 108; Pfuhl, fig. 149). 4. Würzburg K.131 (formerly Dr. Lieben, Vienna): E. Langlotz, *Gr. Vasen in Würzburg*, pls. 16-17). Nos. 2 and 3 were probably found at Vulci, no. 1 was bought in Rome.

The group was first isolated by F. Studniczka, *JdI* V (1890), 142-3.

<sup>132</sup> *PhW* 1902, 1261-3: *JdI* XXIII (1908), 176. He was followed by E. Buschor, *Gr. Vasenmal.*<sup>2</sup> (1914), 110-1 and still *Gr. Vasen* (1940), 94; E. Pfuhl, *MuZ* I (1923), 178-9; E. R. Price, *East Greek Pottery* (1927), 28-30; J. D. Beazley, *BSR* XI (1929), 1-2. Sieveking and Hackl (*op. cit.*) did not classify these pots as Clazomenian.



must come fairly early in the Clazomenian series, and that is hard to credit. So recent opinions have located the Northampton group in Samos,<sup>133</sup> some other unidentified East Greek or Cycladic city,<sup>134</sup> or in Etruria.<sup>135</sup> Though the evidence is indecisive, I prefer Etruria for these reasons. (1) The Northampton group does not fit into the scheme (as we so far know it) of East Greek pottery.<sup>136</sup> (2) The quality of the work is unusually good for East Greek.<sup>137</sup> (3) The East Greek parallels for details that are alien to Attic are widely scattered, and there are as good or better parallels in Etruria.<sup>138</sup> (4) Some details seem to me to belong to Etruria rather than to Greece.<sup>139</sup> Ultimately (I suspect) the problem of the home of the Northampton painter, as of the painters of 'Chalcidian' and the Caeretan hydriae, goes back to general prejudices about the respective capacities of artists working in Ionia and Etruria.<sup>140</sup>

#### APPENDIX B: the Campana Dinai

A group of dinai has often been connected with the Northampton group and attached to Clazomenian b.f. Since they are not by my definition Clazomenian and five are known to have come from the Campana collection, I call them the Campana dinai. The group was first assembled by G. Karo,<sup>141</sup> and by addition and subtraction now comprises twelve pieces. A good recent study by F. Villard<sup>142</sup> relieves me of giving a detailed account of them. He divides the dinai among three painters working between 540 and 525 B.C.: to them he attributes or connects several pots of other shapes.<sup>143</sup> He sees some connection with the Northampton group but little with Clazomenian proper, and on rather general grounds

<sup>133</sup> E. Langlotz, *Gr. Vasen in Würzburg* (1932), 18. E. Kunze, *AM LIX* (1934), 121.

<sup>134</sup> E. H. Wedeking, *Archaische Vasenornamentik* (1938), 35-6: he rightly denies Kunze's connection between the Northampton group and the Ionian Little Masters, and gives a useful analysis of the group.

<sup>135</sup> A. Greifenhagen, *Eine att. s.f. Vasengattung* (1929), 56-7 and 91—by elimination only Italy remains. H. R. W. Smith, *Origin of Chalcidian Ware* (Univ. Calif. *PCA I*: 1932), 133 n. 119.

<sup>136</sup> The Clazomenian was the only contemporary East Greek b.f. school of more than local importance; the other b.f. workshops, which were probably numerous, had little artistic merit or independence.

<sup>137</sup> The Ionian Little Masters are alone comparable in quality; but this rather earlier Samian venture seems to have been short-lived. Clazomenian b.f. is generally inferior, as is Fikellura. The Caeretan hydriae, even if their gay colouring reflects Ionian taste—and this is a mere opinion, I take to be made in Etruria; and anyhow their style is coarser.

<sup>138</sup> Thus the lozenges on the lip of the Northampton amphora have parallels in Fikellura (M. Lambrino, *Vases Archaiques d'Histria*, fig. 317) and in Pontic (P. Ducati, *Pontische Vasen*, pl. 8b): and the loop pattern on the same amphora can be found in a thinner form on some late pieces of the Wild Goat style, but more frequent and akin on Pontic and other Etruscan b.f. pots (e.g. Ducati, *op. cit.*, pl. 17b; J. Endt, *Beiträge zur ion. Vasenmalerei*, fig. 23; Sieveking-Hackl, *op. cit.*, pl. 40 no. 903, pl. 44 no. 994). Wedeking sees Rhodian connections in the single leaves on the lip of Munich 586 and the Würzburg amphora; Laconian is, I think, as likely a source.

<sup>139</sup> The Northampton vase has on its neck a Triton, a monster known in both East Greek (e.g. D.a) and Etruscan art; but the Northampton Triton has the belly stripe continued up to the nipple, an anatomical misunderstanding paralleled in Pontic (e.g. Endt, *op. cit.*, fig. 43) where it is probably acquired from the hippocamp. The use of palmettes on the neck of Munich 586 suggests Etruscan taste (cf. Endt, *op. cit.*, figs. 16-7). The cheekpieces of the helmets on the Würzburg amphora are (according to E. Kukahn, *Gr. Helm*, 42-3) of a type related to the 'Chalcidian' (which I follow Smith in placing in Etruria) and found on Pontic vases. The incised details of faces in the Northampton group have a pettiness that again occurs in 'Chalcidian' and Pontic, but is unusual in East Greek work of any quality. The clumsy cable of Munich 586 seems to me incredible in the native East Greek schools. I might add that a general 'Chalcidian' influence has in the past been postulated for the Northampton painter.

<sup>140</sup> So, even though the Etruscan home of Pontic is now generally admitted, Ionic factors are often recognised in it. I am sceptical about much of the alleged Ionic contribution to Etruscan art. Some of the resemblances are due to accidental similarity of taste, some to deviations from common Attic models, and others perhaps to mistaken identification of Ionian. It is anyhow curious how little certainly East Greek pottery—Clazomenian and Fikellura—has been found in Italy.

<sup>141</sup> *JHS XIX* 144-5.

<sup>142</sup> *MonPiot XLIII* 33-57.

<sup>143</sup> Painter I, Louvre E.737; Florence 3784; Rome, Villa Giulia (from Caere); Rome, Conservatori 106. Close to these—the neck (?) D.e, and the askos D.2 above.

Painter II, Boston 13.205; Louvre, Campana 10.234; Rome, Villa Giulia 25.134; Louvre E.736; Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus. 3578 (once Oest. Mus. 4604); Louvre, Campana 10.233. By the same hand the amphora F.a above.

Painter III, Louvre E.739. By the same hand the hydria n. 148 below.

Another dinos from Caere in the Villa Giulia, Rome is described by G. Ricci (*Antichità II* 1, 20 n. 21); from his description it may be by Painter I. I take the opportunity here of thanking Dr. Ricci for his kindness in showing me his finds.

assigns the Campana group to a Rhodian school of b.f. Villard's dates may perhaps be a little early, but he rightly stresses that the dinoi are later than the Northampton group. As for the other pots which he assigns to the Campana group (excepting, for the moment, the hydria) there are (as has been remarked before)<sup>144</sup> resemblances; but these resemblances are possibly independent deviations from a common model:<sup>145</sup> F.a, for example, seems to me to be more mannered and tamer than the dinoi put with it and I cannot believe that it is by the same painter. The choice of Rhodes as the home of the Campana group is anyhow unhappy; for Rhodes has been so much excavated that we may reasonably suppose that we have a fair sample of the pottery current there in the second half of the sixth century. Among the finds there is a certain amount of clumsy b.f. that imitates Attic as best it can and a few incompetent amphorae of a more East Greek character.<sup>146</sup> These pieces have some claim to be Rhodian b.f.; the Campana dinoi, none of which has been found in Rhodes, are not bad enough.

If it is admitted that these other pots which Villard connects with the dinoi are no more than indirectly connected, the Etruscan home of the Campana group becomes the more likely. After all none of the dinoi (so far as is known) has been found outside Etruria, and among the finds in Etruria demonstrably East Greek imports are very infrequent. Further, though there are East Greek elements in the style of the dinoi, the finicky clumsiness of Louvre E. 739 suggests an Etruscan inspiration.<sup>147</sup> To the painter of this dinos Villard also gives Ricci's remarkable hydria.<sup>148</sup> I agree with Ricci that the general quality of the design and execution is against Villard's attribution (and yet the similarity of some details is remarkable) but anyhow I think that the hydria too was made in Etruria. In particular I call attention to the figure of Herakles, the mass of meander under the side handles, the varicoloured hind legs of animals, and the continuous treatment of the main field at the back: Ricci's painter was an artist of exceptional skill and imagination, but the lack of a coherent and regular tradition betrayed him into occasional solecism.

#### APPENDIX C: *Other Finds from Clazomenae*

No detailed account has been published of the numerous finds so far made at Clazomenae. The peasants and dealers who in the thirty years before the First World War supplied the market for Clazomenian sarcophagi naturally did not keep archaeological records;<sup>149</sup> and the systematic excavation of G. Oikonomos, so successfully begun in 1921, was cut short by military disaster and most of his material lost.<sup>150</sup> But the casual finds permit some limited conclusions.<sup>151</sup>

The few Geometric pieces appear to be of ordinary East Greek character, apart from an extraordinary oinochoe—perhaps Subgeometric—in Berlin.<sup>152</sup> The Bird and Rosette bowls

<sup>144</sup> F. Brommer connected F.a (*Satyroi*, 32).

<sup>145</sup> The resemblances noted by Villard are indeed mostly to pieces which I think are themselves patently imitative. But there is significance in his comparison with Dohrn's Etruscan La Tolfa group (*op. cit.* 56 n. 4).

<sup>146</sup> See n. 1 above: cf. also *CVA British Museum* VIII, pl. 606.1-2 and text.

<sup>147</sup> Note also the replacement of the normal tongues on the shoulder by a loop pattern. Cf. the vestigial palmettes of the dinos from Caere in the Villa Giulia listed by Villard under Painter I.

<sup>148</sup> G. Ricci, *ASA XXIV/XXVI*, 47-57 (well illustrated). The hydria is from Caere and in the Villa Giulia, Rome.

<sup>149</sup> They also did not usually keep small objects.

<sup>150</sup> A few cases had been shipped to Athens, where by the courtesy of Prof. Oikonomos I was privileged to view their contents. A.9 and n. 102(13) are from this collection.

<sup>151</sup> The pottery is scattered, but the more considerable collections are in Smyrna (from recent sherding), the Louvre (given by P. Gaudin, but not at present generally accessible), and Bonn (especially under the serial 1120). For sculpture see W. Deonna, *Dédale* II 52 nn. 3-5: add a wooden statuette of a bearded man in Munich (*AA* 1938, 425, figs. 3-4). The Clazomenian sarcophagi, which are generally later than the pottery discussed in this paper, I hope to discuss separately.

<sup>152</sup> Inv. 30070: photos nos. 5766-7. H. 26 cm. PLATE 33, 1-2.

are of orthodox types, though a fragment of a kotyle in Marburg<sup>153</sup>—of the class from which the Bird bowl developed—is abnormal in decoration. The examples of the Wild Goat style seem again to be generally orthodox, though our ignorance of its last stages makes it unwise to be dogmatic: a fragment of an oinochoe in Bonn<sup>154</sup> has an Aeolian look with its many-petalled lotus flower, the Corinthianising krater also in Bonn<sup>155</sup> is not easy to parallel, and the plate in Kassel<sup>156</sup> is unusual if only in its preservation.

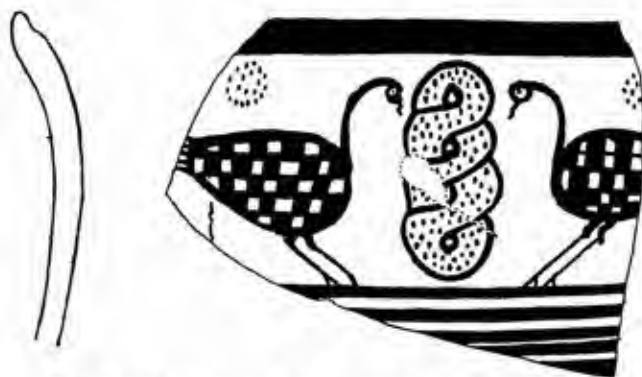


FIG. 8.—FRAGMENT OF KOTYLE IN MARBURG.

*The inside painted dark. Scale 1 : 2.*

There is then so far little evidence for any strongly individual local school of pottery at Clazomenae before the development of the b.f. style that has been the subject of this paper. That is not to say that no painted pottery was till then made at Clazomenae; indeed it is hard to believe that the industry was first introduced towards the middle of the sixth century, when Attic competition was overwhelming or embarrassing Greek rivals.<sup>157</sup> But it seems likely on external as well as internal evidence that the Clazomenian b.f. style is an interruption more than a continuation of the older East Greek tradition.

R. M. COOK

<sup>153</sup> D. originally 21.5 cm. FIG. 8. For the profile I am indebted to Dr. F. Brommer.

<sup>154</sup> Inv. 2332. *AA* 1936, 378 no. 26, fig. 28.

<sup>155</sup> Inv. 1522. *AA* 1936, 378 no. 27, fig. 30.

<sup>156</sup> T. 469. D. 39 cm. PLATE 33, 3. This piece has often been cited as Clazomenian b.f.

<sup>157</sup> Further, among the objects from Clazomenae that Oikonomos brought away to Athens there is what appeared to me to be the foot of an oinochoe of Wild Goat Style which had buckled and split apart during firing.

# CRETAN RELIEF PITHOI IN DR. GIAMALAKES' COLLECTION

(PLATE 28)

MANY visitors to Crete have enjoyed Dr. Giamalakes' hospitality in Heraklion and have seen the very fine collection of antiquities found on Cretan soil which he has gathered together, and it is with a lively sense of gratitude that, on his suggestion, I make some part of that collection known to those who have not had the good fortune to see it. Most of the collection is Minoan; but I begin with some of the most characteristic products of Hellenic Crete, the archaic relief pithoi.

My descriptions are based on Dr. Giamalakes' own account of his pieces. The photographs are due to Mr. N. Lambrinides.

1. PLATE 28, 1. Inv. no. 68. Greatest L. 35.<sup>1</sup> Sphinx facing, one of an antithetic pair (foot of the right-hand sphinx preserved) separated by a hanging flower. Below the sphinxes, band of spirals; below this, band with bosses, one of which is preserved.  
From Kastamonitza (near site of the ancient Lyttos).<sup>2</sup>
2. PLATE 28, 2. Inv. no. 280. Greatest L. 40. Fr. of neck, with part of handle. Two antithetic horses, their forefeet mounted on an altar. Grey clay.
3. PLATE 28, 3. Inv. no. 281. L. 29, H. 19. Two walking sphinxes, facing; the face of the left sphinx completely broken away, that of the right damaged. Above, running false spiral, filled with dots. Red-grey clay.
4. PLATE 28, 4. Inv. no. 472. Two sphinxes, facing.
5. PLATE 28, 5. Inv. no. 358. H. 8.5. Clay head from pithos, on the lip of which it stood. Red clay.
6. PLATE 28, 6. Inv. no. 127. H. 16. Horse; in front, tail of another; presumably there was a frieze of horses r. Red clay.
7. PLATE 28, 7. Inv. no. 66. L. 23. Fore-part of horse in three-quarter view; above, band with triglyphs.
8. PLATE 28, 8. Inv. no. 67. Breadth 13. Fragment of handle of large pithos with horse-protome in relief.
9. PLATE 28, 9. Inv. no. 282. L. 13, H. 10.5. Lion's head (the muzzle resembles a goat's head; but the mane makes the identification certain). From a pithos with thick walls; grey clay.

These pieces offer a useful supplement to the known corpus of Cretan archaic relief pithoi.<sup>3</sup> The oldest is probably 2. Certainly it exhibits an earlier composition, and is closer to Oriental models, than any of the others. A fragment of pithos from Afrati, *Ann. X-XII*, fig. 45, 48, has a similar representation, which might come from the same mould. For the composition compare a fragment of a stamped pithos from Perachora, with two lions on their hind legs, separated by a floral ornament. Cf. also for the composition the pithos fragment from Plati, *BSA XX*, pl. 5c lower, which is also like in the proportions of the animals (there headless). It is less usual to find horses as supporters;<sup>3a</sup> the attitude and proportions of these suggests that they might have begun life as lions, and the long muscular raised fore-legs look like lions' legs (the objects hanging down between the raised fore-legs, not clear on our photograph, are shown by comparison with the fragment from Afrati to be the horses' hooves). The horses flanking the Master of Animals on a relief plaque from Lato, *BCH 1929*, 423, fig. 35, are very similar. For the subject see also the *potnia hippon* on a pithos from Prinias (*Hesperia XIV*, pl. 32).

<sup>1</sup> Measurements in cm.

<sup>2</sup> Information about the provenience through the kindness of Messrs. J. M. Cook and M. Akoumianos. For other fragments of relief pithoi from Kastamonitza see S. Marinatos, *AA 1934*, 251.

<sup>3</sup> L. Mariani in *MA VI* (1895), 343 f. and pl. 12, 61, 63-4, 66-7; L. Savignoni, 'Fragments of Cretan Pithoi', *AJA V* (1901), 404 ff., pls. 13-14; F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs* (1922), 40-53; D. Levi, 'I pithoi cretesi a rilievo', *Ann. X-XII* (1931), 58-77 and 386, fig. 497; S. Marinatos, *ADelt XV*, παράρτ. (1938), 57-60; D. Levi in *Hesperia XIV* (1945), pl. 30-2. The examples published in these articles come mainly from Prinias, Afrati, and Lyttos (including under this site perhaps those said to be from Kastelli Pediados); others from Knossos, Phaistos, Eleutherna, Astritzi, Gonics Pediados, Praisos, and Lithines (Siteia). Two fragments in Oxford are published by E. H. Dohan in *MetMusStud III* 209 ff., figs. 9 and 35; others are unpublished. Other published pieces: Berlin, from Arkhanes (?), *Arch. Sem. d. Universität J* 615, *Korkyra II* 149, fig. 145; *Ann. I* 65 ff., figs. 33-5; 93, fig. 47; 99, fig. 54; *AJA 1934*, pl. 18b, all from Prinias; fragments from Plati and Embaros, *BSA XX*, pl. 5, b-d; from Dreros, *BCH 1936*, 260 ff., figs. 24-7, and pl. 28, whence *Korkyra II* 161, fig. 152; from Anavlochos, *BCH 1931*, 385 f.

<sup>3a</sup> Cf. Kunze, *Olympische Forschungen II* 60 f.



The central object on which the horses' forefeet rest on this and the Afrati fragment looks, as Dr. Giamalakes says, like an altar. It has on it a floral pattern, clearer on the Afrati fragment, somewhat like the central ornament on the Corinthian alabastron, *NC*, pl. 3, 3, and other vases. The sacred stone and the sacred tree are, as Miss Levy has recently pointed out,<sup>4</sup> in some stages of culture interchangeable, and appear here to have been conflated. The sacred tree is, of course, a common feature of early Greek orientalising art, which was with the passage of time formalised into a meaningless ornament. The process seems here to be not yet completed.

Three fragments have confronted sphinxes.<sup>5</sup> The head of the sphinx on 1 recalls Jenkins' first Middle Dedalic group; the shape of the head is the same as the head from the Little Palace at Knossos, *Dedolica*, pl. 4, 5; the round eyes and prominent lips look like a caricature of the style of this head. The rosey hair, with straight incisions, is somewhat like that of the head-vase from Arkhanes, *Dedolica*, pl. 6, 1; cf. also the sphinxes on the plaques from Lato, *MetMusStud* III 224, figs. 33-4 (Oxford and Paris); and the plaque in Philadelphia, *ibid.* 215, fig. 15. The knob in which the hair ends on the left shoulder is unusual. The double incisions on legs and shoulder, and the heavy paws, are followed by many Early Corinthian vase-painters, but they have many Greek precedents, notably, as Mrs. J. M. Stubbings points out to me, on a group of ivory seals from Perachora. The almost straight wing is like that of the sphinx on the neck of a pithos from Eleutherna (Courby, *op. cit.*, pl. 2a; *Corolla Curtius*, pl. 9, 1). This sphinx, like ours, is full face; there are other technical resemblances, but the style is not very like. Full-face sphinxes are common in Crete in the seventh century; other examples: pithos fr. from Gonies Pediados, *Hesperia* XIV, pl. 31, 1-2; plaques: e.g., Oxford, *MetMusStud* III 224, fig. 33, Poulsen, *Der Orient*, 148, fig. 173; Payne, *NC*, pl. 47, 1; *BCH* 1929, 420, fig. 34, from Lato. Sphinxes facing across a flower also on pithoi from Prinias: *AJA* 1934, pl. 18b; *AJA* 1901, pl. 13, 10-11, whence Courby, *op. cit.*, 48, fig. 10. This antithetic group is common from the eighth century in Crete (Kunze, *KrBr*, 178 ff.; Verdelis, *BCH* 1951, 3). Elsewhere it appears only later; for instance, at Corinth it is not popular before the middle of the seventh century (*NC*, 30; *JHS* 1951, 63 ff.; a slightly earlier group of two confronted sphinxes occurs on an ivory seal from Perachora; another on an early seventh-century kotyle, also from Perachora).

For the band with the stamped spirals below the figured frieze cf. *AJA* 1901, pl. 14, 8, from Afrati (H. Elias); for the bosses below, *ibid.*, no. 4, from the same site; the same combination on *Ann.* X-XII, fig. 42, 10. 1 is a rough piece, not to be closely pinned down in time; the comparisons made suggest that it belongs in the middle of the seventh century. Other pithoi from Lyttos: Courby, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, b-c (c, *Hesperia* XIV, pl. 30, 2); *Hesperia cit.*, pl. 31, 4, 6; *Ann.* X-XII 68, fig. 47b; Kunze, *Olympische Forschungen* II, Beil. 15, 1; Oxford AE 397, *MetMusStud* III 213, fig. 9; Oxford AE 394, handle with panther's head, as *AM* 1886, pl. 4, 2; cf. also *Ann.* X-XII, fig. 45, 50 and pp. 64, 68.<sup>6</sup> The site has produced a number of archaic inscriptions (*Inscr. Cret.* I 179 ff.). It is to be hoped, as M. Demargne has said,<sup>7</sup> that it may some day be dug.

It is less usual for the sphinxes to be facing without the intervention of a flower or other ornament, as on 3. Another example is on the pithos from Kastelli Pediados, *Hesperia* XIV, pl. 30, 2; this pithos has a similar band to 3 above the sphinxes, but the figures are not like. The heads of the sphinxes on 3 are unfortunately broken away, but seem to be of the same

<sup>4</sup> *The Gate of Horn*, 218.

<sup>5</sup> For an analysis of the sphinxes on Cretan relief pithoi see D. Levi, *Ann.* X-XII 64 ff.; N. M. Verdelis, *BCH* 1951, 7 f.

<sup>6</sup> For the antecedents of this see Marinatos, *BCH* 1936, 263, on fig. 25. <sup>7</sup> *La Crète dédalique*, 29.

general shape as on 1. The long legs with little detail are more normal in seventh-century Cretan art than those on 1. The chief interest attaches to the feathering of the wings. The two rows of dots on the upper part of the wing of the right-hand sphinx are derived no doubt from the chevrons in the same place in more careful work, e.g., *Hesperia* XIV, pl. 31, 1-2; *Ann.* X-XII, fig. 44, 44.<sup>8</sup> The left-hand sphinx has feathering on the breast. This is a survival of the apron of Assyrian sphinxes; the motive occurs on a number of very early orientalisising Greek works,<sup>9</sup> but is rare after the beginning of the seventh century. It is here vestigial; the other sphinx has, instead of the chevrons representing feathers, two long incisions on the breast, of the same sort as those which mark the division of the wing-feathers. The intention is no doubt the same.

This also may belong to the middle of the seventh century.

The third pair of antithetic sphinxes, on 4, is also apparently without a central motive, but they may be resting their forepaws on a sacred tree, as on the fragment from Afrati, *Ann.* X-XII 68, fig. 47a. For the rather florid volutes on the sphinxes' heads cf. somewhat Oxford AE 196, from Agiou Georgiou Papoura<sup>10</sup> (Poulsen, *Der Orient*, 148, fig. 174; *MetMusStud* III 224, fig. 35). Above their heads the surface appears to be damaged, but I have no note on this point. For the feathering on the breast cf. the fr. from Gonies Pediados, *Hesperia* XIV, pl. 31, 1-2. These fragments are like in style and many details. Ours may be a little later, but not much after the middle of the seventh century.

The head 5 is Middle Dedalic. It is rather worn (the whitish substance visible on the photograph is a deposit from the earth, not a slip), but the V-shaped face, prominent nose, and heavy wig, whose cross-binding recalls the head in Aegina, Jenkins, *Dedolica*, pl. 1, 2, indicate a fairly early date. This was no doubt attached to a vase in the same manner as the head from the Little Palace at Knossos (*BSA* XXXI 106, fig. 31; Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pl. 4, 5). Middle of seventh century.

There remain the horses of 6-8 and the lion on 9. The horses<sup>11</sup> are all of the same family, with rather luxuriant curves and fine manes. That on 6 is of a heavier build than the others; the degree of elaboration in the eye and the modelling of the muzzle suggest that this belongs to the sixth century. The markings on the preserved part of the body indicate that this horse was winged; winged horses also on a pithos fr. from Lyttos, *Ann.* X-XII 68, fig. 47b (cf. Levi, *ibid.*, 67). For the double line outlining the lower edge of the wing cf. above on 1. The tail in front should be that of another horse, as Dr. Giamalakes suggests; cf. somewhat the horses' tails on the fr. from Afrati, *Ann.* X-XII, fig. 45, 47. A procession of winged horses can be paralleled on an early Protocorinthian kotyle from Perachora;<sup>12</sup> a Boeotian relief pithos, *Bibl. Nat.* 160 *ter*, *CVA*, pl. 94, 1 (Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien*, 56 ff., R 7); on Corinthian vases (Munich 323, Sieveking-Hackl, pl. 9, *NC*, no. 854; MC-LC powder pyxis from Gela, *MA* XVII 53-4, fig. 26); and on the border of the himation of the clay Zeus from Olympia, Kunze, *100 Winckelmannsprogramm*, 44-5, figs. 7-8. The tail looks quite as like a bull's as a horse's, but a winged horse in a frieze of animals is less happy, though not impossible; one could, however, compare the centaurs who often appear in animal friezes on seventh-century vases.<sup>12</sup>

The lively horses of 7 and 8, with their fine heads, may be earlier than 6, but this is not

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also the wing of the sphinx on the pithos fr. from Tenos, *RA* VI (1905), 288, fig. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Kunze, *KrBr*, 183 f.; Cretan shields, Cycladic vases; add Attic vase, *BSA* XXXV 176, fig. 2; Corinthian kotyle from Perachora of the early seventh century.

<sup>10</sup> For the provenience see below n. 33.

<sup>11</sup> For horses on Cretan pithoi see D. Levi, *Ann.* X-XII 66 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Add here the early Melian pyxis, Delos, *BCH* 1911, 383, fig. 47; *Jdl* 1925, 146, fig. 46.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., the pyxis in Brussels, Payne, *PV*, pl. 16; and see Buschor, *AJA* 1934, 129, n. 8.

certain; the turn of the head on 7, in higher relief than the neck, is very sophisticated. Whether these horses had riders, as on the pithos fr. from Lyttos, *AM* 1886, pl. 4, 2; *Hesperia* XIV, pl. 31, 6, it is not possible to tell. For the triglyph band above the figures on 7, cf. *Ann.* X-XII 61, fig. 43, 27, from Afrati.

All our horses appear later than that on the neck of the fine pithos from Phaistos, *ADelt* XV, παράρτ., 59-60, figs. 16-17.<sup>12a</sup> That is dated by Marinatos (*op. cit.*, 58) to the end of the seventh century, if not later. Ours will belong no doubt to the sixth century; there is not enough comparative material for a closer dating.

Little can be said about the well-maned lion on 9. He also may belong to the first half of the sixth century; the rendering of the eye forbids an earlier dating.

The great age of the Cretan relief pithoi is that to which 1-5 belong, the early and middle seventh century. Some of the seventh-century examples are among the finest and most ambitious vases of their kind, and well deserve the place they have won, in the works of Jenkins and Mrs. Dohan, alongside not only modelled or moulded terracottas but also works in finer materials in the history of archaic Cretan sculpture. The pithoi most like to them are the Boeotian (Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Bööten*, 56 ff.; Grace, *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*, 16 ff.) and some Cycladic fragments (e.g., those from Tenos, *RA* VI (1905), 286 ff.; Courby, *op. cit.*, 80 ff.; *JHS* 1946, 116, fig. 5; *BCH* 1950, 310 f.; 1951, 123, fig. 14). The stamped pithoi, of which the Rhodian series provides the finest examples, differ entirely from these relief pithoi in style and composition.<sup>13</sup> In Crete stamped pithoi with a similar disposition of decoration are rare; examples are: *Ann.* I 66 ff., figs. 36, 39, *Hesperia* XIV, pl. 32; *Ann.* I 93, fig. 47; *AJA* 1901, pl. 13, 10-11, all from Prinias; *Hesperia* XIV, pl. 30, 1, from Lithines (patterned only); *AJA* 1901, pl. 14, 13; Oxford G 487, from Kastri Siteias;<sup>14</sup> Oxford AE 197, from Lyttos (*MetrMusStud* III 213, fig. 9); these are not very like the Rhodian pithoi except in the manner of application of the figured frieze. The difference is partly one of style, partly of technique and time. The stamped pithoi (by stamped I mean those in which a design from a single stamp or cylinder is repeated on a frieze round the vase, the figures or other decoration being in rather low relief) have been shown to be not earlier than the late seventh century in Rhodes,<sup>15</sup> and it is unlikely that they begin much earlier elsewhere. It is true that some of the Rhodian examples, such as those with centaurs,<sup>16</sup> might be thought to look earlier in style, if their co-finds allowed it; and some Cretan stamped pithoi also look very early, for instance, the fragment Oxford AE 197, dated by Mrs. Dohan in the early seventh century.<sup>17</sup> But the dating of stamped pithoi is beset with pitfalls,<sup>18</sup> comparable with the difficulty of dating some bronze reliefs;<sup>19</sup> for the stamps may have had a long life, and in any case their art and style is derivative from the art of the metal-worker. The repeated stamp is used as early as the eighth century for gold reliefs,<sup>20</sup> and could have been adapted at any time for the decoration of pithoi; but it looks as if it was so used only from the middle or second half of the seventh century onwards. Where this fashion was first adopted we cannot tell; the finest series is the Rhodian, but they begin fully developed, like Rhodian orientalising vase-painting, and it may be that the origins were elsewhere. There are some Cretan pithoi

<sup>12a</sup> Detail of the horse, *Ann.* XIII-XIV 114, fig. 34.

<sup>13</sup> D. Feytmans, *BCH* 1950, 135 ff.; esp. 179 f.

<sup>14</sup> Mentioned by Courby, *op. cit.*, 51, n. 3. This Kastri near Tourloti (for which see Evans, *The Academy*, 4 July 1896, p. 18, col. 1) is to be added to Pendlebury's list of archaic sites in Crete, *The Archaeology of Crete*, 343-4 and Map 19. Is it the same site as Kastellos (*ibid.*, 236-7, 266)?

<sup>15</sup> *BCH* 1950, 171 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *MetrMusStud* III 214.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. W. Lamb, *BSA* XXVI 77; J. K. Brock, *BSA* XLIV 55 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Payne, *NC*, 223 f.; *Perachora* I 144 f.; Kunze, *Olympische Forschungen* II 231 ff.

<sup>19</sup> W. Reichel, *Griechisches Goldrelief* (1942) and E. Kunze, *Gnomon* XXI (1949), 1 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 160 ff.



in whose decoration small stamps were used, but not repeated in a frieze; examples are: *AJA* 1901, 406, fig. 1, from Knossos; *ibid.*, pl. 14, 7-8 (*Ann.* X-XII, fig. 44, 36, 42-3), from Afrati.<sup>21</sup> This might be typologically an intermediate stage between the modelled or moulded pithoi, such as our fragments, in which the figures stand out in high relief, and are cast from moulds such as were used for terracotta figurines or the relief plaques so common in Crete,<sup>22</sup> and stamped pithoi as defined above. Whether this is so or not, the practice of stamping did not become common in Crete, and fine moulded relief pithoi continue to be made well into the sixth century; late examples are our 6-9, the fine series from Phaistos,<sup>23</sup> the interesting fragment from Embaros (*BSA* XX, pl. 5d), with a man leading a dog (?) on a leash (Herakles and Kerberos? If the identification could be accepted, this would be the earliest representation of the subject;<sup>24</sup> but there are earlier vases on which a man appears to lead a lion or sphinx on a leash).<sup>25</sup>

How early the moulded pithoi begin is not very easy to say. Moulds begin to be used for terracottas about 700 B.C., and in Crete, it seems, as early as anywhere in Greek lands.<sup>26</sup> Their use for pithoi seems to begin almost as early as their use for relief plaques or figurines, and to be closely related; hence the ease with which heads or figures from pithoi can be set beside plaques or free-standing figures. I do not know of an instance of the same mould being recognised on pithoi and plaques or figurines, but it is likely to have happened. But fine as are the early Cretan moulded pithoi, they do not look as early as some of the Cycladic examples,<sup>27</sup> which have a more tentative appearance and may have preceded the Cretan series. Moulded figures were commonly finished by hand; and the moulded pithoi were preceded by pithoi on which the decoration was modelled free-hand. These, which may fairly be called geometric pithoi, have no figure decoration. They will of course have gone on being made after the introduction of moulds and stamps, and it is notoriously difficult to date individual pithoi of the sort.<sup>28</sup> Some pithoi have figure decoration modelled completely free-hand; such is the fragment Oxford 1895.173, from Psychro, with a vigorous leaping goat.<sup>29</sup> These also are very difficult to date, but seem to me to be not earlier than the seventh century.

Pendlebury rightly praises the relief pithoi as 'the last Cretan ware which is of a distinctive local type'.<sup>30</sup> We have seen that this is justified by the bold pithoi of the late seventh and sixth centuries. It must, however, be recognised that, in the continued use of moulds for the figure decoration when most Greek regions had adopted the use of the stamp or cylinder, giving a continuous repeating frieze, the Cretan potters were failing to move with the times. This is another instance of the isolation into which Cretan art begins to fall from the middle of the seventh century onwards.<sup>31</sup> The different cities and districts of Crete seem, however,

<sup>21</sup> A rather similar use of small stamps on a number of pithoi and bowls from Caere; e.g., Louvre, Pottier, pl. 2, 36; Pareti, *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi*, pl. 69-70, nos. 631-6, 654.

<sup>22</sup> See E. H. Dohan, *MetrMusStud* III 209 ff.; P. Demargne, *BCH* 1929, 417 ff.; 1930, 195 ff.; 1931, 408 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *Ann.* X-XII 75, fig. 52; *Adelt* XV, παρὰ πρ., 57 ff.

<sup>24</sup> For which see Kunze, *Olympische Forschungen* II 110 ff.

<sup>25</sup> E.g., a Transitional Corinthian phiale from Perachora (lion).

<sup>26</sup> See Jenkins, *Perachora* I 193 f.; Knoblauch, *Studien zur archaisch-griechischen Tonbildnerei*, 23 ff. Cf. also Ohly, *AM* 1940, 69 ff.; 1941, 35; Stillwell, *Corinth* XV i, 88 and pl. 29. 1.

<sup>27</sup> E.g., some of those from Tenos listed on p. 156.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Marinatos, *BCH* 1936, 262 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Mentioned by Evans, *JHS* 1897, 356, where a very early date is suggested.

<sup>30</sup> *The Archaeology of Crete*, 335.

<sup>31</sup> In spite of the close relations in vase-painting and other arts between Crete and Corinth, and the discovery of relief plaques probably from Cretan matrices at Perachora (*Perachora* I, pl. 102 and pp. 230 f., 179-80), Corinthian relief pithoi have, with the exception of the fragment from Perachora mentioned on p. 153, no connection with Cretan pithoi. The Corinthian pithoi are mainly unfigured, and decorated from small stamps. The main series comes from Perachora and will be published in *Perachora* II; a general discussion of Corinthian stamped pithoi will shortly be published by Weinberg.



to have been in very close touch.<sup>32</sup> This is particularly evident from a comparison of the pithoi from Lyttos and those from Afrati (certainly of local manufacture; see Levi, *Ann.* X-XII 72). Levi calls attention to the use of the same mould on fragments found at Afrati and Papoura<sup>33</sup> (*Ann. cit.*, 64; *ibid.*, fig. 44, 38, and Poulsen, *Der Orient*, 148, fig. 174; *MetMusStud* III 224, fig. 35). Other points of agreement in style and technique are the curvilinear ornament ending in panthers' heads, at Afrati (*Ann. cit.*, fig. 45, 49) and Lyttos (*ibid.*, fig. 51; *Hesperia* XIV, pl. 30, 2); and the projections from the rim ending in animals' heads, from Lyttos and Afrati (see above, p. 157). Examples could be multiplied. There is still need for a study of Cretan pithoi as a whole, to be based on the largely unpublished collection in the Heraklion Museum; the good work done already by the scholars named above (p. 153, n. 3) and others shows how much this might contribute to illuminating the general picture of archaic Crete. No doubt such a study would suggest that archaic Cretan pithos-potters were mobile, like their modern successors who work at home in the winter, at Thrapsanos or Margarites or other potter-villages, and travel in summer, often taking up their abode year after year by some clay-bed in the open country.<sup>34</sup> Dr. Giamalakes' fragments cannot contribute much to the delimitation of local workshops, for only one of them has an ascertained provenience, and the study of Cretan clays has not yet advanced far enough for pots to be assigned on this basis alone. But they enrich our knowledge of the figure-work of their potters.

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<sup>32</sup> Courby speaks of 'la manque de contact entre les ateliers' (*op. cit.*, 52), but later finds disprove this.

<sup>33</sup> Not Goulas, as is said by Poulsen. The Oxford inventory reads 'from below the votive site Papouda near Lyttos'; presumably Agiou Georgiou Papoura on the north side of the Lasithi plain (see Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete*, 324, 341; *BSA* XXXVII 199); cf. Evans, *The Academy*, 20 June 1896, 513.

<sup>34</sup> An example is that of the family of potters from Margarites in Mylopotamo who go every year to Anouphia near Apodoulou in Amari, on the other side of Mount Ida, where they build summer-houses on a clay-bed near the spring. For the potters of Thrapsanos see Xanthoudides in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, 118 ff.

# PAINTED INSCRIPTIONS ON CHIOT POTTERY

(PLATES 34-35)

A PECULIARITY of the class of Greek pottery which used to be called Naucratic but is now generally recognised as Chiot is the frequency of dedicatory inscriptions painted before firing.<sup>1</sup> All told, we have parts of about two hundred specimens,<sup>2</sup> from the sanctuaries of various deities at Naucratis, of Apollo Phanaïos in Chios, and of Aphaia in Aegina.<sup>3</sup> Though most are very short, they form the only compact collection of early East Greek writing, and it is surprising that no comprehensive study of them has yet been published.<sup>4</sup>

## I. *The Pots.*

The shapes on which these inscriptions occur are with very few exceptions the so-called chalice and the phiale, the two Chiot shapes which were most often dedicated. Regrettably the chronology of Chiot vase-painting is not yet closely fixed,<sup>5</sup> and the inscribed sherds—partly because the finds have been very fragmentary—rarely preserve any elaborate decoration. But some general remarks may be hazarded. (1) The dark inside of most of the inscribed sherds, whether from chalices or phialae, is decorated with vegetable or abstract patterns in purple and white: this decoration seems to develop in the early sixth century. (2) Where the outside of the lip carries ornament, the ornament is of a careless or degenerate type that suggests a similar date. (3) The rare figures are also of the sixth century, and not of its very beginning.<sup>6</sup> (4) The shape of the chalice is, so far as we can judge, that established early in the sixth century. On these grounds it appears that the Chiot pottery with painted inscriptions should be dated—according to the conventional chronology—within the first half of the sixth century and probably not in its earliest years.

## II. *The Inscriptions.*

Our knowledge of East Greek scripts is still too limited to permit fine distinctions between one city and another along the central part of the west coast of Asia Minor. We can only say that the Chiot alphabet of our sherds is that familiar as the standard East Ionic; the forms of the letters are shown in FIG. The direction of the writing is always from left to right, even where there is a lower line (nos. 35, 85: 20 is perhaps ambiguous). Punctuation, where used, is regularly of three dots set vertically. Crasis occurs in  $\tau\omega\pi\omicron\lambda\omega\nu$  (no. 37 and perhaps

We are particularly grateful to Mr T. J. Dunbabin for photos and notes of the sherds in Oxford, to Dr F. Brommer for the photo reproduced as PLATE 34, 1, to Professor C. M. Robertson for tracings of the sherds in University College, London, to Professor A. J. Beattie for linguistic advice, to Mr. J. M. Cook for squeezes of the Genezels inscriptions (to which he called our attention), and to the Ashmolean Museum for permission to publish PLATE 34, 4.

<sup>1</sup> The paint of the inscriptions is the standard dark paint of the normal range from near-black to golden-brown.

<sup>2</sup> The appended list of inscribed sherds is probably not far from complete for finds so far made: excavators usually preserve inscriptions, and the bulk of the most interesting material from Naucratis went to the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Naucratis has been most prolific, but the finds at the sanctuary in Chios were disappointingly small, so that a statistical comparison is not valid.

<sup>4</sup> E. Gardner published a selection rather inaccurately in *Naucratis* II 63-4 nos. 739-47, and C. C. Edgar gave the alphabet (*BSA* V (1898/9), 51).

<sup>5</sup> See *BSA* XLIV (1949), 154-8. To the list there given of exported Chiot pottery additions may be made. *Smyrna*: many fragments of chalices (J. M. Cook). *Erythrae* (from Illica near Çesme): fragments of chalices (J. D. Beazley). *Rhodes*: chalice with sphinx in Chalice style (Florence 79244), and small chalice with b.f. ducks (B.M. 67.5-6.42); and from *Camirus* another plain chalice (Berlin F.1646). *Delos*: one chalice from the Prytaneion and a b.f. fragment from Rheneia (*Delos* XVII, pls. 52, A2; 63, B4). *Naxos*: perhaps one sherd in Mykonos (J. Boardman). *Salonika*: sherds reported (*AA* 1942, 171). *Cyprus*: phiale in Chalice style, now in Nicosia (A. D. Trendall). *Tell Defenneh, Egypt*: one sherd from the plain (*Tanis* II 62—'Aphrodite bowl'). *Zagazig, Egypt*: plastic head (*CVA Oxford* II, pl. 401, 22).

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 16, 24, 25, 30, 59, 60, 61, 62, 201.

no. 47), but there seems also to be τωι Α[πολωνι (no. 28) and τηι Αφροδιτηι is normal.<sup>7</sup> On no. 35 which reads ]ηρτεμιδ[ the subscript ια is most easily explained as a correction to

ια

give τ]ηι Αρτεμιδ[ι. Doubled consonants are written single (nos. 37, 188, and perhaps 196). There are some slips in writing—omission of the cross-stroke of *alpha* (nos. 67, 83), reversal of *sigma* (nos. 67, 160), a *theta* in the form of *phi* (no. 226), and a *phi* in the form of *theta* (no. 110). More often the spelling is erratic: so ανθηκε (no. 48) and αεθηκε (no. 45), Ζωιλος (nos. 45, 64, 231),<sup>8</sup> ε for με (no. 62; cf. no. 24), Αφοδιτηι (nos. 16, 167), ]τηα[ presumably for

Ρ Α  
 Γ  
 Δ  
 Ε Ε Ε  
 Ι  
 Η Η  
 Θ ⊕ (TWICE ONLY)  
 Ι  
 Κ Κ Κ < (ONCE ONLY)  
 Λ Λ Λ  
 Μ Μ  
 Ν Ν  
 Ο  
 Π  
 ϐ ϐ  
 Σ Σ Σ  
 Τ  
 Υ  
 Φ Φ Φ  
 + +  
 Ω Ω Ω

TABLE OF EXTANT LETTER FORMS OF INSCRIPTIONS PAINTED ON  
CHIOT POTTERY.

τηι Α[φροδιτηι (no. 128), ]ιτηε[ possibly for Αφροδ]ιτηι (no. 72)—the Zoilos writer II is the most persistent offender.<sup>9</sup> The dialect is obviously East Ionic.

With few exceptions our inscriptions are (or can be) dedicatory, the usual formula being of the pattern Ζωιλος (με or μ') ανεθηκε(ν) (τηι) Αφροδιτηι.<sup>10</sup> Once there may be the variant εδωκε (no. 197); the formula ειμι etc. seems to occur on nos. 1 and 114 (]ηειμ[) and in

<sup>7</sup> Though τηροδιτηι is common on *graffiti* from Naucratis.

<sup>8</sup> The Zoilos writer II, to whom the three examples of Ζωιλος belong, also wrote Ζωιλος (no. 24). The doubled iota is presumably intended to show a glide: cf. e.g. in literature δημοιος, and in inscriptions ιερηια, Κεραιτην and Κεραιτη, χρηιζωσιν (SGDI 5495, lines 14, 19, 30, 31, 41: from Miletus: copy of late sixth century original), and Τανοι (*Athenian Tribute Lists* II, list 15.1.10: from Athens, 440–39 B.C.). See also C. D. Buck, *Greek Dialects*<sup>2</sup>, 31–2.

<sup>9</sup> On nos. 88 and 201 there may be transposition of the last two surviving letters, and on no. 172 φ may have been omitted or transposed with ρ.

<sup>10</sup> Once, it seems, we have the simple form εθηκε (no. 104, and possibly no. 24). The order of the words is very occasionally changed. In four instances the ethnic ο Χιος is added (nos. 46, 142, 168, 171; conceivably also no. 170).

νημιτω[ on no. 47.<sup>11</sup> The deities so far recorded are at Naucratis Aphrodite (much the most popular),<sup>12</sup> Zeus Hellenios (nos. 17, 31, 82a, 188, and perhaps 85, 210, 228), probably the Dioscuri (nos. 164, 166), and Apollo (nos. 28 and perhaps 47);<sup>13</sup> at Phanai in Chios Apollo (nos. 36, 37, 43, and perhaps 40) and Artemis (no. 35).<sup>14</sup> Though it is tempting to restore the [εργα] of no. 54 as a painter's signature, the letters could be part of the name of a dedicator—our dedicators have anyhow some unusual names—or if the reading is εργαψε, the meaning may be 'wrote' and not 'painted'.<sup>15</sup> Other inscriptions, less prominent for their size or position, are ]μοσα[ set vertically behind a woman's skirt (no. 61), ]εθοι neatly written in front of a soldier (no. 59), and ]τισθοισι[ scrawled below the rim of an otherwise undecorated sherd (no. 160):<sup>16</sup> the first possibly, the second probably, and the third certainly is a nonsense inscription.

### III. *The Dedicators and the Writers.*

Over sixty sherds give the whole or a useful part of the dedicator's name, and four names can account for more than half of them. There is also a general correspondence between the names of the dedicators and the hands that wrote the dedications. So it seems reasonable to attribute to known dedicators inscriptions which are by their 'writers'<sup>17</sup> but no longer preserve distinctive relics of their names. Such attributions are included in the list that follows.

Ζωϊλος (15 fairly certain instances of the name + 32 attributions to the same hands). There are two Zoilos writers. I (10 + 28), nos. 19, 23, 28, 48, 68, 71, 72, 76, 78, 84, 91, 100, 104, 105, 111, 115, 120, 123, 130, 135, 140, 146, 155, 156, 161, 163, 165, 168, 169, 183, 184, 185, 190, 206, 215, 216, 224, 229: note the forms of α, σ, ω, the fondness for punctuation, the minor variations of the formula. II (5 + 4), nos. 24, 45, 60, 62, 64, 144, 212, 213, 231: note α, λ, σ, the faulty spelling, the presence of other decoration. Zoilos was probably a Chiot (no. 168). The name is well attested.<sup>18</sup>

Μίκης or ]μικίς (7 + 11). Nos. 17, 18, 25, 26, 31 (?), 82a, 90, 106, 112, 116, 159, 173, 174, 178, 182, 188, 221, 222: note κ, σ, ω, and a tendency to fairly close spacing. Zeus (Hellenios) is the only deity preserved, and conversely the only certain dedications to Zeus are or seem to be by the Mikis writer. For the name compare Mikkiades, Mikion, etc.<sup>19</sup>

Αριστοφάνης (8 + 6). There are two Aristophanes writers. I, nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 15, 128, 164, 170, 179. II, no. 13. No. 8 also has part of his name, but is not illustrated: it may well be expected to belong to writer I. Six of the eight fairly certain instances were found in Aegina, where Aristophanes had a partner (no. 13 and probably no. 3; cf. the plural

<sup>11</sup> The η here might be a slip for ε; but more probably ε is omitted or elided, and the η is the end of some such word as καλή (cf. no. 1) or υπη (cf. H. Roehl, *Imagines Inscriptionum Graecarum*<sup>2</sup>, 31 no. 51). Perhaps on no. 20 also the final η is from a similar formula, if it is not a misspelling of the dative Αφροδίτη.

<sup>12</sup> B.M. 88.6-1.531, from a large bowl decorated in Late Wild Goat style, has inside at the top Αφροδίτη:τη:τη: Α Ναυκρατί: painted in white before firing (*Naucratis* II, pl. 21, 768). But it is not Chiot (as is said in *AM* LVIII 28).

<sup>13</sup> If no. 47 is to be restored as εμι τωπολιωνος: but it could be εμι των Διοσκουρων.

<sup>14</sup> There are so far on Chiot pots no painted dedications to Hera, though she had a popular sanctuary at Naucratis. At Aegina none of the fragments include the name of a divinity; this may be accident.

<sup>15</sup> Other specimens of the same hand give the name Hermomandros (nos. 83, 204), so that there is a presumption that Hermomandros was named in this inscription too, whether as dedicator or γραφεύς. It is impossible to tell whether there was or was not other decoration on this chalice.

<sup>16</sup> The ]κς in front of a woman on no. 25 is by the Mikis writer and so probably is the ending of the dedicator's name.

<sup>17</sup> The quality of the lettering generally shows practice in the use of the painter's brush (and on the awkwardly curved surface of a pot), so that the writer was probably the painter—and the thrower—of the pot. But for precision we prefer the term 'writer'.

<sup>18</sup> Smyrna—*SGDI* 5616. Samos—*SEG* I 367; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1061. Erythrae—*SGDI* 5693. Ilium—*OGI* 444. Cos—*SGDI* 3624, 3704. Paros—*IG* XII.5, 1043. Eretria—*IG* XII.9, 249. Athens—J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, nos. 6231-51. These are all of later date.

<sup>19</sup> E. Gardner unnecessarily supposed that Mikis was a woman (*Naucratis* II 64 no. 745; cf. C. A. Roebuck, *Class. Phil.* XLV (1950), 247 n. 62). But there are masculine names in -is.



verb of no. 11 and probably no. 15). An  $\text{I}\sigma\sigma\alpha$  from Naucratis (no. 170), where too Aristophanes appears, may give the termination of the partner's name; but it also allows the restoration  $\text{o Xios}$ .

$\Delta\eta\mu\phi\omega\nu$  (5 + 8). Nos. 39(?), 49(?), 56, 57, 60a(?), 92(?), 131, 135a(?), 141, 142, 175, 191, 225(?). Demophon was probably a Chiot (no. 142).

$\text{A}\gamma\upsilon\pi\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (4 + 3). Nos. 29, 82, 102, 132(?), 152(?), 157, 176. There is no need to suppose that this dedicator was a half or Hellenised Egyptian.<sup>20</sup>

$\text{E}\rho\mu\omicron\mu\alpha\upsilon\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (2 + 3). Nos. 54, 83, 151, 204, 219(?). On no. 54 see above, p. 161.

$\text{M}\omicron\lambda\omega$  (2). Nos. 12, 85. On no. 85 the  $\epsilon$  of the lower line suggests the restoration  $\text{M}\omicron\lambda\omega$  [  $\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$   $\tau\omega\iota$   $\text{Z}\eta\eta\iota$   $\tau\omega\iota$  ]  $\text{E}$  [  $\lambda\eta\eta\iota\omega\iota$  ].

$\text{I}\eta\theta\eta\varsigma$  (2 + 3). Nos. 35(?), 65, 79, 98, 122. The hand is like the Mikis writer.

$\text{I}\nu\eta\varsigma$  (2 + 6). Nos. 53, 66, 74, 81, 86(?), 147a, 148, 205. Note the large sprawling hand and the rounded  $\varsigma$ .

Several names or parts of names occur once only.  $\text{Π}\omicron\delta\alpha\upsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  comes on no. 30, which shows the edge of a long-haired figure carrying two spears.  $\text{Θ}\upsilon\mu\omicron\kappa\eta\delta\eta\varsigma$  (no. 57) runs round a banded lid that is probably Chiot, and offers—by design or accident—a lunate  $\kappa$ .  $\text{I}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\pi$  (no. 101) and  $\text{I}\nu\tau\iota\varsigma$  (no. 158) are not from the same hand, but possibly from the same name— $\text{K}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$  (=  $\text{K}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\beta\iota\varsigma$ ). There is also  $\text{I}\kappa\lambda\epsilon$  (no. 147).  $\text{I}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\tau$  (no. 40) may be misspelt from  $\text{M}\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ ; but the first letter could also be  $\kappa$ , and if so possible restorations are  $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\theta\eta$   $\text{I}\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$   $\text{E}\kappa\alpha\tau$  [  $\eta\beta\omicron\lambda\omega\iota$  ] or even  $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\theta\eta$   $\text{I}\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$   $\text{E}\kappa\alpha\tau$  [  $\omicron\mu\beta\eta\nu$  ].  $\text{I}\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma\tau$  (no. 196) may have been accompanied by more elaborate decoration.  $\text{I}\delta\omega\rho\eta$  (no. 200) might be from a female name, but general probabilities favour a masculine termination in  $-\eta\varsigma$  (=  $-\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ ).  $\text{I}\eta\iota\phi\alpha$  (no. 201; no. 198 is by the same hand) could be for  $\tau\eta\iota$   $\text{A}\phi$  [  $\rho\omicron\delta\iota\tau\eta\iota$  ], and similarly  $\text{I}\phi\omicron\rho$  (no. 88) for  $\text{I}\phi\omicron\sigma$  and  $\text{I}\epsilon\alpha\rho$  (no. 172) for  $\text{I}\epsilon$   $\text{A}\phi\omicron$ . There are finally  $\text{A}\nu\tau$  (no. 103);  $\text{I}\chi\iota\omicron\nu$  (no. 187)—perhaps from  $\text{X}\iota\omicron\nu\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$ ;  $\text{I}\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\alpha$  [  $\tau\omicron\varsigma$  ] (no. 137);  $\text{I}\pi\alpha\iota\delta$  (no. 41);  $\text{I}\delta\iota\kappa$  (no. 177);  $\text{I}\alpha\iota\tau$  (no. 134, but perhaps in error for  $\text{I}\delta\iota\tau$ —the  $\text{I}\epsilon\alpha\rho$  of no. 172 is by the same hand);  $\text{I}\mu\omicron\nu$  (no. 8);  $\text{I}\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (no. 186);  $\text{I}\chi\omicron\varsigma$  (no. 180);  $\text{I}\delta\eta\varsigma$  (no. 58a);  $\text{I}\nu\omega\nu$  (no. 181a);  $\text{I}\eta\mu$  (no. 90a)—not by the same hand as the Demophon writer;  $\text{I}\nu\omicron$  (no. 227); an ill-written  $\text{I}\eta\varsigma$  (no. 67; no. 145 is by the same hand), where the *sigma* is reversed and an *alpha* lacks its cross-stroke; and probably part of a name concealed in the uncertain  $\text{I}\nu\eta\varsigma\iota\sigma\alpha$  (no. 89a). There are similarities of writing between some of these fragments and others mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, for instance between no. 158 and the dedications of Aigyptios. It is anyhow likely that the painted inscriptions were the work of relatively few writers and further, from a comparison of the letter forms, that most were written within a few years.

Some of the dedicators at Naucratis and Aegina were perhaps casual travellers or residents,<sup>21</sup> but others—especially Zoilos, Mikis, and Aristophanes—recur too often to be so classified.<sup>22</sup> By elimination the most reasonable solution is that they were shippers or merchants dealing in overseas cargoes, probably Chiots and interested in the pot trade, who bespoke pots with painted dedications as a kind of insurance with the gods. It may further be inferred from the correspondence between dedicator and writer, who by his brushwork seems to have been a professional pot-painter, that these merchants had particularly close connections each with only one or two manufacturers of pottery.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> As Roebuck asserts (*ibid.*, n. 65). The name is found also at Halicarnassus (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 46) and Rhodes (*IG* XII.1, 764). Cf. also *JHS* LXVIII (1948), 148. Homer, of course, knew the name (*Od.* II 15).

<sup>21</sup> Residents, unless returning from Chios, must have placed a special order through a trader or friend.

<sup>22</sup> The gross totals of dedications may be a little too high, since a few fragments reckoned separately may be from the same pots as other fragments.

<sup>23</sup> Another explanation, that the manufacturers themselves exported their pottery, implies a commercial organisation that is probably too elaborate for the archaic Greek world.

IV. *The Epigraphical Context.*

The painted Chiot dedications are remarkably homogeneous in the forms of their letters as well as in their phrasing, and should mostly belong to a short period of time. That period on the evidence of the pottery on which they appear is about the middle of the first half of the sixth century; and other comparisons suggest a similar date. The significant letters are α, ε, η, θ, υ, and ω. α has the form of a triangular pennant attached to an upright staff; ε is usually tailless, and its horizontal strokes always incline downwards; η, which is of course vocalic, is always 'open'; θ is usually a circle with a dot in the middle, but in two instances contains a cross (nos. 42, 58);<sup>24</sup> ω occurs regularly for long 'o'. It may also be noted that the -νης writer, who stands apart from the main group, gives to his ζ the shape almost of the figure '3' in reverse.

By these criteria the closest parallels (for which there is other evidence of date) seem to be the dedicatory inscriptions carved on the 'Hera' of Cherymyes, a statue found in Samos and generally dated in the 560's,<sup>25</sup> and the kouros of Leukios, which is also Samian and perhaps rather earlier;<sup>25a</sup> on both θ is crossed. Not quite so close are the inscriptions on the statue of Chares from Branchidai, vaguely dated in the second quarter of the sixth century,<sup>26</sup> on the group of statues from Samos that were made by Geneleos,<sup>26a</sup> of roughly the same time as the 'Hera', and on the upper (Ionic) part of the stele of Phanodikos from Sigeion, which for historical reasons is variously put about 600-580 B.C. or in the reign of Pisistratus.<sup>27</sup> On such scattered monuments it is unreasonable to expect a steady progress in the forms of the letters and the quality of the lettering, but it is a sound general rule that those Ionic inscriptions which have both closed η (Θ) and crossed θ are earlier than those with open η and dotted θ. So the painted Chiot inscriptions look later than those on two dedications from Miletus, the lion of the sons of Orion<sup>28</sup> and the base of the sons of Anaximander,<sup>29</sup> which also show examples of the 'figure 3' ζ and should be of the very early sixth or even the late seventh century. On the other hand our inscriptions appear earlier than that carved on the statue dedicated by Aeakes in Samos about 540 B.C., on which the α for instance is of the later canonical form.<sup>30</sup>

In any discussion of early Ionic inscriptions it is difficult to ignore the Abu Simbel *graffiti*, if only because they have a secure absolute date—591-89 B.C.<sup>31</sup> There ω is notably absent, and so Rhys Carpenter has argued that it did not then exist and, as a corollary since ω is evidently already firmly established on early Ionic dedications from Naucratis, that the Greek finds at that site began in the reign of Amasis—that is after 568 B.C.<sup>32</sup> But though the absolute

<sup>24</sup> On Ionic *graffiti* from Naucratis of much the same date crossed θ is fairly common.

<sup>25</sup> Inscription—H. Roehl, *Imagines Inscriptionum Graecarum*<sup>2</sup>, 24 no. 21; E. S. Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* I, no. 152; E. Schwyzler, *Dialectorum Graecarum Exempla Epigraphica*, 715 (3). Statue and date—E. Buschor, *Altgriechische Standbilder* II 29 and figs. 86-9; G. M. A. Richter, *Archaic Greek Art*, 103-4 and fig. 160.

<sup>25a</sup> Buschor, *op. cit.* I 18 and figs. 57, 59-60; Richter, *Kouroi*, 143 and figs. 201-3. (Roehl, *op. cit.*, 25 no. 22 is misleading.)

<sup>26</sup> Inscription—Roehl, *op. cit.*, 20 no. 5; Roberts, *op. cit.*, no. 138; Schwyzler, *op. cit.*, 723(3). Statue—F. Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, 202, 1. Date—Richter, *op. cit.*, 108.

<sup>26a</sup> Buschor, *op. cit.* II 26-9 and figs. 90-101 (the inscriptions on figs. 90-2, 99, 101). In the forms of the letters the inscriptions of Geneleos are remarkably like that of Chares and may well be by the same hand; the statues too are fairly closely related, but their resemblances and differences are not sufficient to prove or disprove a common authorship.

<sup>27</sup> Inscription—Roehl, *op. cit.*, 21 no. 9; Roberts, *op. cit.*, no. 42; Schwyzler, *op. cit.*, 731. Historical dating—early, e.g. Roberts, *op. cit.*, 334-5; A. Brouwers, *REG* XLI (1928), 107-13, XLII (1929), 1-10; late, e.g. K. J. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* I 1, 388; M. Guarducci, *ASA* n.s. III/V (1941-3), 135-40.

<sup>28</sup> Roehl, *op. cit.*, 19 no. 2; Roberts, *op. cit.*, no. 133; Schwyzler, *op. cit.*, 723(1), dating it in the seventh century.

<sup>29</sup> Roehl, *op. cit.*, 19 no. 3; Roberts, *op. cit.*, no. 134; *British Museum Inscriptions*, no. 931.

<sup>30</sup> Inscription—Roehl, *op. cit.*, 26 no. 26; M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*<sup>2</sup>, no. 7; R. P. Austin, *Stoichedon Style*, 13-15. Statue and date—Buschor, *op. cit.*, II 40-1 and figs. 141-3.

<sup>31</sup> Roehl, *op. cit.*, 18-9 no. 1; Roberts, *op. cit.*, no. 130; Tod, *op. cit.*, no. 4.

<sup>32</sup> *AJP* LVI (1935), 291-301; ω 'can hardly have been invented in the Ionian mother-country much before 575 B.C.' (p. 297). Cf. also *AJA* XXXVII (1933), 8-29 (especially 22-3).

dating of this period which is conventionally accepted by archaeologists may be wrong, it can hardly be wrong by the fifty or so years that Carpenter requires.<sup>33</sup> The Abu Simbel inscriptions are patently not models of spelling or execution, and need not be of modern alphabetic forms either, even if it could be proved that their writers learnt their letters from Ionians.<sup>34</sup> Instead of having  $\omega$  'all but created under our very eyes'<sup>35</sup> we find that its use in Ionia goes back as far as we can yet follow the Ionic alphabet.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> For references to the earliest dated material from Naucratis see *JHS* LVII (1937), 228.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Roberts, *op. cit.*, 157. The inscriptions of Abu Simbel have received too much attention in the study of early Greek alphabets: epigraphically they are little more than curiosities.

<sup>35</sup> Carpenter, *AJA* XXXVII 22.

<sup>36</sup> Note the *graffito* of Dolion, recently found at Old Smyrna (*JHS* LXXI (1951), 37 fig. 9): this comes from a context dated by Transitional and Early Ripe Corinthian and so should be seventh century (and not of its very end). It shows  $\omega$  as well as closed  $\eta$  and *koppa*.

Even so, our specimens of the Ionic alphabet do not go far back and it is impossible to disprove Carpenter's ingenious explanation of the origin of  $\omega$ : the Ionians had no aspirate when they received the alphabet, found themselves (on the acrophonic principle) with two letters for the vowel 'e', differentiated them for long and short values of that vowel, and by analogy created  $\omega$  to differentiate the long and short 'o'.

## CATALOGUE OF INSCRIPTIONS

(Those now in Aegina were found in Aegina, those now in Chios in Chios; the rest are from Naucratis. Square brackets indicate the edge of the surface of the sherd: it seems unnecessary to print restorations. A = Aristophanes writer, Aig. = Aegyptios writer, D = Demophon writer, E = -ης writer, H = Hermomandros writer, M = Mikis writer, N = -ης writer, Z = Zoilos writer. Unless it is otherwise stated, the shape is, so far as we know, the chalice.)

Aegina. (A. Furtwängler, <i>Aegina</i> , 455-6—whence the numbering—and pl. 129, 1—except for 245.8.)					
1	244	κατημε[	A.1		
2	245.1	υ	A.1		
3	2	ης; κατ[	A.1		
4	3	ορ[	A.1		
5	4	ορ[	A.1		
6	5	ορ[	A.1		
7	6	ορ[	A.1		
8	7	ορ[	A.1		
9	8	ορ[	A.1		
10	9	ς; α[	A.1		
11	10	ω[			
12	11	ω[			
13	12	κατα[	writer of no. 85		
14	13	κατα[	A.2		
15	14	ε[	A.1		
Berlin. <sup>37</sup> (AA 1889, 93.)					
16	Inv. 3150	υ αποδ[		Footless kantharos.	
17	"	ω[		Phiale.	
18	"	ω[	(from same vase as no. 22)	Lions as	
Boston. (A. Fairbanks, <i>Cat. Gk. and Etrusc. Vases</i> , pl. 32.)					
19	88.964	ω[	M		
20	88.1070	ω[	M		
20a	88.1071	ω[	Z.1		
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.					
21	N.62	ω[	(from same vase as no. 16)		
22	N.63	ω[	Z.1		
23	N.64	ω[	Z.1		
24	N.65	ω[	Z.2		
25	N.66	ω[	M		
26	N.67	ω[	M		
27	N.68	ω[	Z.1		
28	N.69	ω[	Z.1		
Naucratis II, pl. 21, 739. <sup>38</sup> PLATE 34. I.					
Fairbanks, 303.2.					
" 303.1.					
" 303.3.					
CVA II, pl. 496.27.					
" 21.					
" 30.					
" 10.					
" 51.					
" 28.					
" 49.					
" 26.					

<sup>37</sup> Incidentally *Naucratis* II, pl. 21, 738 is also in Berlin: the sherd is from a chalice with decoration at the top much as our PLATE 34, 13-16, and the tail and back probably of a lion below.

<sup>38</sup> Close to but probably earlier than Louvre A.330(1) = S.682 (S. Zervos, *Rhodes, Capitale du Dodécanèse*, figs. 38 and 117; E. Puhl, *Muz III*, fig. 120).

<sup>39</sup> The painted Chiot inscriptions published in *Naucratis* II are numbered 739-47 on pp. 63-4 and pl. 21: the drawings are inaccurate and the commentary unhappy.

<sup>40</sup> The inscription is abnormally on the lower part of the bowl.





London, British Museum (continued).

64	584 + 728 + 846	]ονδοσυμμενοφ . κςω[ <sup>42</sup>	Z. 2	Phiale	Naukr. II, pl. 21.742 (first part only). PLATE 34, 15.
65	604	]ντνια[	E		
66	604	]ντς[	N		PLATE 34, 3.
67	695	]ςωαυ[	cf. no. 145		PLATE 35, 18.
68	704	]ντνι[	Z. 1	Phiale	
69	705	]ςωδν[			
70	706	]ντς[			
71	708	]ντνι[	Z. 1		
72	710	]ντνι[	Z. 1		
73	711	]ντνιςαπ[	N		
74	712	]ςω[	cf. no. 95		
75	713	]ντνι[	Z. 1		
76	714	]οδν[			
77	715	]οδν[	Z. 1		
78	716	]οδν[	E		Naukr. II, pl. 21.740. PLATE 35, 19.
79	717	]ντνιςα[			
80	718	]ντνι[	N		PLATE 35, 48.
81	719	]ντς[	Aig.		
82	720	]ντς[	M		PLATE 35, 31.
82a	721	]ντς[	H		
83	722 + 726	]ςωμιαςδρος[			
84	723	]: μ[	Z. 1		
85	724	{ }ντνι[	cf. no. 12		
86	725	]ντς[	?N		
87	726	see no. 83			
88	727	]ςω[			
89	728	see no. 64			
89a	729	]ντνιςα[	M		PLATE 35, 40.
90	730	]ντνι[			
90a	731	]ντς[	Z. 1		
91	732	]ντς[	?D		
92	733	]ντς[			
93	734	]ντς[	cf. no. 138	Phiale	
94	735 + 761	]ντνιςα[	writer of no. 75	Phiale	
95	737	]ντνι[			
96	738	]ντς[	E		PLATE 35, 22.
97	739	]ντνι[			
98	740	]ντς[	Z. 1		
99	741	see no. 48			
100	742	]ντνιςα[			
100a	743	]ντνι[			
101	744	]ντς[	Aig.		PLATE 35, 32.
102	745	]ντς[			PLATE 35, 29.
103	746	]ντς[			
104	747	]ντς[	Z. 1		

<sup>42</sup> The final letter, though resembling a δ, is probably a curtailed because of the rosette below. In any case, the left-hand sherd was found in the sanctuary of Aphroditē.

London, British Museum (continued).	
105	ἰρ:τ[
106	ἰαυ[
107	ἰθῆκ[
108	ἰθῆκ[
109	ἰθῆκ[
110	ἰθῆκ[ (Φ written Θ)
111	ἰθῆκ[
112	ἰθῆκ[
113	ἰθῆκ[
114	ἰθῆκ[
115	ἰθῆκ[
116	ἰθῆκ[
117	ἰθῆκ[
118	ἰθῆκ[
119	ἰθῆκ[
120	ἰθῆκ[
121	ἰθῆκ[
122	ἰθῆκ[
123	ἰθῆκ[
124	ἰθῆκ[
125	ἰθῆκ[
126	ἰθῆκ[
127	ἰθῆκ[
128	ἰθῆκ[
129	ἰθῆκ[
130	ἰθῆκ[
131	ἰθῆκ[
132	ἰθῆκ[
133	ἰθῆκ[
134	ἰθῆκ[
135	ἰθῆκ[
135 <sup>a</sup>	ἰθῆκ[
136	ἰθῆκ[
137	ἰθῆκ[
138	ἰθῆκ[
139	ἰθῆκ[
140	ἰθῆκ[
141	ἰθῆκ[
142	ἰθῆκ[
143	ἰθῆκ[
144	ἰθῆκ[
145	ἰθῆκ[
146	ἰθῆκ[
147	ἰθῆκ[
147 <sup>a</sup>	ἰθῆκ[
148	ἰθῆκ[
149	ἰθῆκ[
150	ἰθῆκ[
151	ἰθῆκ[
152	ἰθῆκ[
153	ἰθῆκ[
154	ἰθῆκ[
155	ἰθῆκ[

Z.1  
M

Phiale

PLATE 35, 39.

Z.1  
M

PLATE 35, 49.

Z.1  
MZ.1  
cf. nos. 124 and 126  
EZ.1  
writer of no. 121

writer of no. 121

A.1

Z.1  
D

? Aig.

cf. no. 172.

Z.1

?D

writer of no. 94

Phiale  
Phiale

PLATE 35, 25.

Z.1  
D

D

PLATE 35, 45.

Z.2  
writer of no. 67

Phiale

Z.1

N

N

H  
?Aig.

Z.1

PLATE 34, 9.





*London, British Museum (continued).*

206	uninvent.	45	loç[	Z.1
207	"	88	av[	
208	"	928	oç[	
209	"	—	oç[	
210	"	—	oç[	
211	"	—	oç[	
212	"	—	oç[	
213	"	—	oç[	
214	"	—	oç[	
214a	"	—	oç[	

*London, University College.*

215	(1)	—	oç[	Z.1
216	(2)	—	oç[	Z.1
217	(3)	—	oç[	
218	(4)	—	oç[	

*Oxford.*

219	1880.218	(v. 186f)	oç[	?H
220	"	(v. 186m)	oç[	M
221	G.114.6	743	oç[	M
222	"	8	oç[	
223	G.141.40	61	oç[	Z.1
224	"	62	oç[	?D
225	"	63	oç[	
226	"	64	oç[	
227	"	65	oç[	
228	"	66	oç[	
229	"	—	oç[	
230	"	—	oç[	

*Whereabouts unknown.*

231	—	—	oç[	Z.2
-----	---	---	-----	-----

BSA V (1898/9), pl. 4.26.

" " 25.

JHS XXV (1905), 116 fig. 2.17.

Naukr. II, pl. 21.743.

## KEY TO PLATES 34 AND 35.

The first number in each pair is that on the Plate, the second that in the Catalogue.

1	16	12	156	22	98	32	101	42	170
2	47	13	62	23	188	33	200	43	56
3	66	14	64	24	196	34	194	44	141
4	188	15	45	25	137	35	173	45	57
5	59	16	64	26	60	36	159	46	83
6	63	17	164	27	157	37	174	47	112
7	61	18	67	28	176	38	178	48	197
8	160	19	79	29	102	39	106	49	180
9	155	20	179	30	177	40	90	50	51
10	105	21	158	31	85	41	54	51	180
11	169								

43 Mr. T. J. Dunbabin kindly informed us that this might be from the same pot as the preceding item.

# THE CNIDIA

(PLATES 36-41)

'THEIR land lies towards the open sea—and this is the part which is called Triopion—but begins at the Bybassian Chersonese; and the whole of the Cnidia except for a little bit is surrounded by water, the part facing the north wind being bounded by the Ceramic Gulf, and that on the south by the sea towards Syme and Rhodes. This little bit, then, which is about five stades across, the Cnidians began to dig while Harpagus was conquering Ionia, with the intention of making their land an island. The whole of it was to lie inside; for where the Cnidian land terminates at the mainland, there is the isthmus which they began to dig' (Hdt. I 174).

The Cnidian peninsula measures 63 km. from base to tip. It consists of two mountain masses joined by an isthmus not much more than 2 km. broad. That on the east is rugged and almost uninhabited; but the greater western massif, though barren and sheer on the north side and at the west tip, has fertile land to offer in the small coastal plains of the south and especially in the valley which traverses the interior from Zeytincik to beyond Yazıköy, with its main outlet below Kumyer and a backdoor at Barkaz. A low ridge runs the length of the isthmus with a gentle slope towards the Gulf of Syme and an easy crossing from Reşadiye to the Ceramic Gulf at Körmen Limanı. The present population of the peninsula, about 5,000, must be almost the smallest since prehistoric times, the greater part of the isthmus east of Reşadiye and many acres of cultivable land round Yazıköy being now waste; the population is divided in the proportion of three to two between the concentration of villages at Datça and that of Betçe around Çeşmeköy.<sup>1</sup>

## I

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION<sup>2</sup>

#### EMECİK

At the east end of the isthmus a site of some significance lies among sparse pines and scrub.<sup>3</sup> The narrow, barely accessible seaward summit of the promontory SW of Emecik

<sup>1</sup> The outlines of the sketch map PLATE 37 are drawn from Spratt's map in *Archaeologia* XLIX at p. 358. Additional sites have been inserted; and a few of the locations have been readjusted slightly to fit our observations better, without, however, any guarantee of greater general accuracy. Turkish place-names are given in the official form and spelling, and those rendered wholly in Turkish are all in current use at the present day. Names no longer in official use which are to be identified with modern settlements marked on the sketch map are Aylana (=Mesudiye), Batur (=Hızırah), and Elaki, Alleyadah, Alaköy, Eli (=Reşadiye).

The first section of this article has been written by Cook, the second by Bean, and the third jointly. The drawings on FIGS. 3 and 4 have been done out by Miss E. A. B. Petty, those on FIGS. 1 and 5 and PLATE 37 by Mrs. J. M. Cook.

#### Abbreviations.

- BMI = *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.*  
SGDI = Collitz and Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.*  
ATL = Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists.*  
Michel = Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.*

<sup>2</sup> This description is based where possible on observations made in the course of journeys in the Cnidia in 1949 and 1950, and supplemented at points by reference to the accounts of journeys by Spratt (*Archaeologia* XLIX 345 ff.), Newton (*Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*), and Maiuri (*Annuario IV-V* 397 ff.). Especially valuable information about remains and reported discoveries in the vicinity of Datça is contained in an unpublished report rendered by Dawkins after a visit of investigation in 1907; by his courtesy and that of the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens we have drawn freely on this report. For the geology of the Cnidia cf. Philippson, *Reisen u. Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien* V 71 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Spratt, *Archaeologia* XLIX 356 f. His identification with Bybassus has been followed by Kiepert and Philippson. Spratt also refers to ruins on the Hacilar islets which shelter the bay, and lays down on his map mediaeval ruins on an islet farther to the west.

village is fenced by a mediaeval fortification; on the peak is a rock cutting for a small room, which was no doubt designed to shelter the lookout on the windy height; and some 10 m. below the peak on the east side is a stretch of polygonal walling preserved to a height of about 3 m., while immediately below this are remains of ancient walls on a slight shelf which gave access to the fort. The pottery seems mainly late, including a pyramidal loomweight with a

Christian symbol  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{IC} \\ \text{N} \\ \text{K} \end{smallmatrix}$  cut on the base and fragments of *sgraffito* ware, but we found a handful of fragments of undistinguished striped ware which at least antedates the Hellenistic era. This position overlooks the landward approach from the east, and at the same time has an open view out to sea and over the Datça area. On either side of the promontory is a small sheltered bay. At the head of the westerly one a 20-m.-square building constructed in heavy

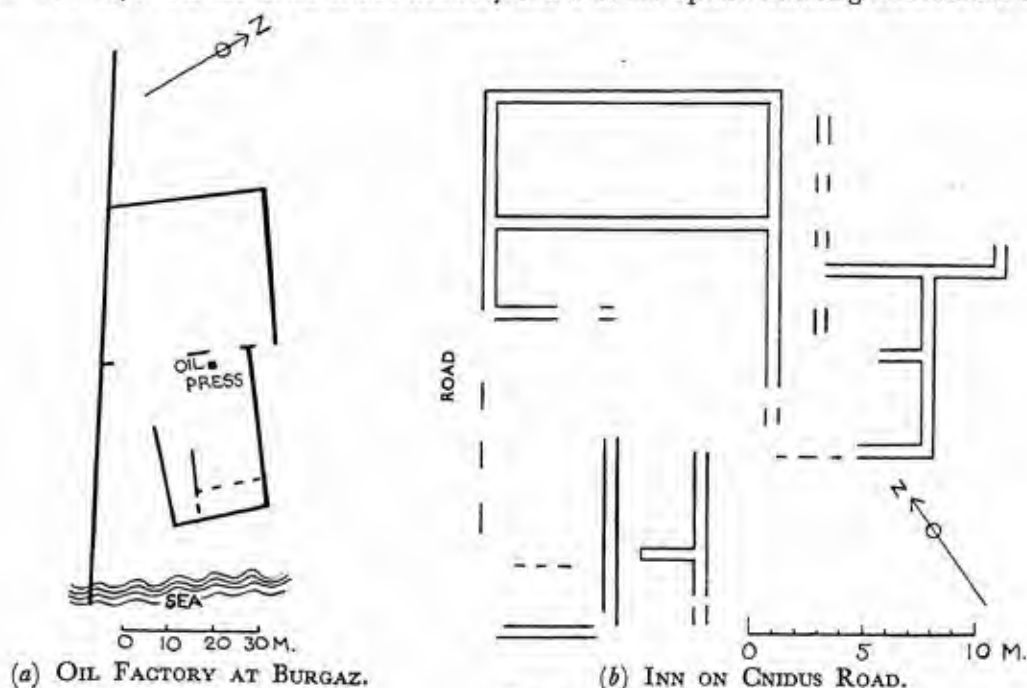


FIG. 1.

polygonal masonry (PLATE 36, *a*), with a doorway in the south wall, still stands to a height of one and a half m. out of the sand; the pottery littered around is late Hellenistic-Roman, and the masonry, with huge blocks which approximate to squares, seems to be late construction. At the head of the easterly bay sherds of the same date are dense and litter the ground for several hundred metres inland to a low crest on whose slope are remains of ancient terrace (and perhaps building) walls; one or two sherds found here probably date back to the fifth century B.C. A first-century B.C. dedication to Apollo, apparently Karneios, was found here (p. 210).

Ten minutes inland from this bay the modern carriage road skirts the south face of an irregular walled enclosure with a frontage of about 70 m. and side walls running up the slope for about the same distance; it was entered by a gate set in a jog in the west wall. The lower part of the enclosure formed a terrace retained by the south wall; this wall-face stands over two and a half m. high, and is solidly built in irregular squared masonry, with heavy

oblong blocks, which occasionally show polygonal joints, in the lower courses, while the shallower blocks above are interrupted in places by heavy ones two and three courses in height.<sup>4</sup> An upper terrace about 20 m. from front to back ran across the back of the enclosure; the presence of architectural pieces here suggests that it was occupied by a building in the Doric order.<sup>5</sup> By the NW corner of the enclosure is the chamber tomb with a side corridor, which was described and planned by the Italian mission in 1921.<sup>6</sup> The surface pottery in the enclosure is mainly Hellenistic-Roman. But we found a small fragment of archaic relief pithos; and the early date of the precinct is confirmed by the archaic designs informally incised on two of the large blocks in the south retaining wall, one consisting of a leaf-rossette within a circle and a meander-band, the other showing an amorous overture (PLATE 39, a).<sup>7</sup>

### THE CITY AT BURGAS

The greatest concentration of ancient remains on the peninsula, apart from that at Tekir, is in the fertile countryside which contains the villages of Datça and the modern administrative centre of the peninsula. The Datça stream issues from the mountain gap in the west and runs in a green valley past Reşadiye, skirting the north edge of a low plateau until it is joined by a second stream coming from the north and breaks through a gap between rocks to the shore. On the beach a few yards SW of the Datça Water are substantial remains of the foundations in mixed heavy polygonal and ashlar of a very large building (FIG. 1a), which (on account of the presence of a stone press) Spratt recognised as an oil or tanning factory;<sup>8</sup> the SW wall runs for a distance of over 120 m. to the water's edge, and can be seen continuing in the sea. The ground here is littered with potsherds, mainly of late date.

About half-way between this place and the Iskele the shelving beach is interrupted by a blunt promontory, tilted up to expose a flank about 12 m. high to the sea,<sup>9</sup> which is seen from the south in PLATE 38, a. The ground on the inland side of the promontory is scarcely raised above sea-level, so that the feature stands isolated and was conveniently enclosed in a fortified perimeter about 400 m. long. The main landward stretch of this fortification on the west has a composite appearance, being constructed in a mixture of irregular ashlar and trapezoidal with polygonal work in places (two almost contiguous stretches are shown in PLATE 36, b, c); and to this an ashlar tower with headers and stretchers has been added. The cross stretch on the north has an ashlar tower at the inland corner and is probably also a later addition. On the seaward side the angle of the fortification still stands at the foot of the cliff to a height of six courses (four upper ones having been removed about half a century ago).<sup>10</sup> It is in good trapezoidal style; the joints, now opened in the lower courses by the sea, seem originally to have been fairly flush, and the construction belongs to Scranton's quarry-face isodomic trapezoidal class whose general dating is within a generation or so of 400 B.C.<sup>11</sup> To the SW of

<sup>4</sup> *Annuario* IV-V 403, fig. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Fragments of Doric limestone column drums with twenty flutes (one piece with diameter 0.59 m.) and a Doric frieze block 0.4 m. high comprising a triglyph and a metope; the proportions imply a building of Hellenistic or Roman date. Another Doric column drum of diameter 0.47 m., also with twenty flutes, lies outside the enclosure on the south, and pieces of other Doric columns were remarked by Maiuri (*Ann.* IV-V 403 f.).

<sup>6</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 404 f. (fig. 10 upside down).

<sup>7</sup> Ht. of figured scene 0.38 m. The male figure is ithyphallic; his left hand grips the woman's chin, while his right seems to be held above the penis. The woman has a short retroussé nose and full chin; her right forearm appears to spring from just under the breast, and the indistinct outlines of the body suggest a chiton drawn up by the left hand on her flank. The style verges on the ripe archaic, perhaps rather after the middle of the sixth century.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* 356; Maiuri *Ann.* IV-V 402. In FIG. 1a the distances are paced but the bearings of all walls were plotted by compass.

<sup>9</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 401 f. (fortification at Uzün-gheri).

<sup>10</sup> One face illustrated *Ann.* IV-V 402, fig. 7.

<sup>11</sup> R. L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* 85 ff.



the fortified area is a shallow cove, in which the foundations of a square tower (in the foreground in PLATE 38, *a*) and other walls break the surface of the water. Spratt (*op. cit.* 355 f.) remarked substantial remains of ancient construction inside the perimeter and to the north of it; and he recognised the promontory as the acropolis, with its port at the south end, of a 'considerable city'. Over the whole area Hellenistic pottery is abundant on the surface, together with a little early sigillata ware; but within the fortified perimeter, and especially near the edge of the cliff where there is little depth of earth over the soft rock, there is a high proportion of earlier wares ranging from the seventh to the fourth century B.C.<sup>12</sup>

This fortified perimeter bears the name Dalacak (*i.e.* 'Ready to Plunge'); a wider area around it, stretching back to the slopes of the plateau inland, is called Burgaz and is known as the source of many ancient worked stones and inscriptions removed to the surrounding villages.



FIG. 2.—SHERDS FROM DATÇA.

The southern limit of this area is the Iskele, where a small island, joined to the land by a causeway, offers a safe anchorage for sailing vessels, and where the existence of a connecting mole in antiquity is indicated by a line of stout blocks visible in the water alongside the present-day causeway.<sup>13</sup> On the south side of the harbour, beside a copious stream, is the oblong platform, built against the bottom of the hill slope, which was noticed by Maiuri;<sup>14</sup> it measures *ca.* 30 (N-S) by 20 m., being supported by retaining walls in heavyish polygonal work;<sup>15</sup> on the north a series of narrower terraces leads down to the sea. It cannot have been a fortified position, since it lies against the foot of a hillside, and resembles rather the terrace of a little

<sup>12</sup> The pottery gathered by us included fragments of relief pithoi (FIG. 2), a sherd from an East Greek Orientalising plate with a trace of lotus and lotus bud ornament, fragments of archaic and classical wine-amphorae, fragments of r.f. bell kraters, and of late fifth- and fourth-century lamps, black-glazed bowls and cups (selected fragments now stored at the Museum in Smyrna). Prof. J. L. Myres picked up two fragments of archaic plastic aryballoi, now in the Ashmolean.

<sup>13</sup> Dawkins reported ancient walls on the island which he took to be part of a perimeter, but we could not confirm this.

<sup>14</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 401 ('Fortilizio' at Burgaz).

<sup>15</sup> *Loc. cit.* figs. 5-6.

sanctuary; the presence of roof-tiles indicates that a building stood on the platform; these and the amphora fragments on the surface are of Hellenistic types, and the squarish heavy polygonal of the platform walls may well be Hellenistic. Between the Iskele and Dalacak are some ancient building traces, and it was in this sector that an archaic grey marble lion came to light in the digging of a well shortly before Dawkins' visit in 1907;<sup>16</sup> the lion was found at a considerable depth, confirming the observation made by Dawkins at other points in the Datça area that the archaic and classical remains are for the most part covered by deep deposits of later occupation and alluvium.

The most productive site in the Datça area lies close by the entrance to the gap where the Datça Water breaks through to the coast. At this point several disconnected short stretches of polygonal walls are visible, of which the best preserved is in squarish polygonal with a tendency towards tilted courses. There is scarcely any surface pottery now to be seen, and the villagers seem to have no recollection of discoveries there; but the position is adequately described in Dawkins' account of his visit to the site,<sup>17</sup> and from this report and other correspondence preserved in the British School at Athens it is clear that it has yielded rich finds in the past. Some years prior to 1907 a Greek merchant of Syme named Panayiotis Polemikos carried out excavations under a firman, and following him illicit diggers looted the site. Dawkins himself was satisfied that the site was that of 'an archaic sanctuary, very rich in offerings of the greatest importance'. Here, apparently, were found an early sixth-century limestone statuette and the base of another statuette with a dedication by Euarchus to the Dioscuri,<sup>18</sup> and other objects from the site were examined by Dawkins in the Müdür's office at Datça.<sup>19</sup> A part of Polemikos' finds was sent to the Istanbul Museum, and illicit diggers are said subsequently to have disposed of four or five hundred pieces.<sup>20</sup> Nothing of this material is now to be seen at Datça unless two fragmentary white limestone statuettes of uncertain provenience preserved in the primary school at Reşadiye come from the sanctuary site (PLATE 40, e).<sup>21</sup>

In a letter of 1911 Polemikos referred to an archaic building 8 m. deep which had been exposed by the stream at five minutes' walk from the temple. This cannot now be identified, but to the north, in the right bank of the stream which flows down from the direction of Kızlan, stretches of polygonal walling are intermittently exposed for a distance of nearly a kilometre up from the confluence; this wall stands to a height of as much as 2 m. and in places is con-

<sup>16</sup> This is apparently the lion from Cnidus in Berlin, *Kurze Beschreibung, Skulpturen* (1922) no. 1724.

<sup>17</sup> In 1907 Dawkins noted a 'complex of just visible walls', and in a letter of 1911 Polemikos mentioned an 'interior wall of the temple 10 m. deep'.

<sup>18</sup> Brit. Mus. 93. 11-13. 2-3 (bought from John Kalesperis); *BMC Sculpt.* I 150 f., B320-321 ('from Cnidus'); cf. G. M. A. Richter *Kouros* 119 f., figs. 114, 129-31 (p. 100, the statuette apparently regarded as Cnidian). 'According to Kalesperis it is a temple of the Dioscuri, and he talks of a statue found there with an inscription proving this' (Dawkins, who visited the site in company with Kalesperis).

<sup>19</sup> (1) 'Small stone figures of men and women, generally carrying animals or other objects' (e.g., ram, lyre, unidentified animal) in a style 'archaic but soft'. (2) 'Stone figures of animals, notably birds'. (3) 'Terracotta figures of all sorts, men, women, animals, birds', etc. (4) 'Paste or faience figurines pierced for suspension, including a hawk and a naked female figure apparently of the type *Lindos* I nos. 1282-88, pl. 56'. (5) 'Bronze pins, fibulae and rings'. (6) 'A small vase of Corinthian ware' and similar sherds. Roof tiles also are mentioned.

<sup>20</sup> For other small dedications recorded from Datça cf. Blinkenberg *Lindos* I 26, id. *Cnidia* 204 f. Istanbul Mus.: terracottas, Mendel *Cat. figurines grecques* (1908) 582 f.; limestone figures, *Lindos* I 444, *SCE IV* ii 332, fig. 52; faience, *Lindos* I nos. 1272, 1278. Berlin Mus.: terracottas, *ib.* 485 fig. 55, 504 nos. 1966, 1982, 1944; limestone figures, *ib.* 414, no. 1604; pottery, *ib.* 299, Mus. Inv. nos. 3677A and 3677A bis. British Mus.: two handmade terracotta bull figurines 59. 12-26. 631-2; paste, vase fragment 93. 11-13. 6; faience, figurine 94. 7-17. 2 (cf. *AA* 1894, 177); pottery, painted plate fragments 93. 11-13. 4 and 94. 7-17. 1 (*RA* 1894, 266), 93. 11-13. 5 (*ib.* 27 fig. 14), now *Jdl* 1942, 129 figs. 1-2. For the limestone statuettes cf. also *Lindos* I 26, 402, 437, 440, 446, 456. Archaic painted pottery is singularly scarce on the Cnidian peninsula. Dawkins noted Corinthian but not East Greek painted wares. Ionic b.f. has not been remarked, and the handful of Orientalising fragments mentioned here are insufficient to support Schefold's contention that the Cnidians played a leading part in the production of East Greek pottery (*Jdl* 1942, 129 f.).

<sup>21</sup> Inv. no. 8 (pres. ht. 0.115 m.) resembles the Brit. Mus. statuette from the Burgaz temple site (see footnote 18), but is nearly half as large again in scale and is more firmly modelled in early archaic Greek style. Inv. no. 9 (pres. ht. 0.1 m.) is badly rubbed, but seems to be a male figure holding a flower (cf. the series *BMC Sculpt.* I 158 ff.).

structed of long polygonal blocks with joints slightly curved in archaic fashion; it consists merely of a face revetting the earth bank behind, and was in all probability built to contain the torrent. A track leading from the sanctuary site along the south bank of the Datça Water skirts the inland edge of the plateau which overlooks Burgaz; at points along its course ancient blocks are seen both scattered and in situ, and Dawkins noted polygonal walling cropping up here and there. Polemikos, who guided Dawkins along this route, maintained that the remains formed a continuous line, which he called a Sacred Way, and carried on to terminate at a fortified hill immediately east of Hızırşah. The fortification in question is in fact a loose rubble perimeter enclosing a building of no great age, and there is now no evidence of a line leading up to it or of any continuation of the line west of the Reşadiye-Iskele road. Dawkins, remarking that the level of the ground in the valley has been raised considerably since ancient times by alluvial deposits, inclined to the belief that 'this line of remains is not a road at all, but a wall fortifying the course of the stream'; and our observations tend to support this view.<sup>22</sup> While a fortification along the edge of the plateau remains speculative, it is worth remarking that there is no other satisfactory line of outer defence for the ancient city which Spratt recognised as extending along the coast from the Iskele to the mouth of the Datça Water; the assumption of an outer land fortification is confirmed by the presence of numerous blocks, evidently of a sea-wall, in the shallow water along the coast from Dalacak to the mouth of the Datça Water.

#### GRAVEFIELD AND WESTERN ENVIRONS OF BURGAZ

The importance of this city is indicated by the ancient remains which lie to the westward of it. Behind the village of Hızırşah the mountain rises sharply to a peak well over 2,000 ft. above sea-level (Maltepe, 'Treasure Hill'),<sup>23</sup> whose boat-shaped summit, not more than 20 m. across, is defended by cliff reinforced with roughstone walling. There are no visible traces of habitation (apart from a rock-cut cistern) on the top, and no attempt has been made to level the three jagged pinnacles of rock of which it is formed, but potsherds and a few tile fragments indicate occupation in the fifth century and again in later times.<sup>24</sup> The position can hardly have been more than a lookout post; it is in full view of Dalacak and commands an extensive view of the gulf. The peak, like the corresponding one on the promontory near Emecik (p. 171), is by no means easy of access, but it can be reached by way of the saddle of a prominent spur 100 m. or so to the NE; this saddle is closed on the side facing the Iskele by a roughstone wall 3.3 m. thick and about 80 m. long, which (like that on the peak) is built of unfaced boulders and smaller stones indiscriminately piled, and is still preserved to a height of over 5 m. Low down on the north slope of the outlier of Maltepe above Hızırşah are scattered ancient remains; they include a complex of strongly built walls, in masonry varying between ashlar and long polygonal, which seem to belong to a long terraced building dating to the fifth century B.C.;<sup>25</sup> the partly rock-cut traces, on a flat spur between two small streams, of a substantial rectangular building of later date in squared masonry, 16 m. broad on the short side, which

<sup>22</sup> On the slope of the earthy escarpment above the right bank of the stream there runs a clearly defined shelf, with a corresponding embankment crossing the mouths of the gullies which come off the plateau; occasional heavy, roughly worked blocks lie at the foot of the slope, and the shelf is fringed by loose stones in great number which could well come from the backing of a plundered wall. South of Reşadiye the escarpment turns and follows the line of the road towards the Iskele, with the shelf still clearly defined for about a kilometre, after which it is lost in the more hilly terrain above the Iskele.

<sup>23</sup> Kiepert (followed by Philippson) named this hill 'Chios' and located it too far to the south. It appears on the left in the background in the photograph Philippson *Reisen V* fig. 11 (= Sudhoff *Kos und Knidos*, fig. 33).

<sup>24</sup> Tiles of both late fifth or fourth century and late Hellenistic-Roman type, an Attic black-glazed foot of middle-late fifth century date, late amphora toes and fragments of moulded lamps.

<sup>25</sup> The surface finds were bits of red wall-plaster, pre-Hellenistic tile and amphora fragments, and a bit of a fifth-century Attic skyphos foot.



had an interior room or cella, with two fragments of Doric column drums close at hand and a 40 m. stretch of a *peribolos* wall on the SW side; and the ruins of a square building of 14 m. side, built of large squared blocks, and with an interior cross wall of slighter construction. On the slopes above are traces of other buildings accompanied by tile and amphora fragments of late date, and numerous terrace walls in which are incorporated blocks weighing one and two tons. These massive walls, sometimes holding up terraces not more than five or six metres in width on the steep slope, were presumably set up to further the intensive culture of the vine. Together with the bridges and culverts and the broad roads which traversed the peninsula, they bear witness to a singularly thorough development of the land. Another fortification lies about

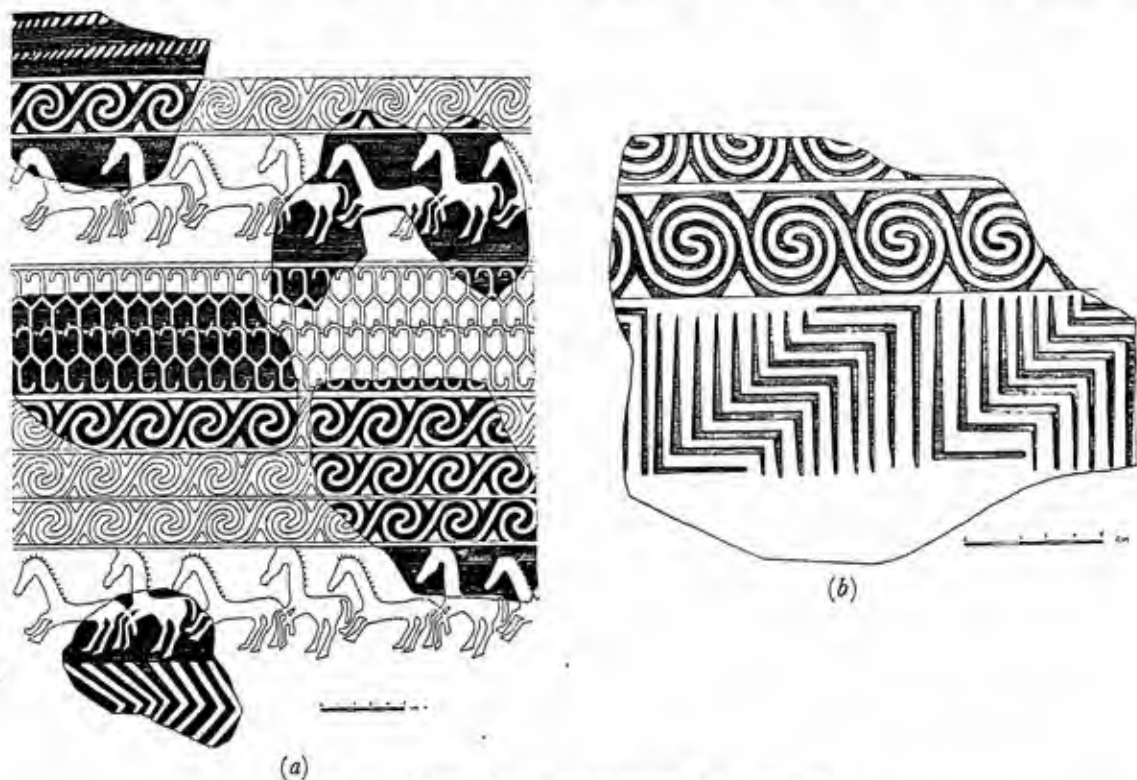


FIG. 3.—VASE FRAGMENTS FROM GRAVEFIELD.

1500 m. to the NW, blocking the exit from the glen down which the road from the west descends; it crowns a knoll with a spring at the foot; the perimeter wall is roughly built of totally unworked boulders and stones, but contains space for a considerable garrison and seems from the tile fragments to have been in use in the late fifth or fourth century B.C.

While in Hellenistic-Roman times the north slope of Maltepe seems to have been vineyard with sparse habitation, there is evidence of an extensive cemetery here in early Greek times. Three tumuli of about 10 m. diameter, in the form of a stone cairn apparently piled on a circular stone drum, are still to be seen on the crest of the outlier above Hızırşah. It is reported locally that tombs and large pithoi have been discovered on this slope,<sup>26</sup> and this

<sup>26</sup> In spite of the lack of excavation a considerable number of relief pithoi are recorded from Datça. Cf. Berlin Inv. no. 3351 and 30150A (both Neugebauer, *Führer* 11); fragments in Athens (*AM* XXI 229 ff., cf. *BCH* LXXIV 162, 166); fragments reported in the Khaviraras collection in Smyrne (*Ann.* IV-V 402 n. 1); fragments, coming from a number of pithoi,



intelligence was confirmed by our discovery on the spot of considerable fragments of two or three relief pithoi (now in the school at Reşadiye)—one, of Camiran type, with a surface of refined red clay on which the decoration is impressed (FIG. 3*b*),<sup>27</sup> a second of gritty darker brown ware decorated on the belly in Ialysan style (FIG. 3*a*),<sup>28</sup> and fragments (probably of a third) with isolated plain relief rings; these pithoi are to be dated in the late seventh and sixth centuries.<sup>29</sup> From the same area came a fragment of a large amphora with double-arched belly-handle and painted geometric decoration which dates to the eighth or first half of the seventh century (FIG. 2); and a naked female bronze figurine of early archaic date, 0.057 m. high and pierced through the head for suspension, was brought to us from Hızırşah (PLATE 39, *b*).

No significant ancient remains have been reported from the bay of Körmen,<sup>30</sup> and there is now no habitation there save the coastguard station; but a sheltered deep-water anchorage is reported, and the route across from Reşadiye involves scarcely any climb. An early archaic

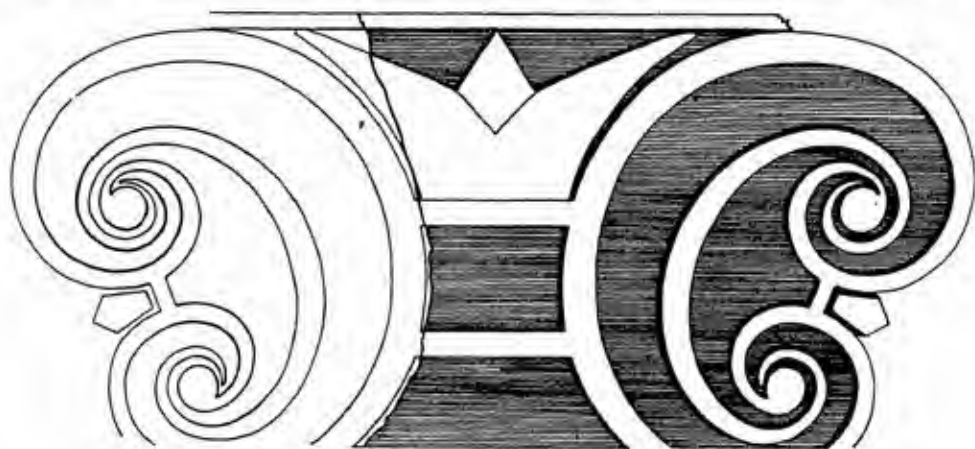


FIG. 4.—ARCHAIC CAPITAL NEAR KARAKÖY.

architectural piece, subsequently inscribed as a boundary stone (no. 4), is to be seen built into the corner of a mosque on the north side of the Reşadiye-Körmen road about a kilometre from the sea (FIG. 4, PLATE 38, *e*). Its place of discovery is unknown, though the mosque has been built within living memory; but the neighbours are convinced that a stone of this size would not have been brought whole from any considerable distance, and the harbour referred to in the inscription must therefore have been a second port of the Greek city at Burgaz situated on the Ceramic Gulf. The building or monument to which the capital belonged must also have stood in the same neighbourhood since a stone so inconveniently shaped would not have been selected for a *horos* unless it had been conveniently placed at hand. The capital is 0.465 m. high and 0.4 m. from front to back, and seems to have oblong contact surfaces above and below.

recently presented to the Rhodes Museum (*BCH* LXXIV 139, 147, 166, 168 f.); other pieces mentioned by Sir John Myres. Cf. also p. 174, n. 12. The majority of those recorded correspond closely to Ialysan types (cf. Feytmans *BCH* LXXIV 144), though displaying a variety of motives that cannot be matched on Ialysan pithoi found in Rhodes. A further discussion by Miss Feytmans is to appear in *BCH*.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Feytmans *BCH* LXXIV 180.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 180; cf. esp. fragments from Datça now in Rhodes *ibid.* 168 f. and pl. 28.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Feytmans *loc. cit.* 173 f., 177.

<sup>30</sup> Spratt lays down tombs by the shore; Lieut. Smith noted some ruins, probably Byzantine (Newton, *Halicanassus* II 526); an old wall is reported at Kızılağaç on a height NE of the bay.

The front surface only is carved; <sup>31</sup> it seems originally to have had a volute-member on either side, but that on the left was later shaved away to provide a level ground for the inscription.

### THE CNIDUS ROAD

The modern route from the Datça plain to Tekir closely follows the ancient one, and from the point where it left the flat ground west of Datça village the course of the ancient road can generally be determined within a margin of a few tens of metres. On the steep rock falls its line seems to be that followed by the modern carriage road, so that ancient cuttings cannot easily be distinguished from modern; measurement of its width at three points suggest that it was intended to take two lanes of traffic.<sup>32</sup> The time on foot is eight to eight and a half hours moderate walking from Burgaz to Tekir, not reckoning halts.<sup>33</sup> From the fort in the valley NW of Hızırsah the road climbed to the first saddle; on the left, between it and the main stream of the Datça Water, rises a bold isolated mountain, Yarık Dağ ('Cleft Mt.'), distinctly loftier than Maltepe; on its summit Spratt marked an ancient fortress, but the ruins are said by Maiuri to be a Byzantine fortress with insignificant remains of ancient construction higher up.<sup>34</sup> Five minutes west of the first saddle the modern road diverges from the ancient line to skirt a slight spur which the old road traversed. On the top of the rise here are the foundations, in roughly squared blocks, of a complex building on the roadside; its general arrangement is shown in the plan FIG. 1b, where, however, the assumption that all angles are right angles has led to inaccuracy in the plotting. Fragments of late wine amphorae and of eastern *sigillata* indicate occupation in late Hellenistic times. At three minutes walk uphill is a spring, and there are traces of terrace walls, doubtless for vines, on the slope. The building may have been an inn, well placed at the point where the outward bound traveller feels inclined to pause after the stiff climb and the traveller from Tekir would take his siesta before descending in the cool of the evening to the flat land.

At the second saddle the road emerges from the pine-clad inland valley on to a sheer mountain face overlooking the southern sea; ancient tombs on both sides of the second saddle and on the third mark its course in this difficult sector.<sup>35</sup> In addition, at the handful of cottages called Döşeme, a spur, whose neck the road crosses, carries a fortification intended to guard the route. The perimeter measures about 100 by 50 m.; on the north side facing the road a long stretch of dry rubble wall 1.5 m. thick and loosely built of smallish stones is still preserved; there was an entrance facing towards the road on this side, and there are faint building traces at the roadside. Inside the perimeter are some traces of terraced buildings, including a substantially built room about 6 by 4 m. on the south side of the top. We found a few sherds among the scrub, probably coming from late wine amphorae, but hardly dateable. At the little bay of Mesudiye below Döşeme Byzantine ruins have been noted,<sup>36</sup> and Spratt marked a 'Cyclopean Ruin' on the headland immediately to the east.

<sup>31</sup> The left side is not visible, and the possibility that the piece was a shield of an altar cannot be excluded (cf. *Jdl* 1911, 65 ff.); but the thickness from front to back is against this. In spite of this thickness it may possibly have been the top of a stele (cf. Johansen, *Attic Grave-Reliefs*, 74 fig. 31, 90 fig. 41).

<sup>32</sup> In the Tekir graveyard 6.6 m., overall width on the viaduct near Çesmeköy ca. 7.6 m., at the Inn 4.5-5 m.

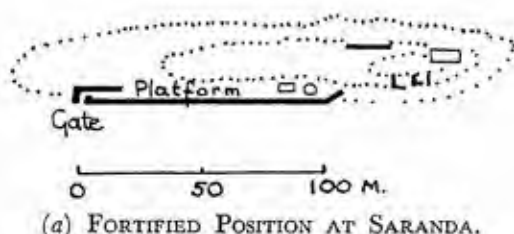
<sup>33</sup> With animals the time would normally be rather more. Newton's estimate of eight and a half hours from Tekir to Datça (*Halicarnassus* II 525) would allow nearly ten hours for Tekir to Burgaz.

<sup>34</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 402 n. 2. Philippson's convincing surmise that the arm of the Datça Water passing south of Yarık Dağ (which undoubtedly comes from further back than Spratt indicated) rises under the second saddle, has apparently led him to an unnoticed duplication of Spratt's ancient fortress; nothing is in fact known locally of a fortification in the hills south of the upper Datça Water. The valley is seen from the north-east in Philippson *Reisen* V fig. 11, where Yarık Dağ appears in the centre, with Maltepe on the left and the high Triopian ridge on the right.

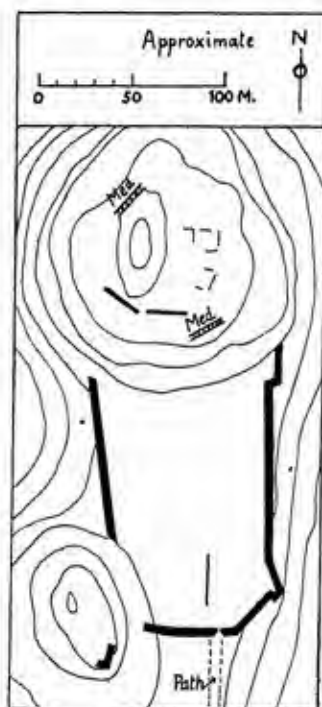
<sup>35</sup> It seems to have taken the present-day pack route over the second saddle where the new carriage road makes a detour to the south.

<sup>36</sup> Newton, *Halicarnassus* I pl. 49.

From the third saddle the road descends into the central valley of the Triopian peninsula. There are remains of ancient habitation and tombs scattered about this plain, and architectural pieces and gravestones of Roman times have been found in the vicinity of all the villages here. The course of the ancient road in the valley may perhaps be marked by the rock-cut inscription (beside the modern route) in a gully called Damgalideresi (noted by Newton (p. 525) under the name Dum Gallí), and by marble blocks and remains of a building on a knoll at the Sındı road junction ten minutes further west: but this is not certain, and the ancient road is running along the south edge of the valley bottom when it reappears at the viaduct between Çeşmeköy



(a) FORTIFIED POSITION AT SARANDA.



(b) CITADEL AT KUMYER.

FIG. 5.

and Kumyer. The viaduct itself (PLATE 38, d, from NE) was entirely of stone and consisted of two long approach ways leading on to piers which formed a triangular aperture like those of the early bridges of the Argolid;<sup>37</sup> it had a breadth of about 7.6 m. and an overall length of at least 65 m. Though noticed by Newton and noticed and illustrated by Maiuri<sup>38</sup> and us, this most remarkable of Greek bridges still requires more detailed examination;<sup>39</sup> in the light of

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Wace, *Mycenae* 27.

<sup>38</sup> *Halicarnassus* II 523 f.; *Ann.* IV-V 297 ff., fig. 4.

<sup>39</sup> The difference between the two halves of the viaduct remarked by Maiuri is not confined to the height of the courses but extends to the filling. The east pier, with blocks 0.29 m. high, was laid in regular courses through the thickness of the wall, and still stands almost intact on the upstream face though it is the more exposed to the force of the torrent; whereas the corresponding part on the west, with blocks apparently 0.54-0.59 m. high, seems to have had an earth filling in the core between the two faces and has almost entirely disappeared; the walls of the west approach way are roughly built in irregular masonry towards the abutment on the bank. These differences could most simply be explained as due to two separate local authorities or contractors. Most probably the base of the triangular aperture is given by the two great water-worn sill blocks (totalling 3 m. width) on the upstream edge of the opening; in any case Maiuri's figure of 4.5 m. is overestimated. On either bank the ancient route entered a cutting before passing onto the viaduct; and from this it is clear that the roadway was hardly above the level of the highest preserved courses and that its height over the sill in the torrent bed did not greatly exceed 6 m.; the triangle may therefore have been closed at the top by horizontal lintel slabs.

the topographical conclusions reached below, its position suggests a date at the beginning of the Hellenistic period.

The ancient road will then have skirted the south edge of the plain to turn up a short defile south of Yazıköy that leads onto the south flank of the Boz Dağ. At the bottom of this defile, where the modern road crosses a short bridge, the banks of the stream are retained by the stout walling remarked by Newton,<sup>40</sup> which probably marks the position of an ancient bridge also; the wall in the right bank is still well preserved for a length of 40 m. and is constructed in the heavy polygonal which seems characteristic of Cnidian Hellenistic field works. Two fortified positions guard this defile. The one, on a projecting spur south of Yazıköy, is described as mediaeval.<sup>41</sup> The other occupies a narrow crest high above the saddle on the north and is called Saranda (FIG. 5a). The slopes below the fortification are precipitous, except at the SW corner where there is a steep approach to a gateway with a monolith lintel slab; on the east side of the gate a retaining wall, several metres high and constructed of roughly dressed shallow blocks, holds up a narrow terrace about 100 m. long which is completely sheltered from the prevailing north-westerly gale; near its east end, where the retaining wall terminates against the cliff below the peak, are two cisterns. There are traces of a fortification wall on the north edge of the crest, of houses associated with tile fragments on the south side of the peak, and of a rectangular building at the east end which commands an extensive view of the central valley throughout its whole length and of the Datça route behind Zeytincik; this must have been a lookout post and there can be little doubt that the fortification was an outpost of the city at Tekir watching its eastern approaches, though requiring an intermediate signalling station since the higher peak of the Boz Dağ denies intervisibility. The tiles are late Hellenistic or Roman, perhaps mixed with more recent ones; a roughish *sigillata* sherd found here indicates occupation in Imperial times.

At the saddle south of Saranda the road enters the east graveyard of Cnidus, which extends along the slope of the Boz Dağ for over 5 km. to the walls of the city. A few of the numerous houses of the dead were investigated by Newton,<sup>42</sup> and Texier published drawings which give an impression of the appearance of some of the monumental tombs; <sup>43</sup> the tombs stood above ground, and were for the most part constructed in solid polygonal, which is carefully and sometimes elaborately jointed. A fine example of such work is shown in the detail of a terrace wall actually inside the Hellenistic city (PLATE 36, e). The funerary inscriptions found in the east graveyard are almost exclusively of the Roman era (pp. 199, 208). On the headland south of the Boz Dağ Newton discovered a monumental tomb, which on account of the colossal marble lion transported to the British Museum he associated with Conon's victory over the Spartans in 394 B.C.<sup>44</sup>

#### KUMYER

To the south of the road, where the stream that drains the Triopian valley turns towards the coast, there is an important group of remains near the village of Kumer ('Place of Sand'). The village lies on a fertile shelf among oaks, olives and fig trees, watered by a stream and

<sup>40</sup> *Halicarnassus* II 522 ('intended to support the land from the undermining action of the stream').

<sup>41</sup> Newton, *Halicarnassus* II 522 f., 'remains of a Genoese or Turkish castle, called Assar Kaleşi, consisting of rough walls built with mortar'. The villagers have now no other name for it than Yazıköykaleşi.

<sup>42</sup> *Halicarnassus* II 471 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Description de l'Asie mineure* pls. 162-4.

<sup>44</sup> *Halicarnassus* II 480 ff.; the lekythos there illustrated is of a type which goes back through the fourth century, but its form appears in Newton's drawing to be more developed than the examples from Olynthos (D. M. Robinson, *Olynthos* V pl. 172) and it should perhaps be dated after the middle of the fourth century. F. Krischen, *RM* LIX 173, has dated the tomb down beyond the possible limits of this vase form.



possessing a copious spring at a distance of ten minutes on the south slope of the fortress hill. At the north end of the village, near the coffee-house, a line of squared limestone blocks 23 m. in length is exposed in the stream bank, and by the well on the south side of the village there are traces of another such wall; we found a fragment of a Hellenistic inscribed catalogue built into the well, and an inscription referring to the payment of rent by the sanctuary of Asklepios in a house wall 30 m. away (FIG. 6a, pp. 194-5). In addition, there are many ancient squared blocks of marble and limestone in the village, and Hellenistic pottery and tiles on the surface. To the NW of the village rises a cumbrous hill, whose twin-peaked summit is crowned by the stout fortress of which a rough and incomplete freehand plan, serving only to give a general impression of the lay-out, is given in FIG. 5b.<sup>45</sup> The only easy ascent is on the south side, where a path leads up to the gate; inside this is an almost oblong area of c. 115 by 80 m., sloping gently down to the south-east and littered with late amphora sherds, half-glazed and poor black-glazed Hellenistic wares, and Roman *sigillata* and lamp fragments. The wall enclosing this area on the east and south (and rising to include the smaller peak on the SW) is 1.75 m. thick and built in heavy fitted polygonal (PLATE 37, d); it is regularly coursed at the corners and has vertical drafting on the angles, and, as Maiuri says, should not be earlier than the fourth century.<sup>46</sup> The west wall, however, is built in normal polygonal style with small stones in the chinks (PLATE 36, f) and should be of classical date. The north summit, on which are traces of buildings, is encircled by an upper wall of which parts are mediaeval, but a stretch on the SW is built in irregularly coursed ashlar and trapezoidal masonry. Inside this upper fortification sherds of archaic striped ware occur along with later pottery. On the south slope of the hill, 100 m. SE of the spring and at a distance of five or ten minutes from the fortress, lies the stone or fallen rock which bears the fragmentary archaic epichoric inscription PLATE 40, a, p. 193, no. 27. The presence of this inscription and of the striped sherds above suggests that there may have been an old inhabited centre on the hill.

There are indications of another sanctuary (or a workshop associated with one) in a now featureless place called Kızılcağ where the gentle hill-slope below Kумыer meets the arable of the little coastal plain of Palamut. There are no traces of buildings to be seen here; but we picked up fragments of late Hellenistic-Roman pottery and tiles, and by finding a small fragment of sculptured marble confirmed the report that this is the site where a hoard of white marble figures was recently discovered. The hoard, now in the school at Reşadiye, consists of nine nude or half-draped statuettes of Aphrodite in a variety of poses (cf. PLATE 39, c-e), two draped female figures, two draped terminal figures, and a fragment of a relief-statuettes probably depicting Aphrodite;<sup>47</sup> it therefore perhaps indicates the position of one of the

<sup>45</sup> Ann. IV-V 397, figs. 1-3. Newton, *Halicarnassus* II 524 (followed by Maiuri), remarks a chapel and a pear-shaped cistern inside the fortress. Kiepert on his map has transferred the name Assar to this fortification, and in consequence Philippon has designated it mediaeval by confusion with the castle south of Yazıköy (p. 181).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. loc. cit. fig. 3, where the gate is illustrated; the masonry of the curtain does not show clearly.

<sup>47</sup> These figures, together with a marble statuette-base, are now numbered 10-25 in the inventory of the collection in the Reşadiye School. All the statuettes are headless. Those of Aphrodite include a poor half-draped Anadyomene (no. 14), fragments of three figures of the 'Euploia' type (nos. 17-19, cf. PLATE 39, c-d), and two pieces which probably belong to a single statuette of the Cnidian Aphrodite (nos. 20-21, PLATE 39, e). No. 17 (ht., without head, 0.34 m.) is similar to the BM statuette Smith and Porcher, *Discoveries at Cyrene* pl. 71, but without dolphin or rudder. Nos. 18 (PLATE 39, d) and 19 (PLATE 39, e) come from two closely allied statuettes, with the difference that only no. 18 has the female attendant below the Priapic figure; apparently in both statuettes the left foot of the goddess was supported by a nude kneeling male figure at the front edge of the base; the drapery of the Priapic figures is rucked up around the rigid penis. Ht. of no. 18 (without head) 0.52 m. (right arm preserved to wrist, not shown in PLATE 39). For the kneeling attendant figure cf. the marble statuette Reinach, *Rep. Stat.* II 349, a bronze in the Biscari Collection and coins of Aphrodisias (cf. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite* 334); the archaic female attendant is not elsewhere associated with statuettes of this class but with draped or half-draped Aphrodites (cf. *AZ* 1881, pl. 7, Reinach, *Rep. Stat.* I 341). The popularity of this type at Cnidus, and elsewhere in the Dodecanese (cf. Furtwängler, *Sabouroff Coll.* on pl. 37), suggests that the original (assumed by Lippold, *Kopien* 150, to be of statuette format) may have belonged to Cnidus or a neighbouring city. The Cnidia fragments no. 20 (pres. ht. 0.32 m., surface of water jar broken away) and no. 21 (pres. ht. of body 0.26 m.) (PLATE 39, e) show the same meagre proportions as nos. 18-19 and are perhaps attri-

sanctuaries of the goddess.<sup>48</sup> On the east edge of the coastal plain, about a kilometre from the sea, are an 8 m. stretch of a very elegantly fitted polygonal wall and relics of tombs of Roman times.<sup>49</sup>

### BARKAZ AREA

On the slope a quarter of an hour NW of Cumahköy, at 50 m. east of the Mersincik track, a low rock fault marks the edge of the cultivated land; on the rock is a classical *horos* inscription (PLATE 40, d, p. 195, no. 30) and on a shelf immediately in front of it are faint traces of foundations and fragments of tiles; we picked up sherds of amphorae of late fifth- or fourth-century date and a black-glazed kantharos foot of the middle to third quarter of the fourth century; the building here will apparently have obscured the *horos* stone. At Mersincik an inscription on the doorway of a cave is reported near the shore, and at Küllük, at or near Mersincik, Newton noted Byzantine ruins and a wall of squared stones, apparently of a tomb.<sup>50</sup> Tekir Bay is rather isolated, being approached by a narrow gully which leads out of the plain of Yazıköy, and presents very little cultivable land. The name Barkaz is now applied to a homestead above the SW corner of the bay, but was used by Newton to designate a group of ruins at the bottom of the gully leading from the plain of Yazıköy; Newton noted Byzantine ruins there, and the outline of an ancient harbour and sea-wall;<sup>51</sup> the remains, on a slight eminence above the sea, are of a mediaeval (or post-mediaeval) fort, but ancient blocks and late tiles and pottery are to be seen among the ruins. Near this the line of a road can be observed climbing slowly towards the saddle SW of Tekir Bay; along this stretch of coast are various ancient ruins, including a building in ashlar masonry 12 by 8 m. with its long side facing the sea, with a cistern adjacent and a large funerary altar. There was probably an extended cemetery along this road, like that through which the main road west of Tekir runs. At the SW corner of the bay are ancient terrace walls and the remains of a substantial building of Roman date with marble architectural members. From the corner of Tekir Bay the route crosses two low saddles with a small open valley between and descends a precipitous ravine under the shadow of the north wall of the Hellenistic city.<sup>52</sup>

### THE CITY AT TEKIR

The known site of Cnidus at Tekir seems to have remained practically uninhabited since late antiquity, and the remains of its ancient buildings lie sprinkled on the slopes above the

butable to a peculiarity of local taste. The complete statuette of the Cnidia found in Carpathus (*Memorie* II, pl. 35) looks like a product of the same workshop (in no. 20 the fingers of the left hand are less bent and there is no real indication of the very shallow plinth which shows under the water jar on the Carpathus statuette); the two statuettes seem to reflect a model like Torlonia 106 (Blinkenberg, *Cnidia*, pl. 8; cf. the identification of the true Praxitelean type, Rizzo, *Prassitele* 50 f. L. Lacroix, *Reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques* 312; against this Lippold, *PhW* 1934, 52 f.).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the group of statuettes from the 'Temple of Aphrodite' at Cyrene, Smith and Porcher *Discoveries at Cyrene* 76 f.

<sup>49</sup> The latter consist of the underground stone-built burial vault and the stone sarcophagus with masks at the corners noticed by Newton (*Halicarnassus* II 524), and a grey limestone sarcophagus 2.6 m. long with Corinthian pilasters on the sides.

<sup>50</sup> *Halicarnassus* II 521.

<sup>51</sup> *Halicarnassus* II 521. Newton also notes a 'square Greek tomb of isodomous masonry about 16 feet each way' to the west of this, which does not closely correspond to the remains observed by us.

<sup>52</sup> To the right of the road on the southern saddle is a massively walled area in heavy polygonal 22 by 14 m., while about 100 m. to the NE of this we found fragments of inscribed blocks and the limestone foundations of an oblong building 26 by 12 m. divided into two almost equal compartments. On this route also, apparently, Newton marked tombs (*Halicarnassus* I pl. 49), but it seems to have been further to the east that he noted tombs associated with an old road 20 feet wide (*op. cit.* II 519 f.).

harbours. It was planned by the Dilettanti in 1812, and in 1857-59 Newton thoroughly investigated the site and carried out extensive excavations.<sup>53</sup> The city lay partly on the mainland and partly on the Deve Boynu ('Camel's Neck') peninsula,<sup>54</sup> the two halves being joined by an isthmus less than 100 m. broad; the photograph PLATE 38, c shows the site and its environs in their least rugged aspect, looking from the west part of the promontory over the small enclosed north harbour to the terraces of the mainland quarter under the acropolis. The flat ground at the isthmus now produces a meagre crop of cotton among the ancient ruins; but there is no land to speak of fit for cultivation within two hours' walk; and in fact, apart from the isolated homestead at Barkaz, the Deve Boynu lighthouse, and a coastguard hut, there is no regular habitation on this side of Yazıköy. There is only one spring at the city, and that reduced to a trickle in summer; ancient cisterns are numerous, but the population must have been largely dependent for its water on aqueducts, of which the only trace is the local record of two pipe-lines laid by rival suitors to the hand of the King of Tekir's daughter. As against these natural disadvantages, which render Tekir unsuitable for serious settlement without a highly organised commerce, the occupation of the site could not fail to confer on the Cnidians a commanding position on the shipping routes.<sup>55</sup> The Hellenistic arrangement, with two harbours closed by moles<sup>56</sup> and connected by a canal, attests their recognition of the advantages of this situation.

The splendidly preserved wall-circuit is in the main of around the beginning of the Hellenistic era, though there are signs of middle Hellenistic remodelling by the entrance to the north harbour (as in the alternating headers and stretchers of the round tower on the peninsula just to the west). There is no trace anywhere of an earlier fortification on the site,<sup>57</sup> nor does any other worked stone found here (excepting the marble idols reported to have been found in Bronze Age tombs at the isthmus)<sup>58</sup> seem to be older than the time of Alexander the Great. And in fact the general absence of any remains of an earlier date, and above all the total absence of any potsherds prior to the last decades of the fourth century, is astonishing on a site that has been extensively excavated and on which the living rock is constantly exposed.<sup>59</sup> The only earlier objects with an established claim to have been discovered at Tekir are the odd coin<sup>60</sup> and a handful of open clay lamps in the British Museum which are entered in the

<sup>53</sup> *Antiquities of Ionia* III; *Halicarnassus* II 345 ff.

<sup>54</sup> The name Deve Burnu, applied by the cartographers to the cape SE of Tekir, seems to have passed out of use; modern maps call this cape Arslanci Burnu ('Lion Point').

<sup>55</sup> Newton's remark, *Halicarnassus* II 347, that in bad weather the small craft which ply the coasting trade find great difficulty in doubling Cape Kriö, is equally applicable today, and in summer Turkish and Rhodian caiques are constantly to be seen in the south harbour waiting for the north wind to moderate.

<sup>56</sup> The west breakwater of the south harbour is laid in 100 feet of water at the end.

<sup>57</sup> Scranton, *Greek Walls* 176, implies an earlier date for the corner of the square tower (on the west side of the north harbour mouth) shown in Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen* pl. 5, but has apparently been misled by the inverted topographical directions (*ibid.* 16) which make it appear detached from the main system of fortification; Benndorf's error is repeated by Sudhoff, *Kos und Knidos* 323, fig. 30. Von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen* 117 f., argues from the regularity of the lay-out of the mainland city that this quarter cannot have been occupied before the fourth century B.C., and therefore assumes that the original settlement was on the Cape Kriö promontory.

<sup>58</sup> Bent, *JHS* IX 82.

<sup>59</sup> Cook and three members of the Smyrna excavation party spent two days on the site in August 1949 and paid special attention to the abundant surface pottery. Apart from odd fragments from wine amphorae of types which were current through the fourth century, the earliest sherds recognised were two fragments of black-glazed plates with cheap rouletting, of types dating to the later fourth century; some of these sherds were found high up on the mainland terraces and so suggest that the earliest Hellenistic habitation was already widely extended within the city area. It may be inferred from the terms in which he referred to the archaic finds from Salzmann and Biliotti's excavations in Rhodes, which he saw on the conclusion of his work at Tekir (*Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* II 266 f.), that Newton had found nothing comparable, and likewise from his silence that he found no b.f. or r.f. pottery. The place and circumstances of the discovery of the late fifth-century black-glazed ribbed jug (p. 208, no. vii, *BCH* XXXVI 532 f.) are not known, but it is likely to have come from a grave. Hanfmann's claim that a continuous development of pottery from Mycenaean to archaic may be observed at Cnidus (*AJA* 1948, 146) is as yet unfounded; it perhaps arises from the same confusion that led him to regard Cnidus as one of the Sporades (*ibid.* 139).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *BMC Coins, Caria*, 87 no. 24 (early fourth century B.C., found by Gell in 1812).



inventory as found by Newton in his excavations at the sanctuary of Demeter and the Gymnasium.<sup>61</sup>

## THE EASTERN CNIDIA

In his definition of the Cnidian territory (p. 171) Herodotus refers to the eastern part almost as an afterthought; and this is not surprising, since the mountainous country east of the Datça isthmus has no value unless that of insulating the populated areas of the peninsula from the Carian mainland. The antiquities of this barren tract can be briefly described. Between Emecik and Alavra a mediaeval castle is conspicuous on an eminence above the sea. By Alavra Sir John Myres noted ruins at the coast and picked up three potsherds of Hellenistic-Roman date which are now in the Ashmolean Museum; and in the hills thereabouts an inscribed rock-cut portal is reported. Further east, at the narrowest point (a kilometre wide) of the eastern isthmus 'where the Cnidian land ends at the mainland' (Hdt. I 174), Spratt in 1838 recognised the place where the Cnidians started to cut a canal in expectation of the Persian attack.<sup>62</sup> The place is now called Balıkaşran ('Fish's Leap'), but prior to 1912 was known as the Diapóri since the Symiots were in the habit of hauling small boats over this crossing.<sup>63</sup>

## II

## INSCRIPTIONS

The following inscriptions were all discovered by us in 1949-50. They are arranged here in three geographical groups: first, Datça, that is the group of villages in the neighbourhood of the western isthmus, of which Reşadiye is the centre; Datça village is one of these: second, Betçe, that is the group of villages in the central plain, of which Çeşmeköy is the chief: third, Tekir.

## DATÇA

1. Found at Kızları, now in the school at Reşadiye. Fragment of a stele of dark grey limestone, broken on all sides but the left; present height 0.36 m., present width 0.21 m., thickness 0.064 m. The surface is highly polished, but not flat. Letters about 5 cm. high. Photograph PLATE 38, b.

ΚΡΑΤ - - or - - ΚΡΑΤ - -

Presumably part of an epitaph. For the archaic Cnidian alphabet see no. 27 below.

2. Broken stele of white limestone; present height 0.24 m., present width 0.235 m., thickness 0.09 m. Letters 15-17 mm. high. The top and left edges of the stone are preserved, but the inscribed face is broken away at the top. The stone has a

<sup>61</sup> *BMC Lamps* nos. 164, 170-71, and 226. Newton himself concluded that the sanctuary of Demeter was not founded before the middle of the fourth century; and his notices of lamps (*Halicarnassus* II 378 f., 387, 393-6, 445, 463-4) do not suggest the finding of archaic open types.

<sup>62</sup> *Archaeologia* XLIX 348 f.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *BCH* XXXVI 530. The rock here, Spratt observed, is a hard dark green shining serpentine, on whose adamantine nature his geological hammer made but small impression. Spratt noted traces of ancient scarping of the rock faces under the col, but we were unable in the minutes at our disposal to confirm this observation, and the recent planing of a route for wheeled vehicles along the crest has modified the appearance of the ridge. What does not emerge clearly in Spratt's description is the fact that a trough not less than 30 m. broad and lying practically at sea-level runs inland from Bencik cove on the south coast, so that the rocky neck, whose height Spratt estimated (perhaps rather conservatively) at 50 feet, is only about 250 m. across at the base. Myres recalls that in 1893 the south end of the canal was conspicuous with mud, reeds and snakes; we picked up a few coarse potsherds on the ground in the trough, one fragment being of the same ware as the archaic relief pithoi. Before Spratt's survey the Bencik isthmus was not known, and consequently the site of the canal was located at the Datça isthmus; but the width of the latter at the low point near its east end is, as Spratt observed, more than double Herodotus' five stades, and since the ground rises uniformly from both coasts would involve the removal of between five and ten times as much spoil as the cutting of the col at the Balıkaşran, quite apart from the length of the carry out of the cutting. The trough at the Balıkaşran may be in part artificial, and in fact the narrowing of the land front by flooding the trough would suggest itself as a temporary measure at least during the breaking down of the col.



milky appearance and is characteristic of the neighbourhood. It was found in 1942, being dug out of a hillock beside the road from Reşadiye to Hızırşah, where other ancient stones are to be observed. The hillock is said to be full of tombs, and it was in the course of removing the material of these for building that the inscription was found. The tombs are not now visible, but they are apparently not ancient, and our stone may fairly be presumed to have come from the ruins at Burgaz for use in one of them. It is now in the school at Reşadiye. Photograph PLATE 40, b.

## Stoichedon 15.

[ε δ ο ξ ε Κ ν ι δι ο ι σ, γ ν ω-]  
 [μ α π] ρ ο σ τ α τ α ν π [ε ρ ι]  
 ρ ν π υ θ ο ν ι κ ο σ ε [π η λ-]  
 θ ε π α ρ μ ε ν ο ν τ α [ . . . ]  
 5 ψ ι ο σ λ α μ ψ α κ η ν ο ν, ε-]  
 π ε ι π ε ρ π ρ ο θ υ μ ο σ ε-]  
 [σ] τ ι ε σ τ α ν π ο λ ι ν, [π ο-]  
 [λ ι τ α] ν η [μ] ε ν κ α [ι α υ τ-]  
 [ο ν κ α ι ε κ γ ο ν] ο [υ σ . . .]  
 [ . . . . . ]

In ll. 1-2 we restore the Cnidian formula known from *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 187 and *BMI* 786 = *SGDI* 3500 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 978, supposing one of the *iotas* to have occupied a single space with another letter, as often. There is, however, just room for two lines above the first preserved line,<sup>1</sup> and a longer formula is not excluded: see below note 5.

Ll. 4-5. Male names in -νις are remarkably rare. We have noted only Κόμνις (*IG* XII. 5. 499) and Λάμνις (*CIG* IV 6893, Ἀττικὰ Λάμνιος, which Boeckh took to be the mother's name; but see Pape-Benseler s.v.).

Ll. 7-8. [Κν | ιδιο]ν is equally possible.

The inscription is interesting as a specimen of stoichedon writing, of which examples from Asia Minor are far from abundant.<sup>2</sup> The 'chequer-unit' measures 0.0184 m. horizontally and 0.022 m. vertically, but the former figure is only an average; a glance at PLATE 40, b will show that the horizontal spacing is by no means uniform,<sup>3</sup> and in a number of cases the vertical columns overlap. It seems clear that an actual chequer was not employed—that is, the stone was not ruled into rectangles before the letters were cut.

As evidence for dating, these circumstances can only be used with caution. The considerable difference (3.6 mm.) between the horizontal and vertical chequer-units, combined with the height of the letters, would in the case of an Attic inscription virtually exclude a date after 350 B.C.;<sup>4</sup> but Attic parallels are of uncertain validity for a Cnidian document.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, a date in the first half of the fourth century seems probable from the general style of the writing, and other considerations tend strongly to confirm this.

A text closely parallel to ours, and found also in the neighbourhood of Datça, is already known. *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 187 is a Cnidian proxeny decree for Iphiadas of Abydos; it is written *stoichedon* in a script so similar to ours that it might well be the work of the same lapicide.<sup>6</sup> Iphiadas

<sup>1</sup> 0.055 m. to the top edge of the stone; two lines occupy about 0.044 m.

<sup>2</sup> R. P. Austin, *Stoichedon Style* 93.

<sup>3</sup> For example, in l. 4, from θ to μ measures on centres 0.10 m. (average 0.02 m.), from μ to τ only 0.084 m. (average 0.0168 m.).

<sup>4</sup> See Austin *op. cit.* 35-7.

<sup>5</sup> The fact that a chequer was not used may be thought to render it somewhat unlikely that *iota* would be included in the same space with another letter in the first line of the inscription, before the *stoichos* is set up. In place of [εοξε Κνιδιος] a 27-letter formula could no doubt be found: e.g. εσοξε τῷ ἐοδησῆσαι τῷ Κνιδίῳ, on the analogy of *SGDI* 3657 from neighbouring Calymna. But we feel this to be improbable, apart from questions it would raise as to the date of the Cnidian democracy.

<sup>6</sup> See the photograph of the upper portion in *AM* 1911, 97.

is mentioned in a number of literary texts; <sup>7</sup> he is known to have been active about 360–59 B.C., when he captured Sestos and Parium. Since his proxeny was a genuine office, not a mere compliment (see Dittenberger's note *ad loc.*), its date is likely to be before rather than after 360 B.C. A further association of Cnidus with the Hellespont about the same period is found in the well-known alliance coins depicting on the reverse the youthful Heracles strangling the snake.<sup>8</sup> The cities issuing these coins are, in the south, Rhodes, Samos, Ephesus, Cnidus, and Iasus, and in the north, Byzantium, Lampsacus, and Cyzicus. The issue has generally been dated after the battle of Cnidus in 394 B.C., but some historians have preferred a date after the King's Peace in 386. Without entering here into the details of the problem, we note that our present inscription goes to swell the evidence for a Cnidian–Hellespontine connection in the second quarter of the fourth century.<sup>9</sup>

3. Found at Burgaz, now in the school at Reşadiye. Fragment of a stele of dark grey limestone, broken at top and bottom; present height 0.20 m., width 0.285 m., thickness 0.083 m. Letters 12–13 mm. high, exceptionally 11 or 14. The inscribed surface is carefully smoothed and polished. Both right and left edges are preserved, but the stone is much worn and letters are lost on both sides. There is a vacant space of 2 cm. above l. 1. Photograph PLATE 40, f.

[Χα]λκεῖται Κ[. . . . . Ε-]  
 [ὕερ]γέται ἔδωκ[αν καθά-]  
 [περ ?] Χαλκεῖταις ἔσ[πλο-]  
 [ν καί] ἔκπλον καὶ ἐμ πολέ-  
 5 [μω]! καὶ ἐν ἱρήναι ἀσπον-  
 [δί κ]αὶ ἀσυλὶ καὶ γὰρ ἐνών[α-]  
 [ν καί] πολιτείας μετῆμε-  
 [ν] *vacat*  
 [- - 6 - 7 - -] Χαλκητῶν Ε[- -]  
 [- - - - - - - -]

The above restoration of ll. 1–3 assumes that the inscription is an honorific decree of the Chalceatae in favour of an individual designated as *εὐεργέτας*. But there are numerous difficulties. (1) There is no room in l. 1 for patronymic or ethnic, so that the honorand must be mentioned by his name alone. This is not unparalleled; it was done at Erythrae in a decree for Conon in 394 B.C.<sup>10</sup> But it could only be done for a very distinguished man. We therefore considered restoring Κ[όνωνι] in l. 1, but the name is short for the space, and the lettering hardly suggests so early a date; the letters have distinct thickening at the ends of the strokes.<sup>11</sup> (2) The restoration of ll. 2–3 is awkward. There is room for three, or perhaps four letters after ἔδωκαν, and for three at the beginning of l. 3. *παρά* is therefore too short; *ἐν τοῖς* is not possible. For *καθάπερ* compare e.g. Michel 260; but its position hardly seems natural. (3) What is the nature of the second document beginning in l. 9? Two or more honorific decrees occur often enough on one stone, but if the recipient was sufficiently distinguished to be called by his name alone, we should hardly expect him to share a stone with others.<sup>12</sup> (4) Even more peculiar, why does the form of the ethnic change in l. 9? Both forms have epigraphic authority; in the tribute lists *Χαλκεῖται*, *Χαλκειῖται* and *Χαλκιῖται* all occur (*ATL* I 436–7); but the only form used in Rhodian documents, and the form presumably

<sup>7</sup> References in *SIG loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, 62 ff.

<sup>9</sup> It is tempting to suggest that this alliance may have a connection with the Theban attempt to wrest the control of the Aegean from Athens in 364 B.C.

<sup>10</sup> *SIG* 126 = Michel 500 = Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* 106.

<sup>11</sup> There is also a faint suggestion of an oblique stroke after the *kappa*, but this may be illusory.

<sup>12</sup> The change of formula as between l. 1 and l. 9 is not a serious difficulty; cf. *SGDI* 3567 quoted above.

used in Chalce itself, is Χαλκήται;<sup>13</sup> it is curious that this should be used in the second document but not in the first.

In view of these difficulties, we considered the possibility that the inscription might be a treaty providing for the grant of reciprocal privileges between the Chalceatae and the . . getae. The restoration would then be: [Χα]λκεᾶται κ[αί . . γέται | . .] γέται ἔδωκ[αν δωρ | ἐάν ?]<sup>14</sup> Χαλκεᾶταις κτλ. In l. 9 begins the reciprocal grant by the Chalceatae: [ὁ δᾶμος ὁ] Χαλκητῶν ἔ[δωκε], or [ἔδοξε] Χαλκητῶν ἐ[κκλησίαι] κτλ. The above difficulties then disappear, but others equally formidable take their place. (1) The heading in the simple nominative is unusual. (2) The ethnic in -γέται is almost insuperably difficult. Not only does no name suggest itself, but the form in -έτης is virtually unparalleled; -της is always preceded by a long vowel.<sup>15</sup> Tribe-names like Γέται, Μασσαγέται cannot come in question here. This difficulty seems to us so great as practically to exclude this view of the inscription.

In any case, in spite of its discovery actually among the ruins at Burgaz, it seems certain that the stone must be a stray, brought across from Chalce in modern times. Who the distinguished recipient of these honours may be we cannot imagine, but he is not likely to have been a Cnidian. The stone is of a handy size for ballast, and is in fact much worn, as if it had knocked about above ground.

This is the only document yet discovered emanating from Chalce as an independent state. From the style of the writing it may very probably be dated about or soon after the middle of the fourth century.<sup>16</sup> For the early relations of Chalce with Rhodes our principal evidence is an inscription of Camirus (*IG* XII. 1. 694 = *SGDI* 4118 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 339) attributed to the latter part of the fourth century: ἔδοξε Καμireῦσι τὰς κτοίνας τὰς Καμireῶν τὰς ἐν τῇ νάσῳ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἀπείρῳ ἀναγράψαι πάσας καὶ ἐχθέμειν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθαναίας ἐστάλαι λιθίνοι χωρὶς Χαλκῆς· ἐξήμειν δὲ καὶ Χαλκήταις ἀναγραφῆμειν αἱ καὶ χρήζωντι. The allusion to the κτοίνας shows that Chalce was incorporated Camiran territory before the synoecism of 408 B.C.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, in the Athenian tribute lists Chalce is separately assessed, and was evidently not then Rhodian. In all probability the Athenians detached it from Rhodes (or more precisely from Camirus), as they seem to have done also in the cases of Syme and Carpathus. It now appears from our present inscription that the island did not immediately return to Rhodes after the break-up of the Delian Confederacy, but remained independent for at least another half-century. The situation at the time of the Camiran decree quoted above is not very clear, but there are evident signs of a reattachment to the Rhodian state. In later inscriptions Chalce appears as an ordinary Rhodian deme.

4. Karaköy, built into the mosque, an architectural block, apparently a capital (see above p. 178); height 0.465 m., width 0.82 m., thickness 0.40 m. The left-hand double volute has been chiselled away to form a smooth surface for an inscription. Letters of the fourth century 45-50 mm. high. Photograph PLATE 38, e.

ὄρος λι-  
μένος

Reasons have been given above for supposing that the stone marked the boundary of the

<sup>13</sup> The earliest example is apparently *SGDI* 4118 = *IG* XII. 1. 694 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 339, which is not far removed in date from our present inscription: see below.

<sup>14</sup> For δωρεάν cf. δωρίαν ἔδωκαν Διονυσίῳ (-) Γόρτυν - - [καὶ οἱ -] ἐν Ἀφῶνι Φοκίοντες ἀπέλασαν κτλ. (*Mus. ital.* 2, 231 no. 83-4).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 1906, 187: 'in der Ableitung von Ortsnamen ist mir nur eine einzige Spur davon [i.e. short vowel before -της] bekannt, nämlich bei Harpokration Κολλωνέας.'

<sup>16</sup> The following paragraph was written in consultation with Mr. P. M. Fraser, to whose special knowledge of Rhodian affairs we are indebted.

<sup>17</sup> κτοίνας were territorial divisions of the Rhodian population before the synoecism, similar to the later demes. They survived under the deme-system after the synoecism, but apparently only for religious purposes, and no new ones seem to have been instituted after that date.

harbour (or harbour-quarter) at Kōrmen Limanī. This must have been in considerable use in antiquity by vessels coming from the north as far as the city at Burgaz, to avoid the difficult return journey round the cape at Tekir.

5. Block of 'milky' limestone (*cf.* no. 2) found at Kızlan but brought there from Burgaz; now in the school at Reşadiye. Complete at top and bottom, broken right and left. Height 0.34 m., present width 0.30 m., present thickness 0.25 m. Letters of the fourth century 23-25 mm. high, *stoichedon*. Photograph PLATE 41, c.

This fragment is evidently the right-hand continuation of the fragmentary epitaph found by Paton, also at Kızlan, and published in *REG IX* (1896), 421, no. 10. The two portions together read as follows:

μήτηρ Εὐφρα	γόρα ΠΕ[- - -]
γῆν πατρίδα	προλιπο[- - -]
ταῦτα ἔλεγε	[Ι]ον Ιαμβ[- - -]
μουσῶν ἔμπε	[Ι]ροις ΕΥ[- - -]

The non-Doric forms are of course not surprising in a metrical inscription. Paton judged this inscription to be of about the same date as the decree for Iphiadas *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 187 (*see* above on no. 2). The chequer-unit is exactly square, 0.04 m. in either direction.

6. Built into a disused oil-mill at the entrance to Reşadiye by the Emecik road, a block of 'milky' limestone broken on all sides except the top. Height 0.21 m., width 1.00 m., thickness over 0.46 m. The inscription is close below the top edge, in letters of the fourth century (similar to no. 5) 27 mm. high. Squeeze.

[- - -]εος τοῦ Τιμαχ[ίδα]

Of the second *tau* only a part of the upright remains, centrally placed.

7. Reşadiye, built into a small house at the corner of the village, below the mosque on the east, a block of the same 'milky' stone broken at the bottom and on the left; height 0.23 m., width 0.36 m., thickness 0.43 m. Letters similar to nos. 5-6, 20-24 mm. high, but less carefully cut. *Stoichedon*. Squeeze.

- - - ΞΞΙ ΑΝΔΡ

- - - ΙΚΑΙΟΞ

*vacat*

In l. 1 the stone is damaged at the top of the third letter, and the reading is perhaps [Ἀρ]ίστανδρ[-]. There seems to be nothing written between the *rho* and the edge of the stone. In l. 2 the second *iota* has been altered from another letter, apparently *kappa*.

8. Datça village, in the yard of the house of Rauf Balıkcı, a fragment broken on all sides but the top, 0.28 m. high, 0.49 m. wide, 0.13 m. thick. Elegant fourth-century letters, very badly worn, 18-19 mm. high, close to the top edge. Squeeze.

- - - ΡΕΞΙ - - -

- - - ΞΘΑΙΠΡΟΛ - -

Presumably a metrical epitaph. For προλ- compare no. 5 above.

9. Datça village, in the same yard as no. 8, a plain stele of grey limestone 0.57 m. high, 0.225 m. wide, 0.10 m. thick. Letters of the late fourth or early third century, 18-20 mm. high. Squeeze.

μνᾶμα τόδε

Εὐβώλου

Νικασίου υἱοῦ

10. In the school at Reşadiye, provenance unknown. Upper part of a marble stele, with two damaged figures in high relief; height 0.27 m., width 0.47 m., thickness 0.05 m. The figure on the left, apparently female, wears Ionic chiton and raises her right arm; that on the right is female and wears Ionic chiton and a himation which she draws over her shoulder



with her right arm. To the right of the left-hand head is a dedication in elegant letters 9 mm. high, much worn. Photograph  
 PLATE 40, c.

... TAN - -  
 Ἀφροδίται  
 Πειθοῖ

The stone has been in the school longer than the hoard of statuettes of Aphrodite from Kızılcaabağ near Kумыer (p. 182), and there is no reason to suppose a connection. Peitho is known as a by-name of Aphrodite in various parts of the Greek world from the fifth century onwards; see *RE s.v.* The present dedication may date from the early third or even the fourth century.

11. Reşadiye, a block built into the porch of the mosque adjoining the school; height 0.26 m., width 0.76 m., thickness 0.80 m. The inscription is close to the top edge; early Hellenistic letters 12 mm. high, a good deal worn. Squeeze.

μνᾶμα Ἐπιταδεῖο θυγατρὸς τόδε παῖδε[ς] ἔθηκε[αν]  
*vacat*

The *kappa* is close to the edge of the stone, and the last two letters probably disappeared when the block was trimmed for re-use in the mosque, having been originally exactly square. The inscription appears complete, and we understand: 'this tomb of Epitadeios was erected by his daughter's sons'.

We have not noted the name Ἐπιτάδειος elsewhere, but Ἐπιτάδης (Thuc. IV 8 etc.) and Ἐπιτάδης (Plut. *Agis* 5) are known as Spartan names.

12. In the school at Reşadiye, stated to come from Kızılan, a limestone stele 0.56 m. high, 0.27 m. wide, 0.08 m. thick, with pediment and acroteria in relief; round disc in the tympanum. Letters of Roman Imperial date, 25-30 mm. high. Photograph.

Σωτηρίας Κώ-  
 ας τᾶς Ἐπαφρο-  
 δείτου θυγα-  
 τρὸς μνείας  
 χάριν

13. Datça village, built into the steps of a house and partially covered; letters of late date, badly written, 26-39 mm high. Copy.

Εὐτυχί[δος]  
 τᾶς  
 Εὐτυ[χ - -]

14. Datça village, in the steps of the house of Arif Kaya, a block 0.34 m. wide, broken at the top; thickness not ascertainable. Late letters, badly written, 25-33 mm. high. Copy.

[- - - - -]  
 [- -] τοῦ υἱοῦ  
 αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐ-  
 τυχίδος τᾶς θρε-  
 πτᾶς αὐτῶν  
 Ἐπαφροδείτου  
 υἱοῦ αὐτῶν

15. Datça village, built into the house of Mehmet Halil Akdoğan, a block 0.31 m. high, 0.38 m. wide, 0.22 m. thick, with a square hole hacked in its face. Irregular lettering. Photograph.

Γάιος 'Ιούλιος  
 Διόδ[. . ο]ς  
 Γάιου ['Ιουλ.] Διονυ-  
 σίου υιοῦ Διονυ-  
 σίου μνίας χάριν

This formula recurs in nos. 20, 21, 24, 33, 34, 37, 39, 44. The genitive (which is the normal idiom on tombstones in the Cnidia) should not be made to depend on μνίας, since in no. 38 the words μνίας χάριν are absent. In nos. 19 (?) and 32, and on many of Newton's stones from Tekir, ὁ δᾶμος takes the place of the private individual's name.

The same house contains two other fragments of a few letters each.

16. Datça village, at the coffee-house, a small fragment of a stele 0.08 m. thick; letters 21-22 mm. high. The stone is broken immediately above and below the text; the lines are apparently complete on the right. Squeeze.

[- -]σικον  
 [Γλ]ύκιννα  
 [Εὐ]νομίδος

In front of the *sigma* in l. 1 is the lower half of an upright stroke. [Μο]υσικόν or [Χρ]υσικόν are perhaps conceivable female names. Or [τέκνον φ]υσικόν?

17. Reşadiye, lying in a field just outside the village by the road to the Iskele, a limestone base broken on the right, 0.24 m. high, 0.61 m. from front to back, now 0.63 m. long. On the upper surface is a raised quarter-circle. Photograph.

ΟΞ[- -]  
 Δαμοκράτεις το[ῦ δαίνο]ς  
 ἡρω[ος]

A few yards away is a handsome wine-press.

18. Reşadiye, built into a corner of Kemal Kaya's house, a limestone block broken on the right, 0.28 m. high, 0.32 m. wide, 0.50 m. thick. Letters of the Roman period with apices, 25-29 mm. high, carefully written. Squeeze.

'Αναξ[- - -]  
 τοῦ 'Ανα[- - -]  
 τοῦ 'Αναξ[- - -]  
 ἡρω[ος]

19. Reşadiye, built into the house of Sadık Bircan, high up and out of reach, two fragments inscribed in letters of Roman date, 5-6 cm. high. They appear to belong to a single inscription. Photograph.

(a) (b)  
 ὁ δᾶμος [τοῦ δαίνο]ς *vacat*  
 'Αριστ[- - - τοῦ] 'Αριστοκλ[- - -]

For the formula see on no. 15.

20. Karaköy, now in the school at Reşadiye; a funeral stele broken at the bottom, 0.42 m. high, 0.31 m. wide, 0.07 m. thick, of similar style to no. 12, but with a rosette in the tympanum. Letters of Imperial date, 24-30 mm. high, carefully written. Photograph.

Πρεῖμος  
 Πρεῖμου  
 Ἰδίου πατ-  
 ρὸς μνίας  
 χάριν

For the formula see on no. 15.

21. Karaköy, built into a corner of the new school on the Korman road; a block 0.35 m. high, 0.25 m. wide, 0.20 m. thick; the left side is covered. Late but fairly regular letters 20-28 mm. high. Photograph.

[Ζ]ώπυρος  
[Ρου]φείνας  
[γυ]ναικός  
[Ι]δίας.  
[μ]νίας  
[χ]άριν

For the formula see on no. 15.

22. Karaköy, at the coffee-house, a funeral stele broken at the top, 0.40 m. high, 0.21 m. wide, 0.025 m. thick. Late and irregular lettering. Photograph.

[ὁ δεῖνα]  
[ - - - ]  
δο[ς]  
Εὐπόρο[υ]  
τῆς συν-  
βίου μν-  
ίας χά-  
ριν

Apparently the same formula again. For the Attic τῆς cf. nos. 24, 33, 34, 35.

23. Hızırşah, in the house of Nazmi Kaya, a marble stele in use as a washing-board; the inscription is almost entirely effaced. Copy.

[- -]υφελλ[- -]  
[- θ]υγατ[ρός -]  
[- -]ΙΣΣΚ[- -]

The village of Hızırşah appears remarkably deficient in inscriptions.

24. Recently dug up by the Iskele, a funeral stele complete apart from some damage at the top, 0.38 m. high, 0.30 m. wide, 0.08 m. thick. Inscription complete, but worn at the top left. Letters of Imperial date, 23-25 mm. high, carefully written except in the last three lines, which are smaller and roughly written. Squeeze.

Τυ[ρ?]ανι vac.  
Τυ[ρ?]ανου το[ῦ]  
Ιδιαδρός μνε-  
ίας χάριν  
5 Αβερως Νείκη  
τῇ γυναικός μνε-  
χάριν ἰας  
Μηνᾶ  
τοῦ  
Εὐφράνορος υἱοῦ

L. 3. ἰδιαδρός, i.e. ἰδίου ἀνδρός: the *nu* is no doubt intentionally omitted,<sup>18</sup> and so, not impossibly, is the -ου of ἰδίου. At least, we note as an odd coincidence the parallel form εἰδιγυναικός in *BMI* 861, also from Cnidus.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Before the dental: see Robert's remarks in *Hellenica* IX 47 n. 2.

<sup>19</sup> 'εἰδι(ο)γυναικός, barbarous compound', Hirschfeld *ad loc.* Have we in fact a case of a stock epithet merging into the noun?

For the formula of ll. 1-4 see on no. 15 above. In ll. 5-7 the formula changes: at least, it seems more probable that γυναικός is the common 'dative' genitive<sup>20</sup> than that *sigma* is twice omitted.<sup>21</sup>

We have not seen the name Αβερως elsewhere.

25. Reşadiye, said to come from the same hillock as no. 2; fragment of a moulded block, inscribed on the upper moulding in letters 20-30 mm. high. Copy.

[- -]! Φωτίνᾱ [- -]

26. Datça village, a fragment of a white limestone stele, 0.115 m. high, 0.115 m. wide, 0.065 m. thick, the right edge preserved; letters 28 mm. high. Copy.

- - - - Ο!	Perhaps: [Ἀφ]ορ-
- ΕΙCΙΑC	[δ]εισίας
- ΡΥCΑΟ	[Χ]ρυσάο-
- - - ΡΟC	ρος

BETCE.

27. Kumyer. From Kumyer village a path leads round the south-west flank of the acropolis hill to an abundant spring; about 100 yards short of the spring, and about 50 yards below the path, is lying a block of grey limestone broken on all sides. Present maximum dimensions: height 0.62 m., width 0.54 m., thickness 0.42 m. No original edge is preserved. Archaic letters 26-30 mm. high. Photograph PLATE 40, a, and squeeze.

*vacat*

[- - -]! πολίταις πάντας ἀο[- -]  
 [- - -]οισιν καὶ αἱ πέ(ρ) τις ξένος ἔλ[θηι]  
 [- - -]νεμόεντι καταστάς *vac.*  
 [- - -]πε παρ' ἐργαστήριον αὐτ[ό]?

*vacat*

The date cannot be far from 500 B.C. The alphabet used is the epichoric Cnidian: Π for *eta*, C for *omicron*, Γ for *gamma* are especially characteristic.<sup>22</sup> The most interesting feature is the use of X for *xi*, of which letter the Cnidian form was not hitherto known. This symbol occurs elsewhere only in Pamphylian, where also it stands for *xi*. Whether its appearance in Cnidian may throw light on the disputed question of the source from which Pamphylian obtained it, we do not venture to say. May there have been Cnidians among the λαοὶ μιγάδες who settled in Pamphylia speaking a form of Doric?

The text of the inscription is puzzling. Into what category does it fall? The reference to an ἐργαστήριον in l. 4 seems to exclude the possibility of its being an epitaph,<sup>23</sup> nor is any tomb apparently known in the neighbourhood where the stone lies. Since there was no doubt a path to the spring in antiquity also, the stone may perhaps have been placed beside this path, inviting the wayfarer to halt in the 'bosky glen' (l. 3)<sup>24</sup> and proceed ([ἐρ]πε l. 4?) close up to the (wine?) factory. Similarly by the road outside the city at Tekir an inscription (BMI 797,

<sup>20</sup> E.g. θεῶ Λητοῦς, TAM III 380; ἀνθυπάτου Σιλβανῶ, Sardis VII 1, 139, and often in late inscriptions.

<sup>21</sup> Νεῖκος was not written: the *eta* is close to the edge.

<sup>22</sup> Archaic Cnidian: (1) dedication by Euarchus, BMI 1033 (see below p. 205); (2) Cnidian treasury at Delphi, FdD III i, 150, pl. V; (3) graffiti on kylikes, Petrie *Naukratis* i, pl. 33, nos. 237, 239, 354, Blinkenberg, *Lindos* i, no. 2806. All these are earlier than our text. Π for *eta* seems confined to Cnidian; C for *omicron* is found also in Melian, but not in the earliest example, and it may possibly have been taken from Cnidian. In the present paragraph we are indebted to the special knowledge and courteous help of Miss L. H. Jeffery; we offer her our best thanks.

<sup>23</sup> ἐργαστήρια are in fact occasionally mentioned in connection with tombs, e.g. Sterrett, *Wolfe Exp.* 518, Sardis VII 1, 163, where they stand on the ground which included the tomb. Our present case is not apparently of this kind.

<sup>24</sup> Or on the 'windy height', [ἀ]νεμέν. The epithet νεώδες is not quoted, but the factory would hardly be situated on the windy summit of the acropolis hill.



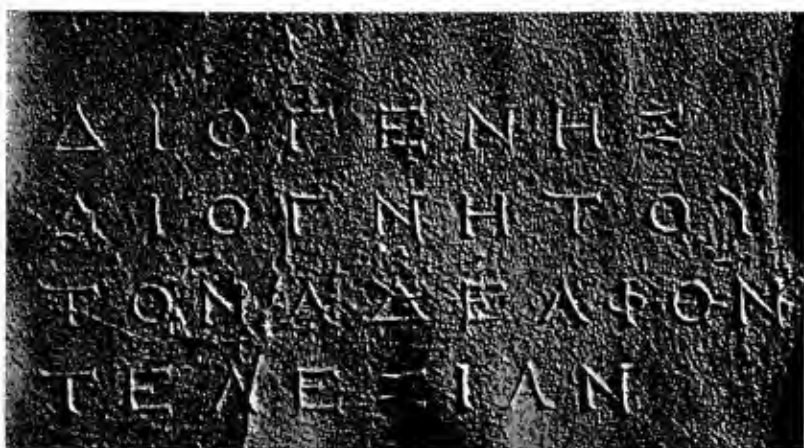
quoted below p. 208) invites the traveller to visit the temenos of the hero Antigonus. But so much is missing that no confidence can be felt.

In l. 1, if *πολίταις* is accusative, the Aeolicism is remarkable, but again there is no certainty; the words should perhaps be divided πάντα σοο-. The final *omicron* seems beyond doubt.

In l. 2 the *rho* is not on the stone. αἱ περ would presumably have its Homeric sense, 'even if'; this seems more likely than to understand αἱ περ. The first word is possibly [ἀστ]οῖσιν.



(a)



(b)

FIG. 6.—(a) INSCRIPTION AT KUMYER (SQUEEZE). (b) INSCRIPTION AT TEKIR (SQUEEZE).

In any case, we take it that the last syllable of -οῖσιν scans short; this peculiarity of adding ephelecytic *nu* and then disregarding it in the metre is not uncommon in early inscriptions.<sup>25</sup>

28. Kumyer, built into the wall of the house of Hüseyin Ceylan, a limestone block 0.28 m. wide, 0.16 m. thick, at least 0.23 m. high; top, right and left edges preserved, the bottom hidden; the inscription is complete. Letters 12–19 mm. high, *omicron* and *theta* 9–10 mm. The stone was found in the earth by the owner himself while digging foundations for the house. Squeeze fig. 6a.

τέμενος Ἀσκληπιοῦ  
ἀποτελεῖν μίσθωμα  
κατ' αἰεὶ κομιδᾶς  
ἐκ ποθέδου θυσιᾶν

<sup>25</sup> Cf. (among many examples) ἀνέστηκεν δὲ μ' Ε[ὐ]πολις αὐτῇ (Inscr. de Délos 17), ἔπειν δίκαιον (Roehl IGA 489).

'The sanctuary of Asklepios shall pay rent out of the revenue from the sacrifices, in proportion to the receipts from time to time.' We are not aware of a parallel to this interesting text. The temenos of Asklepios is evidently newly founded upon land belonging to another; it is not an independent state-cult, but is to pay rent to the landlord. The latter can, we think, hardly be other than a superior deity, in all probability Triopian Apollo: see below p. 210. The method of payment is also remarkable; the landlord receives a percentage of the revenue from the sacrifices, whatever sum this might amount to on each occasion. So we understand l. 3, though it is curious that the percentage is not stated.<sup>26</sup> This revenue would accrue from the sale of the victims' skins and the like, and might amount to several hundreds of drachmae.<sup>27</sup>

The text is further remarkable for the consistent omission of the definite article.

29. Kумыer, beside a well; taken by us to the house of Münir Coşer in Çeşmeköy. Upper left-hand corner of a stele 0.13 m. thick, with polished surface; present height 0.33 m., present width 0.36 m. Early Hellenistic letters, almost effaced, 15-16 mm. high. Squeeze.

*non vacat*

Στρατονικο[- - -]

Κρατιλα[- - -]

Να[. . .]ν[- - -]

Φιλοκλε[- - -]

5 Ἀριστο[- - -]

Ἐξακ[- - -]

Ἀττ[αλ? - - -]

There is room for four lines at the top, but the traces are too faint to be read. L. 3.  
? Να[νσι]ν[ικ- -].

30. About 20 minutes from the village of Cumalı on the road to Mersincik, on an outcrop of rock just above the road. Photograph PLATE 40, d.

ὁρος

The inscription is difficult to date. Immediately in front of the rock are remains of an ancient building: see above p. 183.

31. Zeytincik, in a wall of the house of Mehmet Dalgıç, a block 0.22 m. high, 0.41 m. wide, 0.16 m. thick; Hellenistic letters varying from 12 to 31 mm. in height. Photograph.

Ἱπποδάμο[ν]

τοῦ Ἱπποκρατίδα

32. Zeytincik, built into a fountain, a funeral stele 0.77 m. high, 0.40 m. wide, thickness not ascertainable. The stele is decorated in relief with a pillar and capital at each side, pediment with acroteria and a disc in the tympanum. Inscription badly worn. Copy.

[ὁ] δᾶμος

[Π]ανκράτους

τοῦ Ἀναξάν-

δρου

5 ἥρωος

ὁ δᾶμος

<sup>26</sup> The text might conceivably be construed to mean that the rent shall consist of the entire revenue from the sacrifices, whatever this might be. But this would destroy any incentive on the part of the temenos officials to dispose of their wares to advantage.

<sup>27</sup> For the δερματῶν at Athens see IG II<sup>2</sup> 1496; and Harpocration s.v.: δερματῶν ἂν εἴη λέγων ὁ ῥήτωρ (sc. Lycurgus) ὁ ἐκ τῶν δερματῶν τῶν πιπρασκομένων περιγινόμενον ἀργύριον.

Below l. 6 the stone is encrusted with lime, and it remains uncertain whether ὁ δᾶμος in l. 6 is the beginning of a second epitaph or merely repeats l. 1. For the formula see on no. 15.

33. Cumaliköy, over the door of the house of Ahmet Çimen, a funeral stele 1.05 m. high, 0.35 m. wide, 0.08 m. thick. Letters 24 mm. high in ll. 1-6, 24-30 mm. in ll. 7-11. Copy.

Ἰουλίας  
Λητοίδος  
Τι. Φλ. Κορίνθου  
Τι. Φλα. Σωτήρος  
5 Τίτου Φλαβίου Κορίν-  
θου

Ἰουλίας  
Ζωσίμης  
Ἰγία Σωτήρος  
10 Ἰδίου ἀνδρὸς  
μνίας χάριν

The three epitaphs are distinguished by different styles of writing. Ll. 1-6 are carefully written, ll. 7-11 are much rougher. Σ and Ω in ll. 7-8, Ϛ and ω in ll. 9-11. Ll. 1-6 we take to be the epitaph of Julia Letois only, showing four generations.

34. Cumaliköy, in the yard of a house near no. 33, a funeral stele broken at the top, otherwise complete, 0.58 m. high, 0.33 m. wide, thickness not ascertainable. Letters in ll. 4-9 22-28 mm. high. Ll. 1-3 are roughly written and evidently added later. Roman date. Squeeze.

Νεικηφό-  
ρου τοῦ Φι-  
λομούσου  
Ἀπε(λ)ίων  
5 Μορχου  
τοῦ Ἰδίου υἱοῦ  
καὶ τῆς θ(ρ)επτῆς  
Ἐπαγαθῶς (*sic*)  
μνίας χάριν

L. 4. ΑΠΕΑΙΩΝ *lapis*.

L. 5. Μορχου is clear and certain. We have not found this name elsewhere, nor anything much resembling it; the text as a whole is so faulty that an error for Μόσχου is not unlikely.

L. 7. ΘΕΠΤΗC *lapis*.

L. 8. Ἐπαγαθῶς is presumably intended for the genitive of Ἐπαγαθῶ.

35. Cumaliköy, in the house of Ali Birgül, a funeral stele with pediment and rosette in relief; below the pediment is a blank space for a painting or for a relief that was never cut; inscription at the bottom. Height 0.58 m., width 0.28 m. Letters of late date 17-20 mm. high. Copy.

Ἰατρικῆς τῆς  
Ἑρμοῦ μνή-  
μης χάριν

We have not met the name Ἰατρική elsewhere.

36. Cumalıköy, in the house of Adem Türkmen, lower part of a funeral stele 0.365 m. high, 0.245 m. wide, 0.07 m. thick; letters 21-29 mm. high. Photograph PLATE 41, b.

[τᾶς δεῖνος, e.g. ἐτῶν]

λφ'

καὶ τᾶς συν-

(τρ)όφου αὐτᾶ[ς]

Χρυσαρίου

Ll. 2-3. συν|σούφου *lapis*. The mention of the deceased's age is unusual in the Cnidia.

37. Palamutbükü, built into a house near the east end of the bay, a block broken on the left and at the bottom; present measurements, 0.17 m. high, 0.36 m. wide. Letters of Roman date 22-24 mm. high, carefully written. Photograph.

[- -]στος

[τοῦ π]ατρὸς

[- - - -]εὺς τοῦ Καρνεάδα

[καὶ τᾶς] ματρὸς

5 [- - - -]ς Ἀδείστου

[μνείας χάριν?]

In l. 5 the last six letters are certain, though not completely preserved. The surviving tops of the first three letters show a horizontal stroke (Γ, Ε, Ξ, Σ or Τ) followed by the points of two triangular letters (not a single *mu*). The name Adeistos is rare, but we can find no other to fit the data.

38. Yazıköy, in the court of the mosque, a rectangular *ostotheca* 0.55 by 0.42 m., 0.40 m. high; letters 28-29 mm. high, with elaborate apices. Copy.

Φιλέρως Φιλέρωτος

Εὐφραινούσας

τᾶς Ἰλάρου, Τύχη-

ς τᾶς Ἰλάρου μα-

τρός

'Phileros son of Phileros [built the tomb] of Euphrainusa daughter of Hilaros [and] of Tyche mother of Hilaros.' For the formula see on no. 15.

39. Yazıköy, said to have come from Tekir; funeral stele 0.53 m. high, 0.29 m. wide, 0.02 m. thick, with pediment, acroteria and disc in false relief, the forms being indicated merely by incised lines, exactly as in no. 43: see PLATE 41, d. Letters of Imperial date 25-28 mm. high. Photograph.

Νικομαῖς

Μοσχείου

τῆς ἰδίας

γυναικὸς

μνείας χάριν

The name Νικομαῖς occurs in CIG 3827 x (b) (Cotyaecum). Pape-Benseler explain it as 'zusammengesogen aus Νικομήδης': we should suppose rather Νικόμαχος. The type is familiar. Μοσχείου is of course the wife's name.

40. Mesudiye, said to have come from Palamutbükü; block broken at the bottom, 0.20 m. high, 0.32 m. wide, 0.135 m. thick; letters 20 mm. high. Photograph.

μη

Δητρίου

Δημητρίου



41. Yakaköy, in the house of Sadık Yeşil, said to have been found 'at the tombs by the roadside'; plain stele 0.71 m. high, 0.31 m. wide, 0.08 m. thick. Letters very badly and irregularly inscribed, varying in height from 14 to 39 mm. Photograph.

Διονυσῶς Θά(λλου?).  
 Δημητρίας τᾶ-  
 ς Ἀπολλωνίου.  
 Θάλλος δ'.  
 5 Διονύσις Θάλλου.  
 Θάλλου  
 τοῦ  
 Θάλλου.  
 Πώλας  
 10 τᾶς  
 Ἰάσονος.  
 Γαίας Εἰουλίας  
 Ζω(σ)αρίου τᾶς Βα-  
 σιλικοῦ.  
 15 Ζώπυρος  
 Θάλλου.

Of the eight persons here named, four stand in the nominative and four in the genitive. The variations in the forms of the letters indicate that the names were not inscribed all at once.

Pola in l. 9 is presumably Paula. In l. 13 the stone has E for C: the name Zosarion occurs in *CIG* 583. Basilikos is found as the name of a rhetor of Nicomedia (*Suidas, Apsin. rhet.* 1).

42. Yakaköy, built into the mosque, a block broken on the right; careful lettering of Roman date, 28-33 mm. high. Copy.

ὁ [δᾶμος?]  
 Εὐδ[ - - - -]  
 τοῦ Ε[ - - - -]  
 Καλλ[ - - - -]

43. Çeşmeköy, said to come from the valley below Kumyerkalesi; funeral stele 0.38 m. high, 0.22 m. wide, 0.035 m. thick, with decoration in false relief as on no. 39. Letters 23-26 mm. high. Photograph *PLATE 41, d*.

Διοδώρου  
 τοῦ Θευδό-  
 του μνεί-  
 ας χάριν

44. Çeşmeköy, on the threshold of the house of Osman Tircan; a marble block inscribed in late characters, very badly written, 30-40 mm. high. Copy.

[Πρ]αξιῖνος  
 Κνιδίας γυ-  
 ναικὸς μνεί-  
 α(ς) χάριν

L. 4. E for C *lapis*.

Cnidia is of course the wife's name. For ethnics used as proper names see Bechtel, *HP* 536 ff.

The inscription is written over another, erased but for two or three letters.

45. Çeşmeköy, seen at the coffee-house in 1949, but no longer there in 1950; a broken epistyle or cornice-block 0.97 m. long, decorated with a cross in a circle, the inscription on the upper rim; letters 20-25 mm. high. Photograph.

--- ΙΤΩΝΑΓΑΘΩΝΤΑΓΑΡCΑΕΚΤ . . . . . ΙΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤ ---

We do not understand this text. Possibly [*e.g.* Χαρ]ῖτων Ἀγαθῶν τὰ ΓΑΡCΑ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίῳ]ν εὐχαριστ[ήριον]. The letters ΤΑΓΑΡCΑ are quite clear and certain, except that the upright of *tau* is crossed by an oblique stroke which may be accidental. τὰ (τ)αρσά, 'the baskets', is perhaps not entirely impossible.<sup>28</sup> Alternatively, have we a quotation, *e.g.* τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ γὰρ σὰ κτλ.?

# TEKIR

46. Tekir, by the shore about 100 yards north of the coastguard hut, a rectangular base 0.44 m. high, 0.98 m. wide, 0.69 m. thick. Letters 19-24 mm. high, with modest apices. Squeeze fig. 6b.

Διογένης  
Διογνήτου  
τὸν ἀδελφόν  
Τελεσίαν

The date can hardly be much earlier than 200 B.C.

47. Tekir, beside no. 46, a round base 0.81 m. high, 0.49 m. in diameter; letters 28-33 mm. high. Squeeze.

ὁ δᾶμος  
Πόπλιον Οὐνίκιον  
στραταγὸν ἀνθύπατον  
ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ  
εὐνοίας τᾶς εἰς αὐτὸν  
θεοῖς

P. Vinicius M.f., consul in A.D. 2. His proconsulate of Asia was regarded as probable by Waddington (*Fastes* 691, no. 65) on the strength of an inscription on the island of Andros (*IG* XII. 5. 756): ὁ δῆμος Πόπλιον Οὐνίκιον τὸν ἀνθύπατον κτλ. So in *IG loc. cit.*: 'Asiae provinciae proconsul fuisse videtur, cujus pars Cyclades tunc temporis erant'; cf. *Pros. Imp. Rom.* III, no. 446, *Magie, Roman Rule* 1581. The present inscription sets the matter beyond doubt.

48-52. In the eastern necropolis, at a point some 20 minutes from Tekir, immediately below the road, are a number of inscribed stones, a few still complete, but the majority smashed into small pieces for the construction of walls.

48. Two fragments in a wall; we could not move them to fit them together, but it seems certain that they were originally contiguous: the style, size and spacing of the letters are identical, both are written stoichedon, and both have the right edge partially preserved. Elegant letters with modest apices. Photograph PLATE 38, f (fragment a only).

(a)	Α	Ξ	Ι	Ι	(b)	Ρ	Ο	Ε
	Ρ	Ε	Τ	Η	Ν	Λ	Ι	Ξ
	Ο	Υ	Γ	Η	Ρ	Α	Ι	Δ
	Τ	Ε	Ρ	Ω	Ν	Ξ	Ω	Μ

<sup>28</sup> A similar cornice-block in a fountain at Ağlâsun (Sagalassus) is inscribed: -- ιος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐποίησε καὶ τοὺς φανούς ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ Ἀγλάου ἀνέθηκεν.

The two fragments together read:

[- - -]ασι προε[- - -]  
 [- - -]ρετήν εις[- - -]  
 [- - -]ου γήραι δ[- - -]  
 [- - -]τέρων σωμ[α - -]

This would appear to be the earliest epitaph yet discovered in the Tekir necropolis. The stoichedon arrangement, combined with the slight apices, suggests a date well on in the third century.

49. Rectangular funeral altar with pediment and rosette, 0.52 m. high, complete. Elegant lettering; *pi* has the right stroke somewhat shorter than the left. Photograph.

Πρίμας Πακου-  
 ίας Ποπλίου  
 θυγατρὸς τᾶς  
 καὶ Δαλιάδος

The date should be about the Augustan period. We have not noted other members of this family in Asia.

The name Δαλιάς (not in Bechtel *HP*) occurs at Rhodes (*SGDI* 4149); cf. Suidas, *s.v.* 'Δηλιάς'. ἡ ναῦς. καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ. καὶ κύριον ὄνομα.

50. Round funeral altar, partially buried, 0.47 m. in diameter; letters 25-30 mm. high. The inscription, complete, is in a panel. Photograph.

Νείκυτος  
 τοῦ Γαίου  
 καὶ Τύχης  
 υἱοῦ

Νείκυσ (or Νείκυσ) occurs as the name of a Maeonian in *CIG* 3440: cf. Pape-Benseler *s.v.*

51. Fragment broken at top and bottom, right and left edges preserved. The inscription, in letters of late date, is written over another not quite completely erased. Photograph.

[τᾶς δεινός]  
 τᾶς  
 Ἑρμία  
 ἡρώσσας

52. A number of other fragments were seen by us in the same place. They seem to belong mostly to metrical epitaphs, and are all of Imperial date.

(a) [- - -]οι  
 [- -]ν *vac.*  
 [-]οἰκτρὸν  
 [-]ν *vac.*  
 [-]μεσσα[-]  
 [-]ν  
 [-]ν

(e) [- - -]ας  
 [-]ανίας  
 [- -]αρις  
 Ζωσίμ[ου]  
 θρεπ-  
 τοῦ

(b) [- - -]λα[- -]  
 [- -]αίει μεγα[-]  
 [-]ον πρατ[- -]

(c) [-]ε κελαινή ![- -]  
 [- -]ρε φθιμ[- - -]  
 [- - -] βαρυη[χ - -]

(d) Two fitting fragments:

[- -]αἰκαῖο[- - -]  
 [- -]ους μεν[- - -]  
 [- -]υσασα δακ[- -]  
 [- - -]δεν ἄλγος[- -]  
 [- - -]εμη λειπ[- -]  
 [- - -] μεν[- - -]

(f) About 200 yards down the hill:

[- -]ν Ἰκαρι[- -]  
 [- κ]οσμη[- - -]

53. Close by the above, a block let into the floor of the road, the inscription nearly effaced. Letters 28-30 mm. high. Copy.

Ποπλίου  
[Γ?]αίου  
N!!!A

In l. 2 perhaps [Γ]αίου rather than [Φλ]αίου. Gavii are not uncommon in Asia Minor, especially in Attaleia: *IGR* III 778, *Belleten* XLI 101 no. 19 and 104 no. 20 (cf. L. Robert, *REG* LXI (1948), 201), and in an unpublished dedication to Pan in the Antalya museum; also at Claros, *IGR* IV 1590.

L. 3. Perhaps [A]ννία[νοῦ].<sup>29</sup>

54. About five minutes east of the above, a block 1.06 m. long, lying just above the road; the inscription is on the upper edge, in fairly regular letters of the Roman period, about 20 mm. high. Copy.

Ταρσέα καὶ Ὀλυνπιάδου τῶν Ἀρισταγόρα

55. In the same neighbourhood, a block on top of a wall beside the road. Copy made from the ground.

Μάρκος Μάρκου υἱὸς [Οὔει-]  
βύλλιος

For the family of Vibullii (frequent at Corinth) see L. Robert, *Hellenica* II 9-10, R. Syme, *JRS* XXXIX (1949), 17 f.

56. Barkaz, among various ancient blocks in a *mandra* in the 'small open valley' mentioned on p. 183, n. 52, two fragments which appear to join; Hellenistic letters 28-30 mm. high. Copy.

[- -]ούσας τὰς Φιλ[- -]  
[- -]ου δὲ θυγα[τρός]

57. Ibidem, a broken slab 0.22 m. long, 0.07 m. high, the inscription on the narrow face; elegant letters with slight apices, 28 mm. high. Copy.

[- -]ΝΟΥΓ[- -]

58. Barkaz, at the homestead, broken base of a funeral altar, 0.20 m. high, originally 0.58 m. square (calculated from the circular plinth on which the altar stood); neat letters 20-33 mm. high. Copy.

[- -]οτρόφου

No names in -τροφος are quoted in Bechtel *HP*. Since about half the name seems to be preserved, [Ἰακυνθ]οτρόφου suggests itself. For Artemis Hiacynthotrophos at Cnidus see *SGDI* 3501, 3502, 3512, and for by-names of deities used as personal names see Bechtel *op. cit.* 569-70.

59. Tekir, copied by Münir Coşer, not seen by us; block of dark stone broken on the left.

[Κύριος φυλάξει σε] ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ,  
[φυλάξει τὴν ψυχὴν σο]υ ὁ Κύριος (leaf)  
[Κύριος φυλάξει τὴν εἰσοδὸν σου καὶ τὴν ἐξοδὸν σου,  
[ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος] ἀμήν.

*Psalm* CXX, 7-8. ἀμήν is not in the LXX text.

<sup>29</sup> We owe this suggestion to Prof. R. Syme.



## III

## OLD CNIDUS AND NEW CNIDUS

It has appeared in the description in Section I that the known site of Cnidus at Tekir has yielded no material remains earlier in date than the time of Alexander—and that on ground where an archaic and classical city could hardly have gone completely to earth: whereas around Burgaz, in spite of the depth of later deposits and the lack of excavation, the testimonies to the presence of an early Greek city rival those of the Milesia and Samos in their wide distribution. In particular, while we have indications of early sanctuaries on the Datça isthmus,<sup>1</sup> the sanctuaries known to us at Tekir appear to have been founded about the beginning of the Hellenistic era. The general unsuitability of Tekir for an early Greek settlement has been remarked (p. 183 f.); the countryside round Datça, on the other hand, offers natural advantages which have been described by Spratt in words which show as keen an eye for opportunities of colonial development as Homer's descriptions of Scheria and Calypso's Isle.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore necessary to examine the literary and epigraphical evidences for the location of the classical city of Cnidus and to see whether, in spite of the absence of explicit testimony to such a removal, the Cnidians cannot in fact be shown to have followed the example of the other four cities of the Dorian pentapolis which in classical times abandoned their old sites in favour of better commercial and strategical positions.

## LITERARY EVIDENCE

The passage of Herodotus (I 174) of which a translation is given at the beginning of this article has hitherto caused great difficulty, and is often thought to be corrupt.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, with Cnidus at Tekir and Bybassus at Emecik, as generally accepted, the text is almost unintelligible. How can it be said of a city at the seaward extremity of a long peninsula that its territory is 'turned towards the open sea'? And why does Herodotus speak so insistently of 'the whole Cnidian territory'? As for the Bybassian Peninsula, we regard it as quite certain that the accepted identification with the part between the two isthmuses at Datça and at Bencik must be rejected, and Bybassus expelled altogether from this peninsula.<sup>4</sup> We believe that Cnidian territory extended at all times to the Bencik isthmus, and that the Bybassian Chersonese is merely Herodotus' name for what in later authors and in Rhodian inscriptions is called simply the Chersonese. If this view be admitted, and Cnidus located at Burgaz, Herodotus' meaning becomes immediately clear. Cnidian territory extends towards the open sea, that is to the west of the city, where are the fertile plains described above; in actual geographical fact, however, it begins well to the east, at Bencik, but the eastern part is so bare and rugged as to be virtually negligible as territory. Nevertheless, when the Cnidians began to cut the canal, they included the *whole* of their land—not only the valuable Triopion, but the worthless eastern part as well—because the narrow neck where alone such a cut was practicable lay at the main-

<sup>1</sup> 'Dioscuri', Emecik, and perhaps by the Horos Limenos. Cf. pp. 172, 175, 178.

<sup>2</sup> 'The plain and valley of Datcha is very fertile, having fine groves of olives and valonia, and of almonds and other fruit trees: with abundance of water, if properly utilized for irrigation; and thus greatly impressed me from its park-like scenery, also, as a locality with a very promising future; for several springs rise up in the plain, besides the mountain streams from the high mountains of the interior; and they have wood, and some timber growing upon them' (*Archaeologia* XLIX 356; cf. Homer *Od.* V 63 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> See most recently the doubts and uncertainties expressed in *ATL* I 504, 562. How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, *ad. loc.* observe: 'The whole section is a model of confusion. It is to be noticed that H., as a Halicarnassian, knows the Cnidian territory minutely'—a sorry judgment on Herodotus' powers of description.

<sup>4</sup> This point is argued, without reference to the site of Cnidus, in Fraser-Bean *The Rhodian Peraea*. We add only that if Cnidus is at Burgaz, the improbability of Bybassus being at Emecik is much increased.

land extremity of it. Herodotus is explaining, clearly and emphatically, that the isthmus in question is not that at Datça but that at Bencik.<sup>5</sup>

Thucydides (VIII 35) gives valuable details concerning the Cnidian topography. A Spartan squadron of twelve ships, arriving at Cnidus (which had revolted from Athens under Tissaphernes), receives instructions from Miletus to divide into two parts, half guarding the city itself, the rest *περί Τριόπιον οὔσαις* to seize the merchant vessels coming from Egypt: *ἔστι δὲ τὸ Τριόπιον ἄκρα τῆς Κνιδίας προὔχουσα, Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν*. The Athenians on learning of this sail from Samos and seize the six ships at Triopion, the crews escaping to land; they then sail on to Cnidus, and attacking it in its unfortified condition almost succeed in taking it. A second attack on the following day is less successful, since the inhabitants have during the night strengthened the defences, and the crews from the ships at Triopion have reached and entered the city. The Athenians therefore content themselves with ravaging the Cnidian land and depart to Samos.

Several points in this narrative are noteworthy. (1) A fair distance is postulated between Triopion and Cnidus, since the Spartan sailors reach the city only during the night, after the first Athenian attack. (2) This being so, and with Cnidus at Tekir, what madness has seized the Spartan command at Miletus? Their ships are at the tip of the peninsula, in the best possible position to intercept vessels coming from the south; they thereupon despatch half of them, *for this express purpose*, some distance away, to wherever Triopion may be located. In the event, these ships are lost and the city is endangered. (3) The Athenians coming from Samos reach Triopion first, and from there proceed to Cnidus. How is this possible with Cnidus at Tekir? What reasonable location can be found for Triopion? The narrative obviously demands that Triopion should be at or near the west end of the peninsula, and Cnidus some hours distant to the east. Here again, if Cnidus is at Burgaz, all difficulties disappear.<sup>6</sup> The decision of the Spartans to split their squadron was still risky, as the event showed; but at least it is intelligible. The newly revolted city needed, we may suppose, an eye to be kept on it, and the merchant vessels were a prize worth taking a risk for.<sup>7</sup>

Minor confirmation is afforded by another passage of Thucydides (VIII 43). The whole Spartan fleet is assembled at Cnidus: *οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ναυσὶ πάσαις πλεῦσαντες ἐς τὴν Σύμην καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἐν τῇ Κνιδῷ ναυτικὸν οὐχ ὀρμήσαντες, οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπ' ἐκείνους, λαβρόντες δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σύμῃ σκευὴ τῶν νεῶν καὶ Λωρύμοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ προσβαλόντες, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Σάμον*. If Thucydides is speaking accurately, the Athenians are off Syme before the question arises of an attack by either side. With the Spartans in Datça Bay this is wholly natural: the two fleets would be in full view of one another: but if they are at Tekir, the occasion for a clash would have come and gone before the Athenians reached Syme at all.<sup>8</sup>

As against these eloquent passages of Herodotus and Thucydides, early literary testimony

<sup>5</sup> Note also the preposition in *ἐς τὴν ἡπείρου τελευτῇ*, 'passes into the mainland and so ends'—not, for example, *πρὸς τῆς ἡπείρου*.

<sup>6</sup> The question of Triopion is discussed in detail below p. 209. We think it improbable that in the fifth century there was a usable harbour or anchorage at Tekir, since the small peninsula (Cap Kiriö, now Deveboynu) was an island until the foundation of the city (*cf.* p. 204). If there was, the six Spartan ships doubtless used it; but more likely they were stationed in the bay of Palamutbükü (see the discussion below, p. 209). In either case, if the fugitive sailors started soon after midday, they would arrive at the city at Burgaz shortly after dark; the distance from Tekir is between eight and nine hours, from Palamutbükü something over seven.

<sup>7</sup> Cnidus is described by Thucydides as unwallled (*ἀνεχιστος*). We understand this to mean that the fortifications at Dalacak were partially dismantled or in disrepair, not that they were non-existent; this seems indicated by the phrase *ἀμεινον φραζομένων αὐτῶν ὑπὸ νύκτα*. We conceive that the Athenians landed on the open beaches or through the gaps in the sea-wall north and south of Dalacak and attacked the acropolis wall. Thucydides gives no indication of their numbers.

<sup>8</sup> We note also, without wishing to stress it unduly, that Ps-Scylax 99 (*ca.* 350 B.C.), going south, names Triopion before Cnidus.

unfavourable to Burgaz is practically non-existent. The Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, l. 43, has Κνίδος αἰπεινή. This epithet describes Tekir much better than Burgaz, but it is here, we think, unquestionably applied to the Cnidian promontory as a whole; the poet is listing successive geographical features down the coast, cities being normally mentioned only when they are recognised in the Homeric tradition.

Pausanias (V 24, 7) mentions a statue of Zeus at Olympia: τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν Κνίδῳ Χερρονήσιους ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀναθεῖναι πολεμίων φησίν.<sup>9</sup> He explains that these Chersonesians are the inhabitants of the small island joined to the main part of the city by a bridge or causeway, alluding evidently to Tekir; a parallel case, he says, would be a separate dedication by the inhabitants of Coressus at Ephesus. Pausanias gives no indication of the date of the dedication at Olympia, but if it was of the classical period, and if his explanation is correct, then classical Cnidus was not at Burgaz. But few probably will be disposed to accept this. Such a dedication at Olympia from the spoils of war by a single quarter of a city is incredible; it is much more likely that Pausanias is attempting an explanation from his knowledge of the Cnidus of his own time. The Coressus parallel has very much the appearance of a note in support of the author's view.<sup>10</sup>

Writers later than Alexander know only the city at Tekir. Strabo (XIV 656) gives an excellent description of the site, agreeing closely with that of Pausanias; Mela and Pliny both place Cnidus at the tip of the peninsula. But Pliny's account deserves closer examination. His words are (V 104): *est in promunturio Cnidos libera, Triopia, dein Pegusa et Stadia appellata. ab ea Doris incipit*. That the name Stadia is preserved in the modern Datça was suggested long ago, and may, we think, be safely accepted.<sup>11</sup> What, then, is the meaning of *dein*? It commonly means in Pliny 'next along the coast', in which case he names Cnidus followed by Triopia, then Pegusa also called Stadia. But Pliny is going north, and so ought to name Stadia (Datça) before Cnidus; moreover, *ab ea Doris incipit* evidently refers to Cnidus at the extremity of the peninsula. It is therefore more probable that *dein* has here its temporal meaning, and that Triopia, Pegusa and Stadia are given as names borne at different times by Cnidus itself. Such polyonymy is not, of course, unparalleled—Aphrodisias in Caria is an outstanding example—but Cnidus is never elsewhere called by any of these names in literature or epigraphy, and Pegusa at least is a quite ridiculously inappropriate name for the site at Tekir, which is almost waterless. We believe, therefore, that Pliny's account may conceal—unknown, of course, to him—an actual tradition of the change of site. Stadia is the name borne, after the move to Tekir, by the old site at Datça. Burgaz was not, of course, deserted after the move; it continued to be an important part of the Cnidia, as is shown by the abundance of late remains.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The same is mentioned by Aelian *V.H.* II 33 (quoted by Stephanus *s.v.* Χερρονήσιος), who speaks of Χερρονήσιοι οἱ ἐπὶ Κνίδου.

<sup>10</sup> The true explanation is not our business here, and is not made easier by the uncertainty whether the inscription had ἐν Κνίδῳ or ἐπὶ Κνίδου: but an example may suggest a possible line of interpretation. Several ancient authors (Thuc. III 88, Strabo VI 275, Diod. Sic. V 9, Paus. X 11, 3 and X 16, 7) mention the band of Cnidian emigrants who finally settled, about 580 B.C., in the Lipari islands; they frequently fought the Tyrrhenian pirates, and sent offerings to Delphi from their victories. Similar emigrants established on a Chersonese (most probably the Carian, i.e. 'Bybassian', later Rhodian) might well use the language quoted above, at least in the form given by Aelian. In this connection we may mention the late archaic Chersonesian coins with Cnidian lion's head on the obverse (Head *HN*<sup>2</sup> 614), attributed by E. Meyer in *RE* *s.v.* 'Peraia' 566, together with the dedication at Olympia, to the Carian Χερρονήσιοι of the Athenian tribute lists. May the ox-head on the reverse be a punning device, Βου(βαρσσία)? (There is a confusion in *ATL* I 562 n. 1: these coins are not the same as those attributed by Seltman to the Thracian Chersonese.)

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Dümmler, *AM* XXI (1896), 229 f. n. 2; Chaviaras, *BCH* 1912, 529; Hasluck, *BSA* XVIII 211-2. Büchner in *RE* *s.v.* 'Stadia' rejects the identification on phonetic and accentual grounds: the name in the *Notitiae* is Σταδία or Σταδία, not Σταδία: yet immediately afterwards he is prepared to accept a view to which the same objections, if valid, ought to apply.

<sup>12</sup> Pegusa remains in the air, but is at least perfectly appropriate as an alternative name for Stadia = Datça: see the description above, p. 202 n. 2. The location of Triopion is discussed below.



## INSCRIPTIONS

If, as we believe, the site of Cnidus was transferred from Burgaz to Tekir about the beginning of the Hellenistic period,<sup>13</sup> the relative dates of the inscriptions from the two sites should afford confirmation. We collect here all those which may be significant from the chronological point of view. Public documents naturally carry most weight; epitaphs are of secondary, but by no means negligible importance.<sup>14</sup>

## I. Burgaz-Datça Area

BMI IV 2, 1033 (*cf.* above pp. 175, 193), apparently from the sanctuary at Burgaz, an archaic dedication by Euarchus to the Dioscuri in the epichoric Cnidian alphabet.

W. R. Paton, *REG* IX (1896) 420-2, nos. 9-11, all three from Kızlan. No. 9 is the lower part of the proxeny decree for Iphiadas of Abydos (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 187, see above p. 186), of the early or middle fourth century. No. 10 is the adjoining left-hand portion of our no. 5 (above, p. 189), and no. 11 is a similar, though *non-stoichedon*, epitaph. The editor dates both nos. 10 and 11 to the same period as no. 9; they appear at all events to be of the fourth century. Paton was much impressed by the occurrence of these early texts around Datça: 'il faut qu'on fasse attention à un site qui ne produit que des textes d'une époque si reculée.'

N. Chaviaras, *BCH* 1910, 425-8, no. 3, from Burgaz, *stoichedon*: [Ἀπο]λλω[νι]δα πα[ρ]ι[δ]ες Δι[ο]νυσ[ι]δ[ω]ρος κα[ὶ] Δ[ι]όδω[ρο]ς. The editor says nothing about the date, but it is apparently early.

M. Schede, *AM* XXXVI (1911) 97-102, nos. 1-4, all from the neighbourhood of Datça. No. 1 is the upper part of the decree for Iphiadas: the editor gives a photograph on p. 97. No. 2 is a fourth-century epitaph. No. 3 is described by the editor as a fifth-century epitaph: Ἀρισταίνε[τ]ας Ε[ὐ]τέλ[ε]ος γυναικός: 'sehr altertümlich', but the photograph does not show the lettering. No. 4 is an epitaph, probably of the fourth century.

N. Chaviaras, *BCH* 1912, 529-533 (continuation of his previous article). No. 10, from Datça, is a non-metrical epitaph; the printed majuscule text shows the forms Θ, Μ, Ξ. No. 11, from Datça, is Schede's no. 3 (above). No. 13, from Burgaz, is a *stoichedon* epitaph, with the branching form of *sigma*: it appears to be similar to our nos. 5-8.

A. Maiuri, *Ann.* IV-V (1921-2) 481, no. 34: (a) Εὐτελέους: (b) Ἀρισταίνε[τ]ας Εὐτελέους γυναικός. This again is Schede's no. 3, with the addition of part (a), previously overlooked. Maiuri notes that in (b) the second *upsilon* of Εὐτελέους is added above the line, and that Schede is wrong in attributing the inscription to the fifth century.

New Inscriptions (Section II above). No. 2 (PLATE 40, b) is closely associated, in content and in lettering, with the decree for Iphiadas, and cannot be far removed in date. No. 4 (PLATE 38, e) is a fourth-century boundary mark inscribed on an earlier architectural block. Early epitaphs include no. 1 (PLATE 38, b, archaic) and nos. 5-8 (about middle fourth century).

As against this considerable body of fourth-century and earlier material, no public document of any kind later than the fourth century has been found in the Datça area, with the dubious exception of the decree published by Dubois in *BCH* 1883, 485 (*SGDI* 3501). This was found on the island of Nisyrus, and is stated to have come from the village of Tatsa (*i.e.* Datça) near Cnidus: it is certainly a Cnidian decree, and it has the broken-barred *alpha*.

<sup>13</sup> The date of the move is discussed below, p. 210.

<sup>14</sup> We shall find ourselves in this section inevitably confronted with the unenviable task of attempting to date the inscriptions on little or no evidence beyond the lettering. Such an attempt must always be precarious in a region which has yielded few, if any, precisely datable texts. The reader will of course form his own judgment in each case; our own views may be thought to be prejudiced.



But the evidence of provenance inspires little confidence. Datça has long been the administrative headquarters of the peninsula, and even if the stone were picked up at Tekir and carried to Nisyros, it might well be said to have come from Datça.

The articles of Schede and Chaviaras contain, in addition to the inscriptions mentioned above, a considerable number of epitaphs of Roman date<sup>15</sup> such as are found all over the western half of the peninsula. Epitaphs, early or late, are not cogent evidence, since the Datça area must have been inhabited at all periods; but the remarkable frequency of early tombstones at Datça, combined with their total absence from the great necropolis at Tekir, must surely be more than coincidence.

## II. Tekir

Most of the inscriptions found previously at Tekir are in the British Museum, and were published first by Newton, *Halicarnassus* (1863) 711-773, then by Hirschfeld in *BMI* IV 1 (1893) nos. 786-885. We collect here those that appear to be the earliest.<sup>16</sup>

(i) *BMI* 786; Newton no. 36; *SGDI* 3500; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 978. Squeeze PLATE 41, a. Cnidian decree forbidding any person to take up his abode in the sanctuary of Dionysus Bacchus. Hirschfeld, comparing the script with that of *BMI* 819 (Newton no. 57, Pl. XCV: statue-base of Sosibius son of Dioscurides of Alexandria), dates it to the latter part of the third century; he is apparently followed by Bechtel *SGDI* 3500. We should prefer to believe that it is earlier than this. The resemblance of the lettering to that of the decree for Iphiadas was remarked by Schede in *AM* 1911, 98 (see his photograph on p. 97); this resemblance seems to us more striking than the other, and we should favour a fourth-century date. At the same time, the *non-stoichedon* arrangement, and the noticeably short middle stroke of *epsilon* justify a date rather later than the Iphiadas decree; we believe this inscription is one of the earliest of the new city, and is of the latter part of the fourth century. It is easily understandable that for a while after the move housing conditions may have been such that a prohibition against taking up quarters in the sanctuary was necessary.<sup>17</sup>

(ii) *BMI* 786a. Fragment of a proxeny decree for a Halicarnassian. Hirschfeld observes: 'the character of the writing belongs to the fourth century B.C.' The latter part of that century is certainly not excluded; but the small *omikron* is more characteristic of the third.

(iii) *BMI* 796; Newton no. 31; Kaibel no. 783. Squeeze PLATE 41, e. This inscription is crucial. It begins:

ἐπὶ νεοπολιτῶν προστατῶν ἀφικόμαν  
 Ἑρμῆς Ἀφροδίται πάρεδρος· ἀλλὰ χαίρετε.  
 οἵτινες δ' οἱ προστατῶν, γραφὴ παροῦσα  
 σημαίνει·

there follow fifteen names in rather inelegant trochaic tetrameters. Hirschfeld says: 'to judge by the form of the letters this inscription can scarcely be later than the fourth century B.C.; the punctuation of two dots after each trochaic line recalls an even earlier usage'. Schede (*AM* loc. cit.) remarked on the similarity of the script to that of the Iphiadas decree, and thought our present inscription, by reason of the punctuation marks, the earlier of the two. On these points the reader may form his own opinion; to us the similarity of script does not

<sup>15</sup> Schede's no. 10 is Hellenistic.

<sup>16</sup> The majuscule texts given in *BMI* are as good as can be expected from type, but a much more accurate idea of the script may be obtained from the facsimiles in Newton, *Halicarnassus*. In some of the most important cases we give here photographs of squeezes taken by kind permission of the British Museum.

<sup>17</sup> In the last line of this decree surely restore [καταλ]ύη[ι] rather than [ἀγνε]ύη[ται].

appear striking.<sup>18</sup> The phrase ἐπὶ νεοπολιτῶν προσηγορίᾳ has caused great difficulty. Kaibel and Hirschfeld agree that Newton must be wrong in referring it (*op. cit.* 750) to the board of *prostatai*, whose functions 'are not likely to have been conferred upon new citizens'; and indeed, a board of fifteen *prostatai*, all new citizens, is more than anyone will be prepared to accept. Hirschfeld suggests that the board of *prostatai* was first instituted by Eudoxus, and that the present inscription is earlier than that time; the meaning will then be that the cult of Hermes has been introduced 'at the instance of', under the patronage of, certain newly-made citizens. Such a use of ἐπὶ with the genitive seems to lack justification. We believe that νεοπολιτῶν means, not 'new citizens', but 'of the new city', and we see in this word the one direct testimony to the change of site. ἐπὶ may then have its normal meaning 'in the year of'. The inscription must date immediately after, probably to the next year after, the move. We see nothing in the forms of the letters to contradict such a date; but others have thought otherwise, and we must leave the reader to be judge. The unexpectedly large number of *prostatai*, fifteen as opposed to the board of five found in Cos, Rhodes, Iasus, etc. (Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* 840, 843), might be explained at Cnidus by the need for representation of three political units (the Old City, the New City, and Triopion). The task of accepting a new deity could, like that of admitting new citizens, fairly devolve on the *prostatai*.

(iv) *BMI* 813; Newton no. 15; Kaibel no. 785. Squeeze PLATE 41, f. Found in the precinct of Demeter, and apparently the earliest inscription from that site.

Κούραι καὶ Δάματρι οἶκον καὶ ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκεν Χρυσόγονη[ς]  
μήτηρ, Ἰπποκράτους δὲ ἀλοχος, Χρύσινα, ἐννυχίαν ὄψιν  
ἰδοῦσα ἱερὰν. Ἑρμῆς γὰρ νιν ἔφησε θεᾷς Ταθνηι προπολεῦειν.

Newton believed this to be the original dedication of the sanctuary, and dated the foundation (*Halicarnassus* II 418) to about 350 B.C., since 'the letter-forms of this inscription are matched in the period 350-300.' Hirschfeld apparently agrees, and supposes the base to have carried, not a cult-statue, but a relief representing the two goddesses. We should be disposed to date it late in the fourth century, but we doubt very much if it can be the original dedication. In the first place, a state-cult in the city is not likely to have been a private foundation made in consequence of a dream, which would be altogether too fortuitous a circumstance. In the second place, the oval socket in the upper surface of the stone is not suggestive of a relief, but rather of a statue not far from life size. If this was a cult-statue, it must presumably have been that of Kore, since that of Demeter can hardly be other than the famous seated figure now in the British Museum; but may it not rather have been a figure of Chrysina herself?<sup>19</sup>

(v) *BMI* 825; Newton no. 35.

Ἐπικράτη Φίλωνος  
τοὶ παῖδες Ἀντικράτης  
Φιλοκράτης Ἀσπλαπιῶι

<sup>18</sup> The importance of the punctuation marks is not easy to assess. In the first two lines, where each metrical line has a line on the stone, the dots are absent; the following trochaic lines, however, are too long for the stone, so that in this particular case there is a special reason for the punctuation: having marked the first two lines in the usual way, it was natural to mark the others in the only way possible. The use of *oi* for *toi* is hardly significant, since the Doric dialect is abandoned in l. 3.

<sup>19</sup> A dedication of this sort is hardly suitable for a cult-statue; and the injunction *προπολεῦειν* is better discharged by a figure of a woman in attendance than by an image of the goddess herself. For a new discussion of the problem of the statue of Kore see Ashmole *JHS* LXXI 25 ff., where the indication of two Cnidian types of Kore, one being earlier than the seated Demeter, is of special interest in connection with the removal to Tekir. *ἔφησε* in l. 3 appears to mean 'commanded'. This use of *φημι* is exceedingly rare: LS<sup>9</sup> quote one example (and a dubious second) with the dative and infinitive. The accusative in our text is very remarkable, and it is tempting to suggest that the aorist of *ἐφίημι* was intended; but whether as a peculiarity of local dialect or merely by an error of the lapicide we do not venture to say.

Hirschfeld comments: 'The letters of this inscription are beautifully cut, but it need not on that account go further back than the third century B.C. . . . On the other hand, asyndeta of names as here in lines 2, 3, at least in artists' signatures, seem restricted to the fourth century.' Anticrates and Philocrates, sons of Epicrates, are named in *Milet* I iii no. 138 (loan from Cnidus to Miletus), and were therefore alive in 281 B.C. The inscription can hardly date before the late fourth century.

(vi) *BMI* 797; Newton no. 29; Kaibel no. 781. Found in the eastern necropolis.

βαιὸν ὁδοιπορίας ἐ[τ]ί λείπεται, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αἶπτος  
τὴν ὀλίγην ἀνύσεις ἀτραπιτὸν διέπων  
χειρὸς ἀφ' ἡμετέρης λαιῆς, ξένε, κάμ' προσείπας  
χαίρειν, εἰ στείχεις πρὸς φίλιον τέμενος  
ἥρωος Ἀντιγόνου· Μοῦσαι δέ σοι εἴ τι νέμουσιν  
ἔσθλόν, ἀπ[ά]ρχεσθαι δαίμοσιν ἐγ' μελέτης.  
καὶ γὰρ ἄοιδοῖσιν θυμέλη καὶ σηκὸς ὑ[π'] ἄγκει  
τῷ Ἐπιγόνου κούρωι ξυνὸς ὁμεινετίδος  
καὶ δρόμος ἡιθέοισιν ἰδρύεται· κτλ.

This inscription is by common consent dated to the third century B.C. Antigonus, son of Epigonus, is mentioned in *Milet* I iii no. 138; our text must therefore be later than 281 B.C.<sup>20</sup>

Only two other inscriptions found at Tekir require notice.

(vii) N. Chaviraras, *BCH* 1912, 533, no. 15, a jug of the late fifth century B.C., with contemporary inscription (see above p. 184, n. 59). We should read the inscription: 'Ἀντιμένεος ἡμι. καλὰ Δωρώι. Whether or not this jug comes from a tomb, so highly portable an object, not found by excavation, is valueless as chronological evidence.

(viii) No. 48 above, *stoichedon* epitaph in the eastern necropolis. We mention this since it is *stoichedon*, but we do not believe it goes back as far as 300 B.C.

It appears, therefore, that the literary and epigraphical evidence leads inevitably to the same conclusion as the archaeological. The two principal passages dealing with Cnidus in the fifth-century historians are unintelligible on the accepted view, but clear and straightforward on the view we propose. Cnidian decrees of the classical period are found at Burgaz, but nothing at Tekir that need be earlier than Alexander. Early epitaphs are frequent at Burgaz, unknown at Tekir. We have tried to deal fairly with the slight evidence on the other side; we cannot think it will be held to be serious.

#### OTHER LOCATIONS

We proceed to consider the question of Triopion. It is not strictly an essential part of our present business, but Triopion is so frequently mentioned in connection with Cnidus that a solution is undoubtedly desirable. No trace of the sanctuary of Triopian Apollo has hitherto been discovered on the peninsula, and our investigations were not more fortunate in this respect; nevertheless, we believe that in the light of the available evidence a provisional location may be possible. We assume, throughout the discussion, the position of classical Cnidus at Burgaz.

The first question is, *what* was Triopion? In Herodotus I 174, discussed above, it is

<sup>20</sup> We cannot agree with the translation given by Hirschfeld of this epigram. We understand: 'If you are going, stranger, to the precinct of the gracious hero Antigonus, but little of the journey remains [not 'of the road to Cnidus']; but that little you will accomplish by traversing the short path that leads uphill on my left hand, not forgetting to give me greeting; and if the Muses give you any good gift, make to the gods an offering from your repertoire [not 'a careful offering']'.

apparently a name for the whole seaward, *i.e.* western, portion of Cnidian territory. Stephanus *s.v.* calls it a *polis*: this is in itself worthless evidence, but it is indirectly confirmed by two other passages. Diodorus V 61 tells the foundation legend: Triopas arrives with his followers in the Cnidia, ἐν ᾗ κτίσαι τὸ καλούμενον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Τριόπιον. The verb κτίσαι implies a town or settlement of some kind. More remarkable is a somewhat neglected passage of Arrian (II 5, 7): Orontobates in 334-3 B.C. was holding in the Persian interest a number of places in this region—Myndus, Caunus, Thera and Callipolis: προσήκτο δὲ καὶ Κῶ καὶ Τριόπιον. If Triopion could be 'won over', it must have had a government of its own. We shall have occasion to revert to this passage. But most often Triopion is called a headland. In Thucydides VIII 35, it is ἄκρα τῆς Κνιδίας προύχουσα: as we said above, Thucydides is evidently thinking of the west end of the peninsula. So also in VIII 60: the Spartans sailing north from Rhodes catch sight περὶ Τριόπιον of the Athenian ships πελαγίας ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκῆς πλεούσας. Ps-Scylax 99 has ἀκρωτήριον ἱερὸν Τριόπιον. And Herodotus himself (IV 38) speaks of Τριόπιου ἄκρης.

This apparently conflicting testimony is not, we think, irreconcilable. Herodotus in I 174 is expressly concerned to describe the Cnidian territory; as a native of the neighbouring Halicarnassus he is not likely to be wrong. The name Triopion must be applicable to the western part of the peninsula generally.<sup>21</sup> But it must be remembered that, before the settlement of Tekir, Cnidian *chora* west of the city means in effect the central valley now containing the group of villages known collectively as Betçe. The rest is for the most part barren mountain land. Since there is good evidence for a town of Triopion, here surely is the place to look for it.<sup>22</sup> We conceive, then, that to a Cnidian Triopion meant geographically all the peninsula west of the city, but in practice it would mean the central valley, including the town and the sanctuary of Apollo. But to sailors passing up or down the coast (as in Thucydides) it would mean the cape they had to round; to geographers and historians requiring landmarks to designate broad areas (as in Herodotus IV 38; *cf.* Diodorus XI 3) it meant the boldly projecting promontory marking the point where the north-south coastline bends to the east.<sup>23</sup>

If we go further, and attempt to identify the actual site of the town in the central valley, we can hardly hesitate in our choice. One site is outstanding—Kumyer. The place and its antiquities have been described above (p. 181 f.): here alone are sherds and inscriptions of both archaic and Hellenistic date; here alone is a genuine acropolis.<sup>24</sup> Pending more definite evidence, we propose with some confidence to locate Triopion here.

That Triopion had a harbour distinct from that of Cnidus appears not only from Thucydides' narrative (VIII 35), but also from Plutarch, *Cimon* 12, where Cimon *ca.* 468 B.C. sails on his expedition to southern Asia Minor 'from Cnidus and Triopion'. This harbour must, we think, be the bay of Palamutbükü. Cimon's fleet was large, 200 ships; it is natural that he should make use of the two anchorages, as also of the two victualling points. Palamutbükü was probably used also by the Spartan ships in Thucydides.

Somewhere on the level ground in the central area was celebrated the festival of Triopian Apollo.<sup>25</sup> As observed above, we found no trace of the sanctuary, but a confirmatory indication may perhaps be drawn from the new inscription at Kumyer (no. 28, above), regulating

<sup>21</sup> Hence, perhaps, the name Triopion, 'facing three ways', with reference to the triangular shape of this part of the peninsula; *cf.* Trinacria. The eponymous Triopas may be safely discarded. (In Paus. X 11, 1 he is *oikistes* of Cnidus.) Leake, *Antiq. of Ionia* III 3, suggested that the name may allude to 'the triple summit which the promontory, under some aspects, presents to those who sail by it'.

<sup>22</sup> Tekir is not an attractive alternative; all the arguments against it as an early site for Cnidus (p. 184) apply equally as a site for Triopion. It is hardly conceivable that Tekir could be preferred to Betçe in early times.

<sup>23</sup> There is accordingly no necessity to look for Triopian Apollo at Tekir, as Thucydides' words in VIII 35 might seem to suggest.

<sup>24</sup> For the fortified hills near Yazıköy see above p. 181.

<sup>25</sup> The sanctuary itself was perhaps on a hill or knoll: *cf.* Τριόπιον κολώναν in Theocr. XVII 68.



the payment of rent by the *temenos* of Asclepius. To whom was this rent paid? Surely not to a private landowner; nor to the state. To whom more likely than to Triopian Apollo? It is well known that Asclepius tends to attach himself to his father Apollo, as at Epidaurus and elsewhere.<sup>26</sup>

Triopion was not in the fifth century an independent city, but formed part of the Cnidian state: Herodotus clearly so regards it. But in 334-33 B.C. the situation has apparently changed. Unless Arrian is using Triopion to mean Cnidus (which appears to us highly unlikely), Triopion had at that time a government independent of Cnidus.<sup>27</sup> For the status of Triopion after the move to Tekir there is no direct evidence, but there can be no reasonable doubt that a single government was again established. The Tekir-Burgaz road is sufficient proof in itself.

For other locations on Cnidian territory the evidence is slight. The archaic sanctuary site at Burgaz (pp. 174-75) is distinguished by the discovery there of the base of a dedication to the Dioscuri, and the cult may therefore have been of the twins; but a single dedication is not positive proof.<sup>28</sup> The cult at the sanctuary near Emecik (p. 172) cannot be identified, though a dedication to Apollo Karneios probably in honour of C. Julius Theupompos has been discovered not far below the site.<sup>29</sup> The settlement here was undoubtedly on Cnidian territory and cannot have been Bybassus (cf. p. 202); the only recorded name for a site between the *regio Bubassus* and Cnidus is the Acanthus-Dulopolis of Pliny *NH* V 104, which Spratt located at Burgaz. The shadowy Carian Chios seems to have been situated in the Carian Chersonese opposite the Cnidian territory;<sup>30</sup> it appears to have been assessed independently of the Chersonesian syntely in the Athenian lists,<sup>31</sup> and may have lain on the confines of the Cnidian peninsula east of Bencik.

#### THE DATE OF THE NEW FOUNDATION

Finally, the date of the removal to Tekir. It is of course tempting to associate it with the political changes that followed Alexander's victory at the Granicus in 334 B.C., and there is so much that supports this assumption that the case seems overwhelming at first sight. The site at Tekir, with its double harbour and splendid wall circuit, stands at the head of the series of Hellenistic strategic emplacements. The earliest closely dated pottery from the site belongs to the last third of the century. The earliest inscriptions of the new city, notably *BMI* 796 (PLATE 41, *c.* p. 206), seem in their lettering distinctly later than the Iphiadas decree from Burgaz (p. 186). The seated Demeter in the British Museum, which is assumed to be the cult-figure of a new sanctuary,<sup>32</sup> is most recently attributed to the sculptor Leochares and dated *c.* 330 B.C. on stylistic grounds.<sup>33</sup> The first direct mention of an existing democracy at Cnidus appears on an inscription recording the construction of a terrace at the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi, which is referred by Dittenberger to the years immediately following the liberation of the city

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *RE* s.v. 'Asklepios', 1655.

<sup>27</sup> The rude fortification, with tiles of *c.* fourth-century date, by the road in the valley west of Reşadiye (p. 176), can best be explained as a relic of this period of stasis on the peninsula.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. dedications to the Anakes and to the associated deities at the Demeter sanctuary at Tekir, *BMI* IV 1, nos. 804, 806, 810 f.

<sup>29</sup> *BCH* XXXIV 425, no. 1. Another dedication to Apollo Karneios in honour of Theupompos was copied by Hamilton at Tekir (W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor* II 439 no. 287).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the confused citation in Stephanus s.v. 'Chios'. Kiepert located it near Datça, see p. 209, n. 23.

<sup>31</sup> *ATL* I 565 f.

<sup>32</sup> Von Gerkan's argument that, being incorporated in the street-grid, this sanctuary must be coeval with the city on the mainland at Tekir (*Griechische Städteanlagen* 118) is not entirely convincing, since the building blocks are not likely initially to have extended so far out.

<sup>33</sup> Ashmole, *JHS* LXXI 13 ff. The series of terracotta figurines dedicated in the sanctuary seems also to start about the same date.

from Persian rule <sup>34</sup> and is dated c. 330 B.C. on other grounds; <sup>35</sup> and when the independent action of Triopion (p. 209) is taken into consideration, the evidence of political disturbance on Cnidian soil at this time is fully sufficient to account for the change of site. One geographer is also worth citing in this connection—Pseudo-Scylax, who is generally dated c. 350 B.C.; coming down the coast (99) he names Triopion before (*i.e.* presumably west of) Cnidus.

There is, however, another historical moment—a generation or so earlier—which deserves attention, and the evidence must therefore be re-examined. The closest parallels to the strategical lay-out at Cnidus are provided by Mytilene and Myndus; that of Mytilene may be as old as the fortification in 428 B.C., <sup>36</sup> and the first occupation of the site at Myndus <sup>37</sup> appears, from the visible remains, to date to the time of Mausolus' synoecism of the Carian towns in the second quarter of the fourth century. The absence of pottery of the middle ranges of the fourth century at Tekir cannot be considered decisive, since sherds of the earliest period are not numerous and only the odd fragments of black glaze wares admit of precise dating. The interval that separates the decree for Iphiadas from the earliest inscriptions of the new city cannot be measured precisely, and further the *proxenia* may have been conferred on Iphiadas a decade or more before his capture of Sestos c. 360 B.C.

The evidence of the statues at New Cnidus is likewise conflicting. The remarkable collection of works by fourth-century masters in Cnidus is partly of course attributable to local interest in art, but more particularly to be explained by the need (demonstrated by the Demeter) for cult-statues in the new sanctuaries. In addition to the famous Aphrodite of Praxiteles, Pliny, *NH* XXXVI 22, mentions a Dionysus by Bryaxis and a Dionysus and an Athena of Scopas—all of which may be presumed to have been acquired at the time of the change of site or afterwards. It is improbable that such works would have remained long unsold in the sculptors' workshops, and we may therefore expect them to have been purchased by the Cnidians during the period of activity of the masters named. Each of the three sculptors may in fact have been active as late as 330 B.C., but since they had all made their reputation by the middle of the century an earlier date for the ordering of the statues seems more appropriate. And in particular the assumption that the Cnidian Aphrodite, if not actually representing the recorded *floruit* of Praxiteles in the 104th Olympiad (364–61 B.C.), at least dates from his prime <sup>38</sup> is supported by the story that the Aphrodite acquired by the Cnidians had first been offered to the people of Cos; for New Cos was founded in 366/65 B.C., and the need for a new statue of Aphrodite is likely to have been felt there (as at Cnidus) from the start. These statues mentioned by Pliny at Cnidus, then, suggest an earlier date for the new sanctuaries than that assigned to the Demeter in the British Museum.

The institution of the democracy is likewise a perplexed issue. Aristotle in his *Politics* refers twice to Cnidus—in V, 1305b to illustrate a successful attack by the *Demos* on a too narrow oligarchy which was weakened by faction, and in V, 1306b as an example of an oligarchy which was overthrown because it was too despotic. The first passage suggests that the overthrow of the oligarchy may have been followed by a democracy, and Leake plausibly connected the recorded legislation of Eudoxus at Cnidus <sup>39</sup> with this event. <sup>40</sup> If this were so, the establishment of the democracy could not be dated later than the fifties of the century since Eudoxus'

<sup>34</sup> *SIG* 290.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *BCH* LXXIV 325, on account of the striking similarity to the inscriptions of the Thessalian Monument.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Koldewey, *Antike Bauresten der I. Lesbos* 3 ff.

<sup>37</sup> *Admiralty Chart* no. 1531; *Ann.* IV-V 265 ff. The earlier settlement (Palaia Myndos) was not on this site.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Rizzo, *Praxiteles* 48; Lippold *PhW* 1934, 53.

<sup>39</sup> *Diog. L.* VIII 88; *Plut. adv. Coloten* 1126d.

<sup>40</sup> *Antiquities of Ionia* III 10; cf. Halliday, *Greek Questions of Plutarch* 47 f. on *QG* 4.

death is reckoned c. 355 B.C.<sup>41</sup> The position of Eudoxus' 'observatory' at Cnidus, from which he detected the star Canopus, cannot be ascertained; but Strabo's mentions of it as not far above the houses<sup>42</sup> and as pointed out in front of Cnidus<sup>43</sup> might imply a traditional association with New Cnidus rather than with the old site.

Alexander and his successors were not in fact the first to attempt to concentrate the Greeks of Asia in strong fortified cities. In the second quarter of the fourth century Mausolus remodelled the old city of Halicarnassus to serve as his capital and established a new city—that of Myndus which most closely resembles New Cnidus in its lay-out—on the end of the Halicarnassian peninsula. At the same time he was extending his power to the Greek islands adjacent to the Carian coast, and the threat of aggression may even have been one of the motives behind the removal of the Coans to a new site at the north point of their island.<sup>44</sup> The establishment of a new city, strategically stronger than their old one, might well have been undertaken by the Cnidians also at this time, whether at Mausolus' instance or (less probably) for protection against him. This is a historical moment which also cannot be ignored. As between a date after the Battle of the Granicus and one a generation or so earlier when Mausolus was extending the limits of his sovereignty, there is little to choose. The later date is supported by the surface pottery at Tekir,<sup>45</sup> by the stylistic dating of the Demeter and by the presumed political independence of Triopion in 334–33 B.C.: against this, the statues by other fourth-century masters and the connection of Cnidus and Cos support the earlier one.

G. E. BEAN  
J. M. COOK

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *RE* s.v. 'Eudoxos' 931. It might in fact be argued that the unctioing of *prostatai* in the decrees for Iphiadas and Parmenon (pp. 186–87) implies the existence of a democratic constitution before 360 B.C.

<sup>42</sup> II 119.

<sup>43</sup> XVII 807 δείκνυται γὰρ σκοπή τις πρὸ τῆς Ἡλίου πόλεως, καθάπερ πρὸ τῆς Κνίδου.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *CAH* VI 210.

<sup>45</sup> Since the above statement was written Mr. P. E. Corbett has examined the two fragments of glazed plates with rouletting referred to on p. 184 n. 59 and assigned one to the third quarter, and the other to the last quarter of the fourth century.

## RECENT RESTORATION AND PRESERVATION OF THE MONUMENTS OF THE KNIGHTS IN RHODES

(PLATES 42-43)

EVEN before Greece took over the administration of the Dodecanese, the Ministry of Education in Athens had sent the Director of the Monuments Restoration Service, Professor A. Orlandos of Athens University, to examine the state of the antiquities of the islands. It was thus possible for the local Archaeological Service, soon after the Greek Military Administration was installed in 1947, to start at once repairing the grave damage caused to the ancient monuments of Rhodes during the war. The main damage has been described in the official English publication *Works of Art in Greece, the Greek Islands and the Dodecanese* (London 1946), issued by the British Committee on the Preservation and Restoration of Works of Art, Archives and other Material in Enemy Hands, as also in the supplement to the above Report by T. W. French in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* XLIII (1948), 193 ff.

During the latter part of the war the town of Rhodes, particularly the mediaeval quarter, suffered heavy bombardment which destroyed many monuments and damaged others. Consequently the work of restoration began in that section of the town, and a large part of the resources of the Antiquities Service of the Government of the Dodecanese is earmarked for the conservation and repair of these monuments. The following work has been carried out up to date.

Near the modern 'Gate of Liberty', opposite the ruins of the Temple of Aphrodite, a large section of the mediaeval wall has been restored (PLATE 42, a). At the same time the base of the Heredia Tower overlooking it has been strengthened, as this had become insecure owing to the collapse of the wall.

The beautiful main gateway of the Commercial Harbour, which also had suffered heavy damage, has been restored. The extent and difficulty of this work may be gauged by comparing PLATE 42, b and d. The picture showing the state of the gate before reconstruction is taken from Mr. French's article.

On the inner side of the wall which separated the official quarter of the town or 'Collachium' from the 'Burgh', extensive repairs have been carried out to the tower behind the gateway already described, while further to the east, near the Commercial Harbour, the restoration of two sections of wall, which had suffered from bombardment, is in course of execution. When this work is completed, visitors will once more be able to follow the circuit of the walls throughout their entire length, thus being able to obtain a marvellous prospect of the ramparts and their surroundings. Repairs have also been carried out in other parts of the enceinte of the Commercial Harbour, and a large piece of the inner wall to the north-east of the Castle, 17 metres long and 10 metres high, has been restored. This is the sector which was maintained and guarded by the Knights of the 'Tongue of Provence'.

Another important work has been the reconstruction of the Gate of St. John, now known as the 'Red Gate'. Here the entire arched gateway has been rebuilt, the tower repaired and the fragments of the bas-relief of St. John replaced in position over the entrance (PLATE 43, a).

In Mandraki Harbour the fort of St. Nicholas is in course of restoration. Here, owing to the fact that part of the wall had collapsed into the sea, a submarine operation by divers was necessary in order to bring up the old stones from the sea bottom.

Close to the fort three mediaeval windmills have been restored and put in working order



on the jetty, part of which dates from classical times. Today the visitor to Rhodes will see these windmills once more in their original state. With their white sails they add a note of picturesque movement to the historical setting.

The above are the works of reconstruction already accomplished or in progress in the mediaeval fortifications. In addition, the preliminary survey for the reconstruction of the Gate of St. Paul and of the adjoining bastion of the 'Tongue of France' has been finished and it is expected that both these works will be completed within the year.

At the same time, the damaged part of the wall of the Commercial Harbour, by the 'Tower of the Angels' near the Customs House, is to be restored and certain repairs still remaining to be carried out in other secondary parts of the enceinte will be completed.

Mediaeval Rhodes, which occupies a low-lying position by the sea, has a complete circuit of fortifications. In this respect it differs from other such fortresses placed in strong natural positions where the construction is no more than an elaboration of the terrain. Further, the very considerable modification of the ramparts of Rhodes after the mid-fifteenth century, designed to meet the new problems of defence consequent on the discovery of gunpowder, resulted in a remodelling of the original plan of the fortification so as to form a homogeneous whole. Today the walls, admirably preserved, with their battlements, towers, and bastions, and set against a deep moat amid a luxuriant vegetation of purple bougainvillea and scarlet hibiscus, are unique among the architectural monuments of the Middle Ages. All lovers of art and history will rejoice to learn that this great bulwark of Christian civilisation has survived all the vicissitudes of the late war and is properly looked after.

The Dodecanese Archaeological Service has shown equal concern for the monuments of the mediaeval city of Rhodes, chief among them the historic 'Street of the Knights'. Some time before the war, as the result of careful restoration, this street had been rid of the later Turkish accretions and alterations, and restored to its original appearance. This street, which was the central thoroughfare of the City of the Knights, while it contains a few earlier buildings such as the imposing 'Hostel of the Spanish Tongue' in which the British Consulate is now housed, took shape as a whole during the last decades of the fifteenth century, the greatest period of the Knights' architectural achievement. Apart from the beauty of the façades, richly adorned with escutcheons, the Street of the Knights presents a harmonious architectural whole, with the form of the buildings planned in proper relation to each other and to the sloping terrain terminating in the Hall of St. John opposite the Palace of the Grand Masters.

The general appearance of the street had been marred as the result of bombardment which caused large gaps in four places, at the beginning and in the middle. The second house on the right-hand side going up has been completely restored in all its details, and the houses adjoining have also been repaired. Further, the wrecked part of the beautiful House of the French Tongue has been rebuilt together with its archway, as has the house to the south of it (PLATE 43, *b*). The restoration of the French House was accomplished with funds supplied by the French Government, under the direction of the Greek Service of Antiquities, working in close collaboration with Professor Gabriel, who carried out the original reconstruction many years ago. This work presented serious difficulties on account of the existing façade being 32 centimetres out of the perpendicular at an average height of 11 metres, a defect which had to be neutralised.

Within the passage-way beside the French House the very interesting knight's house known as the 'House of Prince Tzitzim' has been repaired. This had been damaged by shell fire and, having become derelict, was in a very bad state.

Opposite the French House, the bombed south wing of the house of the knight Villaragut,

in the garden of the Museum, has been restored and is to house the collection of Greek handicrafts.

Reconstruction work has been carried out on other buildings in the Street of the Knights, especially to the one near the arch of St. John, which today houses the annexe of the Athens Higher School of Fine Arts.

Many repairs have also had to be carried out on the restored Palace of the Grand Masters, which had suffered heavy damage as the result of four years' continual use by the military. The damage to the thirty ancient mosaics from Kos, which were set in the floor of the Palace after its restoration by the Italians, has also been repaired.

Also inside the mediaeval town construction work has been completed on the Archaeological Institute, which is housed in the ancient Hospice of the Knights, in what is today Argyrocastro Square, and on the Armoury. This work was begun under the British Military Government.

Opposite the Institute, the 'House of the Tongue of Auvergne' and the fallen roof of the arch near the Temple of Aphrodite have been rebuilt (PLATE 42, c).

The harmonious façade of the newer Hospice of the Knights, now the Rhodes Museum, which was struck by naval shells, has been restored, and most of the rooms, where the antiquities are exhibited, are now in order. Of the rooms still awaiting completion the most interesting is the Refectory, which it is hoped will be finished by the coming winter.

Opposite the Museum, the 'House of the English Tongue', bequeathed by the late Colonel Sir Vivian Gabriel to the British Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, was repaired in 1949 by the British Council, which had planned to house its branch there. During the current year repairs were carried out to the roof by the Greek Service of Antiquities.

In the 'Burgh', the building known as the 'Castellania', and the bombed Gothic domes of the roof of the annex have been restored. Herein are housed the historic archives of the Dodecanese.

Further east, the so-called 'Admiralty of the Knights' is under repair. This still needs considerable attention before it can be restored to its pre-war state. Against the north-west wall of the garden, near the ruins of the Church of Our Lady of Victory, the Chapel of St. Panteleimon has been completely restored with the re-erection of the northern arm of the cross which it forms. This is known to have been built by the Grand Master d'Aubusson in honour of the Greeks who took part in repelling the Turks in 1480 during the great siege of Rhodes.

In what is today Simios Street an interesting knight's house, which had been abandoned and had fallen into a dangerously ruinous state, has been restored.

Conservation work has also been carried out in most of the Byzantinesque churches in the old town. The majority of these churches were built by the Greek inhabitants in their own architectural style during the rule of the Knights.

On the ancient Acropolis of Ialysos, the Church of Our Lady of Philerimo and the Byzantine crypt beneath it, decorated with frescoes of Knights, have been restored. The modern monastery, which had suffered from bombardment, has been fully repaired.

Apart from the island of Rhodes, the enclosure of the mediaeval fortress of Astypalaia has been consolidated.

These are the chief works of reconstruction and conservation which have been carried out to the Knightly and other mediaeval monuments of the Dodecanese, these being given priority in the order of work for the reasons stated above. Similar consideration has also been given to the Classical, early Christian, Byzantine, and more recent monuments, which are in urgent need of repair.

In order to appreciate fully what has been achieved, it should be remembered that the major part of the restoration work was put in hand during these last years when Greece, already exhausted by the trials of the world struggle, was engaged in a fresh war on her own territory.



THE RECENTLY RESTORED ST. PAUL'S GATE.

The above review will make it clear that notwithstanding its many other urgent economic commitments, the Greek State has not failed in its duty towards the monuments of its newly liberated territories.

I. D. KONDIS

*Note.* After this article was finished in December 1951, work has been continued in Rhodes. The Gate and Tower of St. Paul (FIG.) have been restored, as had previously been planned, and also the 'Tower of the Angels', near the Customs House. M. Paul Lazaridis, Inspector of Antiquities in the Directorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, has played an active and valuable part in the whole undertaking.

# TYPE, GROUP AND SERIES: A RECONSIDERATION OF SOME COROPLASTIC FUNDAMENTALS

(PLATES 44-45)

ALTHOUGH so much that has been written about ancient terracotta figurines has concentrated particularly on their arrangement into groups of various kinds, very little attention has been given specifically to the principles necessarily governing any such classification. The object of the present article is to attempt to remedy this neglect in so far as it concerns Greek mould-made terracottas, more especially of the archaic period. This chronological restriction has been thought desirable, partly because of the limitations of my own acquaintance at first hand with material of later date, partly because rather different technical factors do somewhat influence the classification of, for example, Hellenistic terracottas.<sup>1</sup> But it is not to be overlooked that, with suitable modifications, the principles considered here probably have a validity that extends far beyond the archaic period in time and, for that matter, far beyond Greece in area. In the interests of simplicity and clarity it will be necessary to restrict to the basically essential the illustrative material employed and the critical appraisals of classificatory systems used by earlier writers. To offset this brevity let it here be stated that it is expected that the near future will see the publication of the first <sup>2</sup> of a series of detailed studies in which the principles here evolved will be applied on a large scale. Technical matters will be dealt with here only in so far as they have a direct bearing on classification.

From a consideration of certain works that appear particularly significant to the problem in hand it will be found that in the past there have been applied three different systems of classification, which might individually be termed typological, stylistic, and mechanical. It will be our task to examine each of these in turn and then to see in what way they can be reconciled one with another.

## (a) *The Type as the Unit.*

With the publication of Winter's *Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* in 1903 there became securely enthroned a unit of great convenience and one singularly adapted to the tracing of the history and development of individual motifs, and yet one whose over-employment has given rise to a neglect of more fundamental stylistic criteria. This unit was the type. Its present-day meaning in the field of terracotta studies is not easy to define, partly because there has often been little consistency in its use. The ancient word, τύπος, had the technical meaning of mould,<sup>3</sup> although it may occasionally also have been used for the archetype from which the mould itself was formed,<sup>4</sup> besides possessing a much wider sphere of application. The mechanical unit of classification that the etymology of the word might thus imply would require the assembling together of pieces from the same mould-series and, with considerable limitations,<sup>5</sup> the primary units in Winter's catalogue do accomplish this.<sup>6</sup> But if we are to understand the implications of type as the word has been generally applied we must concern

<sup>1</sup> See p. 225. Incidentally it might not be amiss here to point out that part of what is said below has some relevance to fields far beyond that of terracotta figurines, e.g. to the study of much of the mould-made plastic decoration on clay vases, lamp discs etc., and to the classification of terracotta reliefs.

<sup>2</sup> On archaic Attic terracottas. I would like at this point to record my gratitude to the Committee of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, whose generosity has made my terracotta studies possible.

<sup>3</sup> *Hermes* LXIII 391 ff.; *Corolla Curtius* 95 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Neutsch, *Studien zur voranagarchisch-attischen Koroplastik* 3.

<sup>5</sup> On the insuperable difficulties met in fitting a mechanical classification to a typological framework see pp. 224-52.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 221.



ourselves not with these primary units but with the way they are themselves arranged. As far as terracottas are concerned, perhaps the most interesting discussion of the philosophy that lies behind the classification by types in this wider sense is that presented by Kleiner in introducing his elaborate study of Tanagra figurines.<sup>7</sup> But if we are to be brutally realistic, and at this juncture we must be, without, however, ignoring the interest of the metaphysics involved, we are obliged to consider the type as consisting of a number of pieces bearing a strong resemblance to one another in no more than general external appearance and shape. One of the basic advantages of the type as thus determined as a unit of classification is that it can regularly be defined purely verbally<sup>8</sup> (e.g. seated woman with child, standing Artemis with bow, veiled mask-protome, etc.), without the need to invoke those further visual aids essential to any stylistic classification. In actual practice an arrangement by types may be regarded as existing on two levels, first in the broad general divisions such as those suggested above and then, subordinate to these, in the more specialised ones defining specific poses, drapery motifs, etc.

However, a classification of terracotta material by types may be regarded as lying in quite a different plane from a stylistic classification; for, to take a simple instance, the products of individual workshops will spread over a wide range of types while only very occasionally will any one type be the sole prerogative of any single workshop; and indeed a single type frequently transcends the limits not only of workshops but also of whole fabrics. In its own sphere of producing a detailed knowledge of the derivation and development of treatments of themes and poses the type is invaluable, but, from what has been said above, it will generally be agreed that it is completely unsuitable for adaptation as a unit of more purely stylistic classification.<sup>9</sup> Also, the attempt to rivet stylistic elements to a typological frame produces an extreme disjunctiveness of treatment as Kleiner's Tanagra study bears witness.<sup>10</sup>

So, if we are to evaluate the subtler aesthetic inter-relationships between the figurines themselves, we must consider ourselves obliged to escape from the straight-jacket of externals that type imposes (while not, however, neglecting the useful information that this kind of approach produces) and to devise a unit of a different order to cover the more fundamental stylistic connections that may span several types.

#### (b) *The Group as the Unit.*

Probably the most significant of all attempts to evolve a stylistic classification for plastic material in clay is not concerned directly with terracotta figurines at all. It is to be found in Beazley's analysis of the Attic head-vases.<sup>11</sup> The unit here employed is called the 'group'. As applied it, too, does not seem altogether easy to define exactly, since its form, as presumably originally conceived, appears to have been somewhat modified by the nature of the material involved; fundamentally, however, it consists of pieces that resemble each other in such a way as to suggest that they are the work of the same modeller, sometimes combined with others, less surely stylistically related, which the exigencies of the material prevent being readily separated from the former, e.g. certain of the heads on the other sides of Janiform vases.<sup>12</sup> Basically the unit of classification represents the individual artist—the man who made things—as opposed to some artificial subdivision of some artificially delimited phase of some local style.

<sup>7</sup> Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren* 2 ff.

<sup>8</sup> The need for a universally accepted range of terms covering the different types is very pressing, particularly for the earlier periods.

<sup>9</sup> The restrictiveness of a typological classification is particularly evident when applied to material of archaic date.

<sup>10</sup> Kleiner, *op. cit.* See especially the review in *AJA* LIV 440 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *JHS* XLIX 38 ff., *ARV* 892 ff.

<sup>12</sup> The mere physical union of two heads on a Janiform vase is in itself, independently of stylistic criteria, naturally no certain evidence for a common attribution of the two originals, and this is particularly the case where one or both of the heads is not of the first generation (see pp. 219–20).

If we are to adapt such a system to figurines of terracotta we need to bear in mind the wide range of quality and, indeed, of size that this material displays. Only in some cases can we confidently attribute different pieces (*i.e.* ones not already 'mechanically related' as defined on p. 220) to the same coroplast, so that if we are to consider any body of material in full we need a general unit that will cover probable as well as certain attributions. The group, its significance again slightly extended by the exigencies of the material, is here, too, clearly the answer. Let us define it as a mass of material closely related stylistically, presumably, though not always quite certainly, because it is the work of the same modeller or, at least, of the same workshop.

Under a variety of names and perhaps not always with this connotation clearly in mind such a system has already been applied by a number of scholars. For example, in his article on archaic Argive terracottas,<sup>13</sup> Jenkins arranges his material into what he calls 'classes' which correspond in the main with our own stylistic units, or groups. At least, it seems important to realise that the fundamental unity, for example, of his Classes E and F<sup>14</sup> is more likely to be due to the individual conception of the artists who devised their archetypes than to some abstract chronological force. However, a closer examination of these two classes, or groups as we may now prefer to call them, suggests that the basic resemblances shared by the heads pl. 14, 3-5 in his article on the one hand, or those on pl. 15, 1-6 on the other, may possibly be due to a purely mechanical relationship arising from the fact that the three Class E heads are derived ultimately from the same archetype, and that likewise the six Class F heads share a common source, although some of them are far removed from it by derivative production.<sup>15</sup>

Similarly, re-examining the head-vase classification, we also get the impression that quite a lot of the material within the groups, quite apart from the exact replicas, is actually mechanically related. If our system of classification is to be completely consistent and valid, clearly we need to evolve yet another unit, normally subordinate to the group, to cover these mechanical relationships in order that we may feel confident that we are ranging like with like.

#### (c) *The Series as the Unit.*

Ancient mould-made terracottas were mass-produced. Like coins they were made in huge numbers by a fundamentally mechanical process,<sup>16</sup> and any attempt to classify them needs to take into account the methods of their manufacture.

Pieces from the same mould have, of course, been identified times without number and, especially where they display in common some distinctive fault on the mould and identical dimensions, such identifications are likely to be indisputable. But this, unfortunately, takes us only a very little on the way to an understanding of a most complicated pattern of manufacture.

A grasp of the principles of derivative production helps us much further on the way. This is simply the process whereby existing terracotta figurines were themselves used as prototypes for the production of further moulds which served to manufacture still more figurines of the same kind, but appreciably smaller in size due to the shrinkage of the clay. Just what had happened was quite early recognised by scholars,<sup>17</sup> but no thorough-going consideration

<sup>13</sup> *BSA XXXII* 23 ff. This article is also of importance for the advances it makes in dealing with the problem of derivative foreign production (see p. 221).

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.* pls. 14 and 15. The application of our rather different criteria suggests the need for some minor changes. Pl. 13, 3 and perhaps also pl. 14, 1 would seem to belong better with Class E, whereas pl. 14, 2 is perhaps rather happier in Class C from which, incidentally, pl. 13, 4 probably needs to be exiled (Dunbabin, *Western Greeks* 277, n. 4). As not all this material has been accessible to me I can make only tentative suggestions at this stage.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 221.

<sup>16</sup> It is, of course, impossible now to estimate the volume of production, but it seems likely that the number of pieces derived directly or indirectly from a single archetype not infrequently amounted to several thousands.

<sup>17</sup> *E.g.* by Martha, *Cat. des fig. en terre cuite du Mus. de la Soc. Arch. d'Athènes*, *Introd.* xxiii.

of the problem was even attempted until the appearance of Elizabeth Jastrow's able article on the subject in 1941.<sup>18</sup> What remains for us to do is mainly to translate her observations into practice in so far as the classification of terracotta figurines is concerned and at the same time to devise a suitable range of English terms to meet the requirements of the situation.

In brief what happened was something like this.<sup>19</sup> An archetype or patris was made, normally in clay, and baked. From this clay moulds were taken which, after firing, served to produce the terracottas that were actually put on the market. Let us call these moulds taken directly from the archetype first generation moulds and the pieces produced from them first generation figurines. As we shall see below<sup>20</sup> it seems probable that these first generation moulds were usually prepared by the same man who had been responsible for the creation of the archetype, and we may assume, barring the uncommon occurrence of the sale or export of a first generation mould, that the resultant first generation figurines are from the parent workshop and in the native clay. Already the shrinkage both of their own clay and of that of their moulds, both in hardening in the air and in firing, has made them distinctly smaller than their archetype.<sup>21</sup>

Now, anyone else attracted by the pieces under consideration and wishing to venture into large-scale production of them has only to buy one of these first generation figurines, clean off the painting and slip and use it to produce yet further moulds. These moulds will be of the second generation, and the figurines they produce will be second generation pieces which can be distinguished from those of the first generation by their yet smaller size. This process may, over a period of time, come to be repeated several times with a regular and progressive loss of size. In fact, I have observed terracottas that appear to pass through as many as five generations. Let us term a number of figurines derived in this way directly or remotely from a single archetype a 'series'.<sup>22</sup> As regards the components of the series, all save the first generation may be from any workshop and of any clay or fabric. These subsequent generations we may term 'derivative'. The pieces shown on PLATE 44 (a) offer a simple and graphic reconstruction of the process. Here we have an ancient Attic figurine, a modern derivative mould taken from it and a modern derivative figurine produced from that mould. The loss of size is obvious.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> 'Abformung und Typenwandel in der antiken Tonplastik', *Opuscula Archaeologica Inst. Rom. Reg. Suec.* II: 1 ff. For earlier references to the problem see especially I n. 1, 13 n. 3, 21 n. 4 in her study. Terracotta figurines, as opposed to reliefs, are treated more particularly on 21 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Knoblauch, *Studien zur archaisch-griechischen Tonbilderei in Kreta, Rhodos, Athen und Böotien* 105; Kleiner, *op. cit.* 4 ff.; Neutsch, *op. cit.* 3 ff.

<sup>20</sup> See p. 222.

<sup>21</sup> Jastrow, *op. cit.* 2 ff.; Neutsch, *op. cit.* 6. The degree of shrinkage varies according to the clay, its preparation, and the technique (e.g. thickness of walls) of the figurines themselves, but this variation is not sufficient to influence a division into generations as here made. A greater difficulty in this regard arises from the diversity presented by certain 'parallel moulds' (on which see p. 223). Most of the shrinkage occurs when the piece is drying in the air, only a little in the firing. Thus, of the two small protomai shown on PLATE 44 (b), only the right-hand one has been fired, the other having merely been left to dry in the air for a few days. The difference in size is only slight.

<sup>22</sup> Because of the totally different meaning it has acquired (see p. 217) 'type' can no longer be used to express this mechanical relationship. 'Series' is employed by Knoblauch (*op. cit.* 105) with something approaching our meaning, while Kleiner's use of 'Reihe' (*op. cit.* 3 and frequently) also to some extent adumbrates our term.

<sup>23</sup> I wish here to record my gratitude to Mrs. I. Triandafyllidis of Amarousi, Athens, for her kindness in affording me the facilities for producing and firing the modern pieces illustrated on PLATE 44. They are in Attic clay and have been baked in a wood-fired kiln at an estimated temperature of 850–900° C. The fact that some of the pieces have a texture approximating to actual archaic ones whereas others appear to have been fired at a slightly higher temperature than their ancient counterparts (e.g. the right-hand one of the two protomai on PLATE 44 (b) has been baked to the hard red commonly found among Attic terracottas of the Roman period) suggests that in archaic times a lower temperature was used, though perhaps not one very much lower. The shrinkage of the seated statuette shown in PLATE 44 (a) is as follows. The measurements are in metres.

	Ancient figurine.	Deriv. mould.	Deriv. figurine.
Total ht.	0.125	0.115	0.107
Width of shoulders	0.043	0.04	0.0375
Ht. of face	0.0216	0.02	0.0185
Dist. from centre of lips to inside corners of eyes (p. 224, n. 47)	0.0063	c. 0.0059	0.0054



This brings us to the important question of derivative foreign production,<sup>24</sup> whereby derivatives of this kind were manufactured in large numbers in centres remote from those where they had their beginnings. This practice seems to have been very widespread in almost all periods of Greek mould-made terracotta production. As far as archaic times are concerned it has already been observed by a number of writers, particularly in connection with the production of Late Corinthian pieces in the Argolid<sup>25</sup> and of East Greek ones in Magna Graecia.<sup>26</sup> Such derivative production is of great interest for the pattern of influences it betrays. But it is so very extensive that it frequently makes it difficult to determine where individual terracottas were first devised. Clearly the fundamental approach in such cases is to identify the first generation examples and examine their fabric.

The identifying of pieces as mechanically related, though without arranging them systematically in their generations, has actually played an important part in terracotta classification. Thus, in Winter's work, the ranging together of the pieces that he considers identical, or almost so, in each case does involve employing a criterion of this nature.<sup>27</sup> Also, many more recent studies have contributed much by assembling units of mechanically related material,<sup>28</sup> though on a less sweeping scale. Incidentally, it is to be regretted that in his article on the strong style<sup>29</sup> V. H. Poulsen did not make a really close mechanical analysis of his terracotta material; for it seems likely that an examination of the derivative fabrics would have yielded very interesting results in this case, while its importance in reinforcing the local attributions involved is not to be neglected.

So far we have considered the series only as a simple succession of generations. Diagrammatically it could be represented as a vertical line passing from the archetype down through the different generations themselves. It still remains, however, to consider what one might regard as the horizontal dimension of the diagram, and this, the most complicated aspect of all, has been much neglected up to the present. Let us, then, here make the attempt in so far as it is significant to our devising a mechanical unit of classification.

Technically speaking, perhaps what strikes one most forcibly about ancient mould-made terracottas is the remarkable degree of miniature skill that they display. In fact, in the best pieces a measure of surface finish and a precision of detail is achieved that seems out of all relation to their material and scale. I believe that this is accomplished by developing to the full the opportunities offered by each of the two main phases present in the actual process of creating a new original, that is to say both in the free modelling of the archetype and in the finishing of the mould taken from it. In archaic times the finest work is usually to be seen in the treatment of the heads; so let us here attempt a detailed reconstruction of the process as applied to the creation of a new head. The archetype is first modelled approximately to shape by being built up gradually in small masses of soft clay. As the desired contours are obtained the surface may be smoothed with moistened fingers and, as the clay hardens, greater precision may be given by cutting back slightly with a sharp tool, while, in the dry state, the whole surface is probably burnished with a cloth. Certain details, however, appear normally either not to have been indicated at all on the archetype or else to have appeared only as blanks giving their approximate position and shape. These are principally the hair treatment, the

<sup>24</sup> Jastrow, *op. cit.* 21 ff.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. *MA* XXXII 210; Van Ufford, *Terres cuites siciliennes* 62 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Frickenhaus, *Tiryns* I 86; *BSA* XXXII 33 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Winter, *op. cit.*; unfortunately his estimate of identity frequently requires checking, especially in the case of the archaic pieces. Likewise the very useful bibliographical and other information in the catalogue to Knoblauch, *op. cit.*, is occasionally vitiated by a somewhat irresponsible use of the terms 'identisch' and 'ähnlich'.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. *Hesperia* XI 380 ff., no. IV. a.5.; *Hesperia* Suppl. VIII 353 ff. (to which should be added Danish National Museum, no. 7769, Breitenstein, *Cat. of Terracottas*, no. 351 and pl. 40).

<sup>29</sup> *ActArch* VIII 1 ff.



eyebrows, the eye-outlines, the exact outer edges of the lips, and the details of the ears. The archetype is now fired, and the first mould is taken from it. The various details that we have observed as not appearing on the archetype are now cut in intaglio on the mould,<sup>30</sup> according to their depth at various stages in the hardening of the clay, the final touches sometimes being added by scratching on the hardened clay of the mould with a metal point, thereby producing extremely fine relief lines on the pieces taken from it.<sup>31</sup> The general result is that the details so incised achieve a sharpness and sureness of line on the finished product that could not readily be obtained by any other means. Before firing the principal surfaces of the mould, too, were probably burnished. Such would seem to be the process. It is to be observed that the cutting in intaglio is often no less important than the shaping of the archetype itself, and we may assume that normally archetype and first generation moulds were produced by the same hand,<sup>32</sup> most commonly at about the same time.

An example may make this clearer. The precision of detail on the terracotta relief fragment T. 563<sup>33</sup> from the American excavations in the Athenian Agora has occasioned such admiration that the piece has generally been regarded as coming from a metal original.<sup>34</sup> In her analysis of the fragment, however, Mrs. Thompson makes the important contribution that the relief lines on the hair and eyebrow and the small cylindrical raised curls could only have been produced by intaglio-work on a mould, in as much as they stand out in relief from an even plane surface below and are not cut down from a plane surface lying above as would have been the case if the original had been an ordinary cast bronze.<sup>35</sup> This leads her to assume that the piece is taken directly or indirectly from a mould made of metal.<sup>36</sup> This assumption I believe to be both unnecessary and unlikely: unnecessary because the same effects can be achieved much more readily on a clay mould; unlikely because the processes involved are quite common amongst Attic terracottas of this date, and such relief lines, for example, appear in diverse forms on pieces taken from the same archetype, showing that they were incised on a wide variety of moulds, surely of clay, made directly from it.<sup>37</sup>

In order to win credence I have endeavoured to reconstruct the process by which such a relief was made. The modern archetype, mould, and completed relief shown on PLATE 44 (c) are a free modern creation involving technical problems similar to those met with on the

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Neutsch, *op. cit.* 6.

<sup>31</sup> Very simple work of this kind has been done on the mould producing the small protomai in PLATE 44 (bi). Fine-line incision is sometimes also employed on the archetype, but much less frequently, and with much less striking results. It is usually readily distinguishable from incision on the mould and, as it normally appears on all moulds from the same archetype, has no relevance to the question of identifying the different parallel moulds discussed on p. 223. Where both processes are employed to the full one may propose the following general distinction: intaglio-work on the mould results in sharp raised masses on the finished article, whereas archetype-work produces sharp sunken ones as well as laying out the broader more even areas.

<sup>32</sup> Except, of course, for the possibility of much later re-issues from an archetype that had been preserved. Moreover, it seems likely that in some cases at least the archetype and first generation moulds were produced by a professional artist who also worked in other materials, and under such circumstances we may regard the actual creative process as being somewhat sundered from the mass-production that next took place in the coroplast's workshop. This is a question that will be considered more fully in my subsequent study. Here let it suffice to draw attention to the definite lack of sympathy between the modeller of the original and the mechanic who did the painting on, e.g., many archaic Attic terracottas, and the clumsy adaptations and even actual misuse of good moulds observed by Wolters (*Corolla Curtius* 96 ff.).

<sup>33</sup> *Hesperia* IV 370, fig. 26; VIII 285, fig. 1.

<sup>34</sup> *Hesperia* VIII 285 ff.

<sup>35</sup> This is not, of course, to imply that all fine-line incision on ordinary bronzework was necessarily done after casting; for example, one may reasonably suspect that the hair on the Acropolis bronze no. 6445 (De Ridder, no. 740; Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 35, middle) may have been rendered by a series of overlapping groups of wavy lines cut with a fine comb-like instrument on the wax model from which the bronze was cast. But in such cases, too, the incision is done, so to speak, on the positive and not by intaglio-working of the negative.

<sup>36</sup> *Hesperia* VIII 287. And so, most recently, Züchner in *Jdl* LXV-LXVI 199. As to Züchner's revival (*op. cit.* 202) of Brunn's suggestion (*Kleine Schriften* II 102) that Melian reliefs were made from moulds, perhaps of wood, that had been cut out in intaglio, here it need only be stressed that intaglio-working on the mould plays a very important part in the production of these reliefs, but that it is surely done on moulds of clay, themselves taken from clay archetypes.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. the pieces shown on PLATE 45. It is to be hoped that my Attic article will make many other examples known.

Agora relief fragment and, if due allowance be made for the author's inexperience in modelling in clay, should afford a fairly clear illustration of the processes involved. The archetype shows the main contours completed and the blanking out of the areas to be rendered in intaglio on the mould.<sup>38</sup> The small 'dot-curls' were produced by pricking the soft mould with the end of a tiny cylinder of wood. The main shaping of the ear was also done when the mould was still quite moist. When the clay had hardened considerably the eyebrow and the wavy lines on the hair were cut with a metal point. At this stage, too, final work was done on the ear, eye, and lips.

Now, to revert to our general thesis, as a large number of moulds was usually taken directly from a single archetype, and as the details done in intaglio on them had to be cut afresh in each case, we must inevitably expect these moulds to show an element of variation in the rendering of such details. And in actual fact in some cases every effort is made to lend as much variety as possible by very diverse treatments of the intaglio-work. The result in such instances is that we have a number of moulds very different in some ways, very similar in others, and these I have chosen to call 'parallel moulds'. Also, it is to be observed that, with the weakening of the precision of the detail in derivative moulds,<sup>39</sup> there is often a tendency to re-do the intaglio-work, sometimes, too, in a variety of ways, so that parallel moulds may also occur in generations other than the first.

The quaint series of little Attic heads of which examples are illustrated on PLATE 45 may help us to a better understanding of the working of these parallel moulds.<sup>40</sup> All the pieces illustrated are of the first generation save for the second generation examples (g) and (h). The main variant feature here lies in the differing hair treatments, all of which show elements of distinctive intaglio technique.<sup>41</sup> Also a little reworking of the eyes and lips must have been done on some of the moulds involved, but such minor differences as do occur in the actual structure of the faces seem to be the result of natural distortion due to the very soft state of the clay both when the mould is withdrawn from the archetype and when the figurine is taken out from the mould.<sup>42</sup>

We now have the other dimension of our diagram, and actually present after the following fashion a schema (on p. 224) showing the mechanical relationships existing between the pieces illustrated on PLATE 45.<sup>43</sup>

It is to be regretted, however, that it is necessary to end this section on a somewhat defeatist note. Interesting though it might be to set forth the complete pattern of production for each series where the material is adequate, nevertheless the differences between parallel moulds are in some cases so slight and of such little significance as to make such an undertaking neither

<sup>38</sup> An error in the extent of the ear-blank has not been concealed as it was felt that this, too, might be not without its technical interest. It might incidentally be mentioned that the use of green fuel in firing caused this archetype's Attic clay to turn a green colour not unlike that of Corinthian!

<sup>39</sup> Jastrow, *op. cit.* 5, 26.

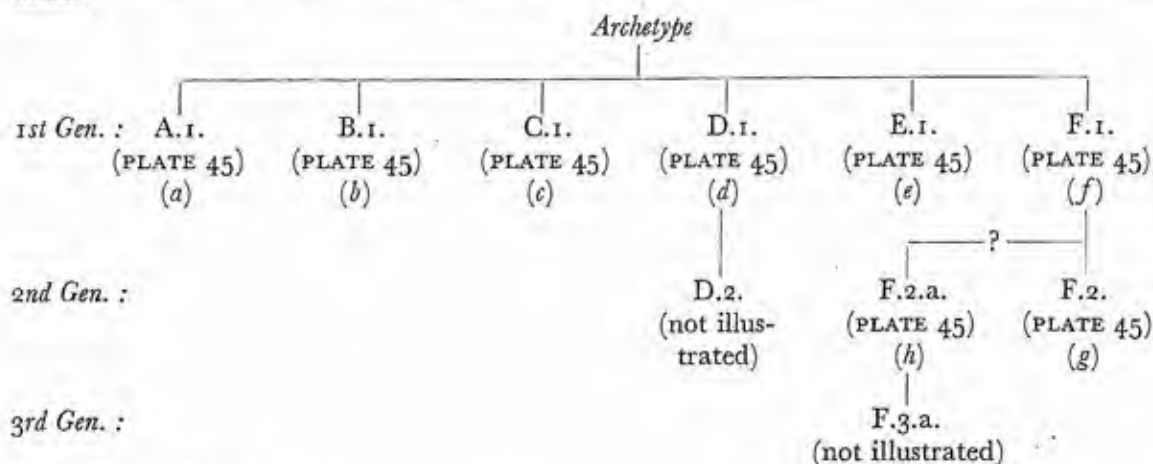
<sup>40</sup> The pieces shown all belong to the Acropolis Museum collection of terracottas, and the photographs used have been taken with the kind help and permission of the ephor of the Acropolis. They are: (a) no. 462; (b) no. 978; (c) no. 498; (d) no. 94; (e) no. 450; (f) no number; (g) no. 494; (h) no number.

<sup>41</sup> Perhaps a little further incision was done on one or two of the figurines after moulding, but its rarity is shown by a consideration of the numerous exact replicas.

<sup>42</sup> In the case of these deep archaic Attic single moulds in particular, not only do both these operations need to be carried out before shrinkage has had time to set in and produce distortion, but also the clay must still be very pliant when taken out, since otherwise the stresses exerted on it in its withdrawal tend to cause it to crack. A little practical experimentation shows the need for some modification of the common assumption (e.g. Schneider-Lengyel, *Griechische Terrakotten* 11; Neutsch, *op. cit.* 7) that the clay was left to dry in the mould before withdrawal.

<sup>43</sup> The diagram restricts itself on the whole to the material illustrated, and under such circumstances cannot show the whole of either dimension of the series. I know of no first generation example of F.2.a. and assume provisionally that it is the product of a second generation parallel mould. As an example of the third generation (F.3.a.) Agora T. 2210 might be quoted.

practicable nor valuable. For general purposes it would seem preferable not to lose oneself in such a welter of unprofitable detail but simply to assign the different examples to the series in which they belong and to their appropriate generations in it, while being aware of the wide range of variations that may obtain and, indeed, drawing attention to the most remarkable of these.



(d) *A Proposed Synthesis.*

If our system of classification is to be really satisfactory we may reasonably expect it to correspond with certain natural divisions inherent in the material itself. We have seen the artificiality of the type when employed as a stylistic unit,<sup>44</sup> and we shall shortly find that it can never be completely satisfactory as a mechanical one either.<sup>45</sup> In fact, classification by types is something of quite a different order, in which, to a certain extent, the divisions are imposed by the scholar on the material rather than by the material on the scholar.

The two units that we have considered that bear a direct relation to the circumstances governing the production of the terracottas themselves are the series and the group; the first we have defined as a mass of material mechanically related by reason of its being all derived from the same archetype; the second we may now consider, in the light of what has since been said, as a number of stylistically related series. Simply put, a group consists of several series.<sup>46</sup>

Yet of these two units it is the series that claims our attention first and foremost when dealing with terracotta figurines. Such is the scale of the mass-production employed and the range of the variants involved that only when we have duly ordered the mechanical relationships can we begin to understand and evaluate the stylistic ones. Close and detailed examination is necessary to establish the limits and internal arrangement of the series and, amongst other things, a veritable network of accurate measurements is essential, their exact nature being dictated by the exigencies of the material involved.<sup>47</sup> However, these measurements must

<sup>44</sup> p. 217.

<sup>46</sup> At times, however, individual series appear to stand quite by themselves with no readily identifiable stylistic 'relatives'. In such cases we may regard the limits of the group and the series as coinciding.

<sup>47</sup> Consistency, however, is essential. One typical example should suffice. In dealing with archaic terracotta heads two measurements have been found to be particularly valuable. Both are taken with dividers (with wooden instead of metal points where necessary!). They are: (a) the distance from the centre of the mouth to the inside corners of the eyes (a mean where there is variation); (b) the distance from under the chin at the point where the underside of the jaw joins the column of the neck to the top centre of the forehead where the hair or veil begins.

Both these measurements show a small degree of non-significant variation due to distortion of the soft clay either of the mould or of the figurine, while, in the case of (a), different intaglio renderings of the eyes on parallel moulds may cause



bear a direct relation to the moulded elements and must be adequate in range to provide a check on the identification of the series involved and sufficient data for determining the generation in that series to which the piece belongs.

Although terracottas can normally be assigned with complete confidence to their series we may reasonably suspect that occasionally the wholesale reworking of a derivative mould has so obscured the original that the resultant pieces find themselves assigned to a series of their own, perhaps in another group. This does not, however, seriously invalidate the classification here proposed. Without being oversophistical one may point out that in so far as their remote origins are no longer identifiable such pieces are new creations in their own right.

Group and series, then, are basically complementary the one to the other. Not so the type. We have already seen how the group may cut across a wide range of types,<sup>48</sup> but it is perhaps less apparent immediately that the series may often do likewise. Thus a head normally appropriated to a seated body may, in the course of a varied career, particularly one that extends over a number of generations, also make its appearance on standing figurines and on various kinds of protomai.<sup>49</sup> It is just here that the type comes into its own once more. For not only may we profit from a consideration of the typological history and development of a fabric but we also need to consider the nature and range of the types occurring in each group and series.<sup>50</sup>

It remains to consider a certain pattern of mechanical evidence that relates not so much to the identification of series as to the attribution of series to groups. Where, for example, the same first generation head happens to appear on a variety of first generation bodies which may, for that matter, from time to time don yet other heads of the first generation, the mechanical links so indicated justify a common attribution of the material in question to the same workshop and, where the stylistic evidence does not withstand it, to the same group.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, the use of separately moulded attachments of the first generation on a number of figurines of diverse series would suggest the assigning of these series to the same workshop and probably also to a common group, provided, that is, that the examples involved are of the first generation.<sup>52</sup> Criteria of this nature may usefully be applied to mould-made terracottas of almost all periods, but perhaps nowhere else so extensively as with material of Hellenistic date. If the principles of mechanical analysis as proposed in this article were to be applied to each of the constituent moulds or moulded parts of each Hellenistic figurine then it would seem likely that the endless re-arrangements and permutations that these elements undergo would permit the unfolding of an elaborate pattern of workshop attributions.<sup>53</sup> Not the least of the merits of such an approach is that it would enable the identification of a great majority of the forgeries made of Hellenistic material.

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further small variations. One has also to allow for differences in the shrinkage of the clay, though these seem usually to be insignificant. However, despite these small elements of variation, these two measurements used with discretion provide a valuable key for checking mechanical attributions and for identifying the different generations involved.

It will be noticed that both these measurements are more or less vertical ones. Horizontal measurements of heads are of much less general use because of the extent of the distortion and non-significant variation one gets in this plane, particularly in the case of thin-walled protomai.

<sup>48</sup> p. 217.

<sup>49</sup> Different 'adventures' of this kind will be examined in my archaic Attic study.

<sup>50</sup> An analogy, though only a partial one, may be drawn between the relationship of type to both group and series and that of vase-shapes to the stylistic criteria of vase-painting.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. the breadth of our definition of the group, p. 213 ff.

<sup>52</sup> With a few interesting exceptions, until Hellenistic times mechanical evidence of this nature is not extensive enough to enable the systematic consideration of the pattern of the employment of derivative moulds by specific workshops.

<sup>53</sup> I.e. apart from the limited evidence from 'signed' pieces, and, where it applies, vastly supplementing it.



(e) *Slightly Wider Horizons.*

So, then, would we attempt to reconcile type, group, and series. Let us now turn aside from the narrower question of classification itself and stress very briefly the wider significance that two of the points discussed above have for the study of terracotta figurines as a whole. In the first place, we have seen that we have evolved an important test that needs to be applied in each case where doubt exists as to the locality of the original production of any figurine.<sup>54</sup> It consists in tracing the piece back to its first generation and then in considering the fabric and, to some extent, the distribution of its first generation examples. Our search for a mechanical unit of classification has also brought us to a converse approach, that of dealing with the range of derivative production in foreign centres.<sup>55</sup> There is every reason to expect that we may gradually build up a well-documented picture of a fascinating web of influences and of trade. Such evidence is, in a sense, of a much more positive kind than that gained from mere exports and imports in as much as the pieces concerned, though of foreign origin, were actually made in the places where they exerted their influence and found their markets. Nor is derivative foreign production confined to provincial towns. Most main centres indulged, to a greater or less degree, in reproducing foreign pieces that were popular at the time within their own borders. By no means negligible is the value of the chronological cross-checks established between fabrics as a result.

This brings us finally to the difficult question of the chronology of terracottas. It seems certain that derivative production must often have lengthened enormously the period over which a single series continued to be made, but there is no ready yardstick by which one can determine whether a figurine that extends, shall we say, over four generations was in production for four years or forty or, for that matter, for a much longer period. The picture must be built up slowly and painstakingly in each case. More advanced details in the re-working on derivative moulds may sometimes betray the much later date of the figurines made from them.<sup>56</sup> Also, the range in date suggested by the contexts in which examples of a figurine occur,<sup>57</sup> coupled occasionally with such chronological evidence as, for example, that afforded by mechanically or stylistically related plastic heads on vases and dated foreign derivatives, may even now sometimes present a tolerably complete idea of the length of the period over which it continued to be made. It is clear, however, that an isolated context will only date some point in the period when the figurine was in production and can afford no more than a *terminus ante quem* for the start of that production. Conversely, a corresponding discretion needs to be used in employing stratified terracotta figurines themselves to date the material found with them.

R. V. NICHOLLS.

<sup>54</sup> p. 221.

<sup>56</sup> Jastrow, *op. cit.* 10, 26.

<sup>55</sup> p. 221.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. particularly *Hesperia* XI 365 ff.

## EXCAVATIONS AT STAVROS, ITHACA, IN 1937

(PLATES 46-49)

For three weeks of May-June 1937 excavations of limited extent were conducted at Stavros in northern Ithaca.<sup>1</sup> The main site was a small area immediately below the village square to the south-west, where chance finds by the proprietor of the land, followed in 1936 by a trial excavation, had revealed the presence of Greek graves and a Bronze Age deposit.

Stavros lies on a narrow ridge commanding the bays of Phrikes to the east and Polis to the west. Along this ridge must at all times have run the route from the south of the island to Pelikata<sup>2</sup> and the fertile valley of Kalamos. Below the ridge, to the south west, there is a good water-supply at Asprosykia,<sup>3</sup> where late Helladic sherds are recorded. The existence of large dressed blocks lower down the slope at the head of the valley, and of other blocks and rock-cuttings farther westwards, towards Polis Bay, suggests that a not inconsiderable town stood here in classical times.

Our hopes of finding an undisturbed Bronze Age deposit were early disappointed, for in every part of the area (see plan, FIG. 1) Greek graves had been dug. In many cases these rested directly on the rock, which was nowhere more than 1.55 metres below the surface. Above, below, and beside the graves, at all levels, Helladic pottery was found. This was in very bad condition—only one vessel could be reconstructed—but in quantity, especially of coarse domestic ware, it considerably exceeded the later wares. In two trenches the Helladic ware seemed to have some connection with agglomerations of stones (in which, however, even the most willing eye could see neither wall nor pavement); at the south-east end of Trench 1 there were also Greek sherds among, though not below, the stones; in Trench 14, however, the earlier deposit was unmixed at the lowest level, and the large quantity of coarse pottery showed greater variety of shape than elsewhere. No difference in shape or fabric could be observed between the pottery from this unmixed level and that from higher levels in the same trench or from the rest of the site. As at Polis,<sup>4</sup> it proved impossible to assign the coarse pottery to any particular part of the Bronze Age, but there was in addition enough levigated ware to enable us to state that the area was inhabited, if sparsely, in Early, Middle, and Late Helladic times.

The majority of the graves dated from the fifth and fourth centuries (see below). In Trench 7, lying on the rock, appeared the bottom course of a wall running north and south, with the beginning of two short cross-walls to the east. The wall was composed of large partly dressed blocks, and others lay near it in some disorder (see plan, FIG. 2). The most southerly block had two dowel-holes in its upper face, one of which was still filled with lead. Beside the top of the northern cross wall lay Grave XI, a fifth-century child burial. At the southern end of the main wall, 0.10 m. above its base, was found a bronze kylix of 'Hellenistic' type, much corroded. The presence of grave and kylix (the latter also probably from a grave) suggests that the building to which the wall belonged was ruined before the area came to be used for burials, *i.e.* not later than the early fifth century. The pottery found here was mixed black glaze (some sherds certainly not earlier than fourth century) and Helladic. The extent and purpose

<sup>1</sup> The dig was conducted under the aegis of Miss Benton, to whose advice I have been constantly indebted during and since the excavation and to whose generosity I owe the opportunity of publishing its results.

<sup>2</sup> BSA XXXV 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 15, 33-4, pl. VIII 126a.

<sup>4</sup> BSA XXXIX 1.

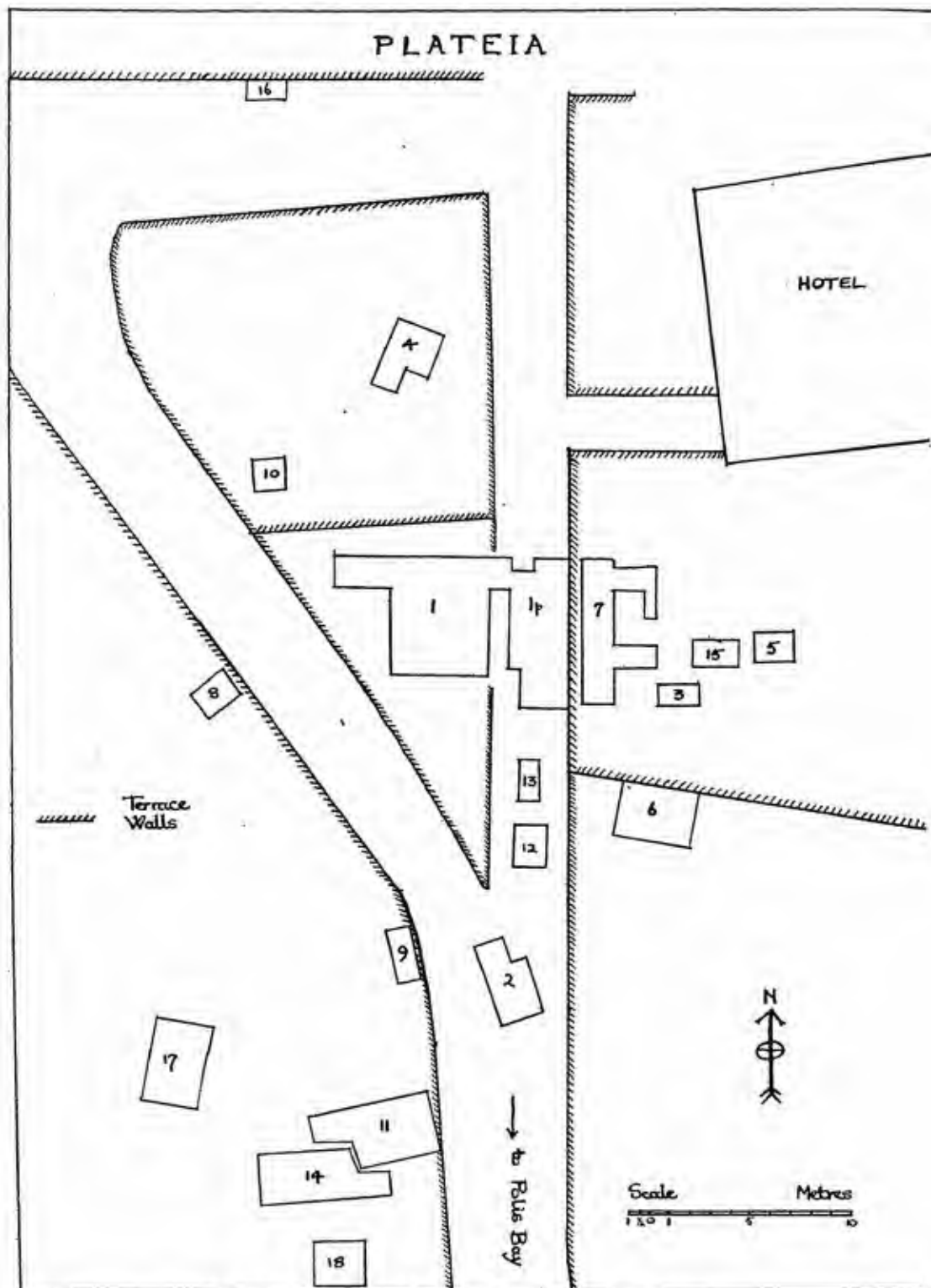


FIG. 1.—TRENCH PLAN (SCALE 1/2 CM. TO METRE).

of the building could not be ascertained; trenching to the east on the line of the cross-walls failed to pick up any continuation and to north and south the area had been disturbed by modern terracing.

#### THE GRAVES

In all, fifteen graves were found, four outside the main area. Fourteen were tile graves, the fifteenth a simple earth burial. Both types are, of course, common enough all over Greece and, in view of Professor Robinson's massive study of the great numbers found at Olynthus,<sup>5</sup> a few words will suffice here. The tile graves were of simple construction; the body was laid out at full length on two overlapping tiles, and covered by two or three more, sometimes

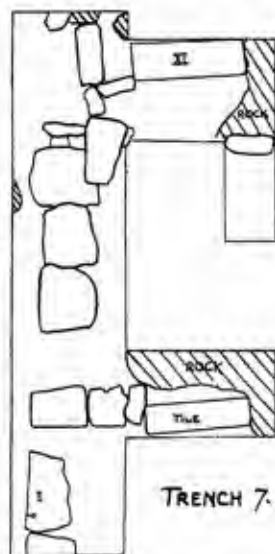


FIG. 2.—HELLENIC WALL, TRENCH 7.

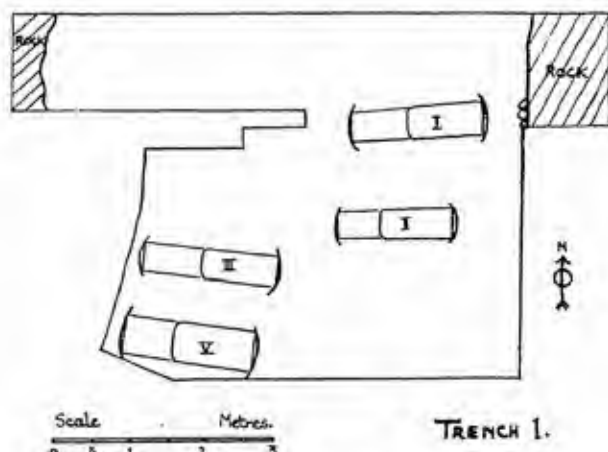


FIG. 3.—GRAVES I, II, III, AND V.

with half a tile set upright at head and foot. The cover-tiles were in some cases laid flat over the body, in others leant up against each other to form a gable.<sup>6</sup> All the tiles were slightly curved, the majority narrowed towards one end, and some preserved traces of red paint on their inner side. The graves of infants consisted of a single or half-tile beneath, with half a jar to cover the body. As a rule the dead lay facing west,<sup>7</sup> but there were exceptions.

Within the excavation proper there were two main groups of graves, I, II, III, and V in Trench 1 (see plan FIG. 3), and IV, VII, VIII, and IX in Trench 14 (FIG. 4). Grave VI, in Trench 2, had been disturbed, perhaps in antiquity, and was quite empty; Grave X, the earth burial, lay in Trench 11. Grave XI was the infant burial mentioned as lying beside the wall

<sup>5</sup> *Olynthus* XI. 175 tile graves of this kind and 106 earth burials were excavated; types of tile graves are discussed in chap. 3 (especially p. 161) and illustrated on pl. LXI. Other sites: Rhitsona, Ure, *Sixth and Fifth century Pottery from Rhitsona* 4 f.; Corinth, North Cemetery, *AJA* XXXIV (1930), 417; Kephallenia, *AE* 1932, 4 and fig. 41, *ibid.* 1933, fig. 2. Another grave at Stavros, *BSA* XL 2 f.

<sup>6</sup> PLATE 46. And compare Robinson, *loc. cit.* and *AE* 1932, fig. 41.

<sup>7</sup> See Professor Robinson's remarks, *loc. cit.* 140, and table fig. 24.



in Trench 7. The remaining graves lay farther afield, XII, containing the skeleton of an infant, just beneath the supporting wall of the village square (Trench 16 on plan), XIII to XV beside the road leading down towards Polis Bay.

Grave I (PLATE 46 *a* and *b*).

This grave lay on the rock 3.8 m. below datum (1.3 m. below the present surface). Its two lower tiles each measured 1.0 m. by 0.495 m.,<sup>8</sup> the narrow end of the upper tile overlapping the lower 0.23 m. Six cover-tiles, each 0.60 m. long, stood gable-wise above the body, and a short tile stood upright at each end, that at the head being supported by three stones. At the east end was a thick layer of charcoal, mixed with animal bones and a few sherds; a lamp (PLATE 47 *d*) lay outside at the west end. The skeleton lay at full length facing west; the skull was crushed, and the bones of the feet were in some disorder. A bronze kylix (PLATE 47 *a*) stood beside the right hand.

Grave II (PLATE 46 *c*).

Grave II lay not quite parallel to Grave I and some 0.80 m. to the south of it. Its two cover-tiles lay flat over the body, and perhaps for this reason the skeleton was very badly crushed. With it was found the much corroded head of a plain bronze pin.

Grave III.

The two lower tiles lay on the rock 0.75 m. to the west and a little to the south of Grave II. The two curved cover-tiles lay flat, and there was a short upright tile at each end, propped up with stones. The total length of the grave was 1.75 m., its breadth 0.44 m., narrowing slightly at the west end. The earth above it showed signs of burning. Besides the skeleton, which was very crushed, the grave contained a few sherds (which had probably percolated in with the surrounding earth) and a small bronze coin.

Grave V.

This grave, of similar construction, lay parallel to and 0.60 m. south of Grave III. It measured 1.80 m. by 0.55 m., the tiles, exceptionally, being of the same width throughout, and straight, not curved, at the ends. The skeleton was in a fair state of preservation and faced west. There were no gifts inside the grave, but a small r.f. lekythos (PLATE 47 *f*) lay outside at the west end.

Traces of burning were observed above all the graves in this group, and a thick layer of yellow clay, which was also present, is probably to be associated with them. This may have been laid down to seal the burials,<sup>9</sup> but was not sterile, containing an admixture of Helladic as well as classical sherds.

The second group of interments was more complex; Grave IV had been directly superimposed on Grave VII, and human bones and complete but shattered vases lay in disorder round and over the graves and in the adjacent Trench 11. There was, however, no clear chronological distinction between upper and lower burial, intact and disturbed graves, and they may well have been roughly contemporary.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The same size as the tiles of the Riza (Palaikastro) grave, see n. 5, Kephallenia.

<sup>9</sup> Clay was employed in Norwegian ship-burials as a preservative.

<sup>10</sup> For superimposed nearly contemporary burials at Olynthus see Robinson, *op. cit.* 133 f., 139.

Grave IV (PLATE 46 *d* and *e*; above Grave VII in FIG. 4).

The broken cover-tiles of this grave were found in disorder only half a metre below the surface of the ground (8.35 m. below datum). The lower tiles, however, were intact, with an overall measurement of 1.75 m. by 0.55 m. (narrowing to 0.46 m.). On them lay three skeletons in the usual extended position, facing west. Two lay superimposed in the centre, the third a little to one side. There were no gifts in the grave. A small Corinthian trefoil oenochoe lay nearby, but the fact that this is probably the earliest of the complete vases found would seem to preclude the possibility of its association with a grave which must be later at least than the one below it.

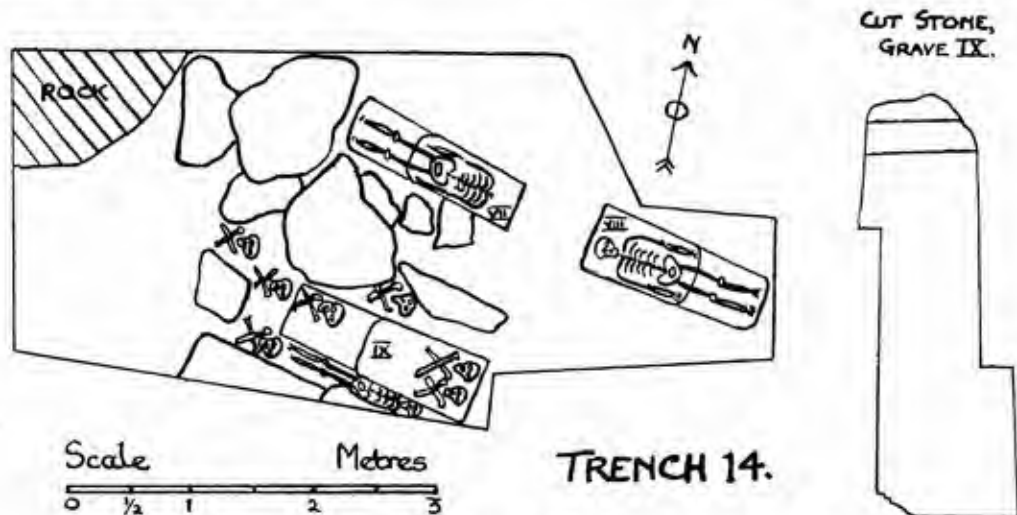


FIG. 4.—GRAVES VII, VIII, AND IX.

FIG. 5.—GRAVE MARKER.

Grave VII (PLATE 46 *f*).

The cover-tiles, which were badly broken, were almost touching the lower tiles of Grave IV. The grave was long and narrow (1.80 by 0.48 m.), and contained a single skeleton, which was much damaged and lacked a head; a few teeth were found where the head would be. Beside the dead lay a bronze kylix (PLATE 47 *b*), and to the south were found a steatite bead and two unpainted Corinthian pyxides (FIG. 6 *a*) which may have belonged to this interment.

Grave VIII.

Aligned with Grave VII and some 0.40 m. east of it lay another grave at approximately the same level (8.60 m. below datum). Exceptionally, the western end was the broader and the dead faced east. The cover-tiles were much broken, the lower intact and rather broad (overall measurements, 1.82 m. by 0.63–0.58 m.). The skeleton was complete; beside it were found a corroded iron finger-ring, a silver coin of Sicyon, and a ribbed black-glaze mug with one handle (PLATE 49 *d*).

Grave IX.

South and west of Graves IV and VII, as shown in FIG. 4 and PLATE 46 *d* and *f*, were several large undressed stones. South again from these, from about the level of Grave IV, quantities

of bones and complete but broken pots came to light, and at 9.13 m. below datum, after the removal of some of the smaller stones, appeared the bottom tiles of another grave; there was no trace of any cover-tiles. On the tiles (which together measured 1.60 by 0.55-0.48 m.) lay three more or less complete skeletons in proper articulated order and many other scattered bones. Nine skulls in all were collected; there was unfortunately no evidence bearing on the chronological relationship of the interments in this small but congested space. A curiously cut piece of sandstone (FIG. 5), which was found with the bones, may possibly have served as a marker or tombstone; <sup>11</sup> if so, the nine persons buried here were probably of one family.

The following objects were found in and about this grave:

*Bronze*: A mirror, handles and bases of two kylikes, a thin and corroded coin.

*Amber*: One shattered bead.

*Terracotta*: Thirteen beads.

*Pottery*: *Corinthian*: squat trefoil oenochoe, tall trefoil oenochoe, miniature bowl.

*Black Glaze*: miniature lekythos, high-handled jug, kylix, two kotylai, small bowl.

*Unpainted*: globular jug.

Half a large krater containing bones, which was found near by, may also be part of this burial-complex.

#### Grave X.

Trench 11, the eastward continuation of Trench 14, produced many bones, complete vases, and pieces of tile; the familiar yellow clay was also present. No tiles were found *in situ*, nor could the number or situation of the graves to which they had undoubtedly belonged be determined. At the east end of the trench, however, where it abutted on the road, a curious dip in the clay layer proved to be connected with a burial; a skeleton was found extended on the bare rock facing west. An iron nail, much corroded, lay beside the dead.<sup>12</sup> This simple grave was covered with a layer of yellow clay.

#### Grave XI.

This infant grave was found in Trench 7, among fragments of tiles from, presumably, other graves. The skeleton lay on a single tile, with an unpainted lidded pot (PLATE 49f) by its side; no cover, tile or pithos, survived. On the breast was a remarkable and puzzling object (see below).

#### Grave XII (PLATE 46 g).

This, another infant grave, was found by schoolchildren, during the excavation, just south of the village square. On two small tiles lay the skeleton of an infant just getting its first teeth. No gifts were found with it; the bones were covered by the necks and mouths of two coarse jars.

#### Graves XIII to XV.

Three tile graves, reported by workmen, were dug lower down the road towards Polis Bay. All were of the usual type. Grave XIII contained only a skeleton, Grave XIV a skeleton and the lamp, PLATE 47 c. Grave XV, the only offering in which was a very small and corroded bronze coin, was remarkable for containing, besides a complete skeleton, an extra skull.

<sup>11</sup> On a possible tombstone from Olynthus see *op. cit.* 133 f.

<sup>12</sup> An iron nail was found in grave 5 at Camarina, *MA IX* (1899), 256.

## CATALOGUE

## A. GRAVE GROUPS

## Grave I.

## Bronze.

(1) Kylix (PLATE 47 a). H. 0.113 m., D. of rim 0.085 m., span from handle tip to tip 0.167 m. An almost identical vessel, probably from Galaxidi, is dated by Sieveking to the third century.<sup>13</sup> Foot and handles of identical type were found by Marinatos in Kephallenia,<sup>14</sup> a different 'model', also from Ithaca, is illustrated by Stackelberg.<sup>15</sup> The place of manufacture was probably Corinth, and the Stavros example can hardly be later than the fourth century.<sup>16</sup>

## Terracotta.

(2) Lamp (PLATE 47 d). H. 0.035 m., D. of base 0.044 m. Handle missing, concave raised base. Glaze streaky, shading from black by way of brown and blue to pinkish. Agora Type VII, dated by Howland to very late fifth or early fourth century.<sup>17</sup> Possibly Corinthian (the fabric is too bad for contemporary Attic).

## Grave III.

## Bronze.

Coin. Obv. Female head (Artemis?) facing r. Rev. Thunderbolt upright in field; to right, reading downwards, ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕ.

Syracusan, 304-289 B.C., cf. Head, *HN*,<sup>2</sup> 180-1, *BMC Coins, Sicily*, 199, no. 422. Neither parallel is exact. The Stavros coin seems a cross between the silver type with the head of Kore as obverse and the third period bronze with the fulmen as reverse; but ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ may have been obscured by corrosion. For Agathocles and Ithaca see Plutarch, *de ser. num. vind.* 12, B.

## Grave V.

## Pottery.

R.f. squat lekythos (PLATE 47 f). H. 0.102 m. On neck, rays; shoulder, egg and tongue; under handle, palmette. In panel, l. head of woman wearing sphendone, r. head of woman wearing Persian cap; in centre omphalos (?). Early fourth century, probably Attic.<sup>18</sup>

## Grave VII.

## Pottery.

(1) Lekanis, unpainted. Too shattered to be reconstructed. D. of base 0.072 m., estimated D. of rim 0.12 m. Two ribbon handles set slightly obliquely to the rim. Thin fabric, soft pale yellow clay. Corinthian. Many similar examples from the North Cemetery, Corinth, and miniature vases from the Potters' Quarter, all in Old Corinth museum. For shape, cf. *Necrocorinthia* fig. 186. Fifth century.

(2) Pyxis (FIG. 6 a), lid missing. Preserved: base, handles, part of rim. D. of base 0.045 m. Unpainted except for red line round base. Corinthian, fifth century.<sup>19</sup>

## Bronze.

(3) Kylix (PLATE 47 b). A twin to the vase from Grave I.

## Stone.

(4) Steatite bead (FIG. 7 a). Lentoid, slightly more convex on lower side. D. 0.017 m. Figure-of-eight sinking round thread-hole on upper side.

<sup>13</sup> *Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb*, pl. 44, 2.

<sup>14</sup> *AE* 1932, pl. 16.

<sup>15</sup> *Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. LIV 1; also VII for dating and provenience.

<sup>16</sup> Other parallels; *Perachora* I 165, pl. 66, 5; I am indebted to Miss Benton for this reference and for the following references to books not at present available to me; 'Ημερομηνία Χρονικά 1935, pl. 20, 15, a handle from Dodona; Lee, *Arch XXXIII* 49, from Ithaca, now in the B.M.; *Catalogue of Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 216 and refs. *ad. loc.*

<sup>17</sup> I am indebted to Miss Talcott for this reference. See also Broneer, *Corinth* IV 2.

<sup>18</sup> Compare *Olynthus* V, pl. 139, nos. 393-9. Cf. also Patroni, *La Ceramica nell' Italia meridionale* 70 f, and fig. 42 (there called Paestan).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. (i) from the Potters' Quarter, Corinth, Newhall, *AJA XXXV* 18, fig. 16; (ii) from Rhitsona, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, pl. 12, 83.



## Grave VIII.

## Pottery.

(1) One-handed mug (PLATE 49 d). H. 0.175 m. Central knob inside base, handle split at upper end. Ribbed, good quality black glaze, red wash under base. Attic, or Corinthian imitating Attic, late fifth or early fourth century.<sup>20</sup>

## Metal.

(2) Silver coin. Obv. Dove flying, to l. Rev. Indecipherable.

Obol, D. 0.012 m., very thin and worn. Sicyonian, 400–323 B.C., cf. *HN*,<sup>2</sup> 409 f.

(3) Iron finger ring (FIG. 7 d). Badly corroded. External d. 0.027 m. Bezel oval, length 0.023 m., max. width 0.016 m.

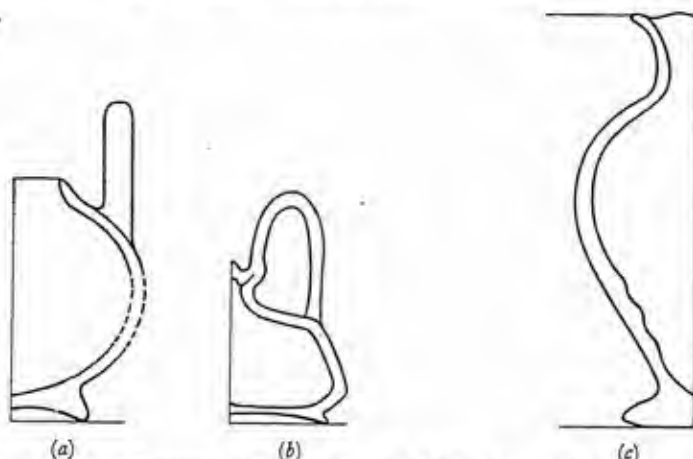


FIG. 6.—SECTIONS OF CORINTHIAN VASES. (a) VII (2). (b) IX (1). (c) IX (2).

SCALE 1 : 2.

## Grave IX.

## Pottery.

## Corinthian

(1) Squat trefoil oenochoe (FIG. 6 b). H. without handle, 0.043 m. Low raised base, body carinated at belly and shoulder, high handle. Around shoulder and middle of body, thin red lines; from neck to shoulder, faint rays. Early fifth century.<sup>21</sup>

(2) Tall trefoil oenochoe (FIG. 6 c). Only half of body preserved. H. 0.111 m. Buff clay, rough fabric, string marks on flat base and well-defined wheel marks inside. The handle rises slightly above the rim. Lip, neck and about half of body covered in thin black. Late fifth century.<sup>22</sup>

(3) Miniature bowl (PLATE 48). D. 0.084 m., H. 0.028 m. Ring base, pale Corinthian clay. Worn reddish paint on rim and base. Many similar vases from Potters' Quarter, Corinth.

## Black glaze

(4) Miniature lekythos (PLATE 48). H. 0.078 m. Globular body, back-sloping neck. Thickish black glaze with a blue tinge, pink wash on base. Possibly Attic.

(5) High-handled jug (PLATE 48). H. with handle, 0.105 m. Black glaze shading to chocolate brown. The shape is of metallic origin and bronze examples are common.<sup>23</sup> Probably fourth rather than fifth century.

<sup>20</sup> Four examples, of better quality, in the Agora Museum are dated to the third-quarter of the fifth century; *Olynthus* V pl. 151, 537 is said to be fourth century.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. for both shape and decoration *AJA* XXXV 19, fig. 17, r.

<sup>22</sup> There are many small pots in this technique in Old Corinth museum; e.g. a published example is *Corinth* III 2, 62, fig. 45, from Cheliotomylos. Vases similar in shape and similarly semi-glazed also occur in Etruria in the fourth century, Magi, *La raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco* I 121 and pl. 35.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. Magi, *op. cit.* II, pl. 58, 42; in pottery, from Kephallenia, *AE* 1932, fig. 3 'late fifth century'; less bulgy and unpainted, Patroni, *La Ceramica nell'Italia meridionale*, 70 f.

(6) Kylix (PLATE 48). H. 0.075 m. Plain semi-circular body, but oval at the rim. D. 0.103 m. between handles, 0.098 m. at right angles. High moulded base, intumed handles like bronze kylikes. Glaze bluish and streaky. An allied type at Rhitsona<sup>24</sup> is dated to the first half of the fourth century, ours is probably later.

(7) Kotyle (PLATE 48). H. 0.177 m. Square handles, thinnish fabric, paint streaky, bluish and worn. This shape is found from the sixth to the fourth centuries,<sup>25</sup> but the square handles of our example place it not earlier than the late fifth; it is too bad to be Attic, but may be Corinthian. Compare Rhitsona Grave 57, 6 (*Black Glaze Pottery* pl. XI).

(8) Kotyle (PLATE 48). H. 0.069 m. Square handles, bulgy shape. The body glaze varies from red to purplish brown, the base is pink-washed, with two black rings. Later than the preceding example; into the fourth century (see BSA XXXIX 29).

(9) Miniature bowl (PLATE 48). H. 0.04 m. High hollow foot, thick fabric, good black glaze. Attic, early fourth century; cf. ex. from Polis, *loc. cit.* fig. 14, 27, others from Olynthus and Rhitsona.<sup>26</sup>

(10) Krater (PLATE 48). Two-thirds of body preserved only. Interior painted with good but streaky black; exterior brownish, shading to pink and to blue-black, reserved area under handles. Beside each handle is a knob, from which 'spring' diagonal olive-sprays with black leaves and incised stem; another incised line separates neck from body. There are similar knobs on a column-krater from A. Athanasios, but I know no parallel to the mode of decoration. Perhaps it was the bright idea of some Ithacan potter?

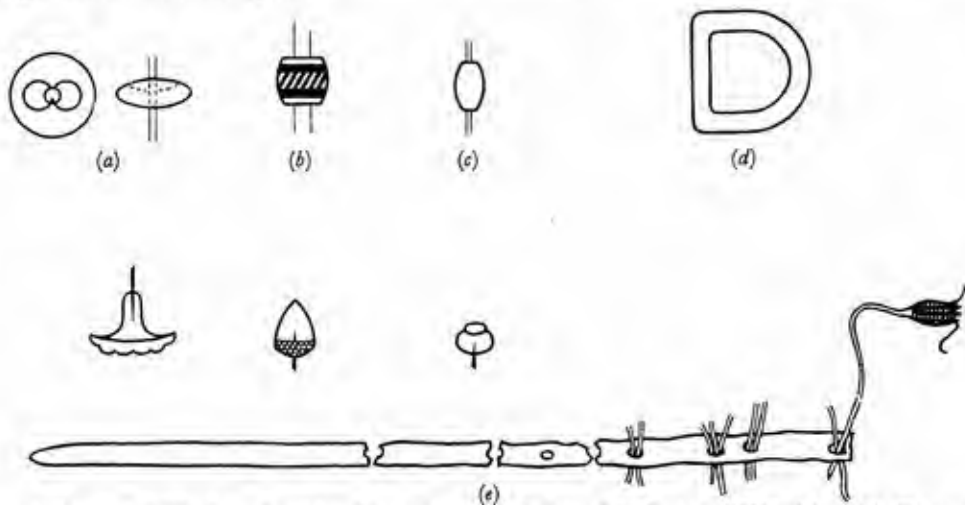


FIG. 7.—(a) GRAVE VII (4). (b) 42. (c) GRAVE IX (14). (d) GRAVE VIII (3). (e) GRAVE XI (2).  
SCALE SLIGHTLY OVER 1 : 2.

### Unpainted

(11) Globular jug. Neck and mouth missing; preserved H. 0.058 m. Flat raised base, one handle rising vertically from shoulder. Thin fabric, soft buff clay. This should probably be added to the Corinthian list.

### Bronze.

(12) Mirror-case (PLATE 48). D. 0.118 m. Three engraved lines, just inside the rim and about half-way to the centre are the sole ornament. There are two similar cases in New York,<sup>27</sup> dated respectively end of fifth and mid-fourth century.

(13) Kylix, foot and handle preserved only (PLATE 47 e). Probably like the two complete examples, but possibly of the variant shape illustrated by Stackelberg (see n. 15 above).

### Terracotta.

(14) Thirteen beads (FIG. 7 c) from a necklace. Plain ovals, pierced longitudinally for threading. No colour preserved.

### Grave X.

### Metal.

Long iron nail. Preserved length 0.214 m. The head is slightly convex, the spike narrows to a point.

<sup>24</sup> *Black Glaze Pottery* pl. XII, Grave 59, 24. See also pl. XVII, 12, from Grave 30, pp. 30 ff. and refs. *ad. loc.*

<sup>25</sup> Benton, BSA XXXIX 28.

<sup>26</sup> Olynthus V, pl. 175, 874-7. Rhitsona, *Black Glaze Pottery* pl. XII.

<sup>27</sup> *Catalogue of Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 263 ff., nos. 761 and 765.

## Grave XI.

## Pottery.

(1) Lekane (PLATE 49f). Rounded base, loop handle, lid with central boss. H. 0.07 m., gritty red fabric, unpainted. Probably fifth century, since smaller but very similar examples from the Agora (Agora Museum P. 16742, NN. 1856) are of that date.

## Metal and Terracotta.

(2) Ornament (?) (FIG. 7e). This puzzling object consists of a leaden bar, now broken in three or four places, of which the preserved length is 0.19 m. It is very slightly curved, flattened on the under-side, and quite solid and heavy. For the first 0.077 m. it is plain, but for the rest of its length it is pierced at irregular intervals by holes through each of which are threaded two lengths of narrow gilt bronze wire. The longest of these is bound round with thinner wire at the end, presumably just below the 'head'. On the ends of these wires beads were fixed; these are not pierced through and in several the broken ends of bronze can still be seen in the hole. The beads are of three kinds; seven are shaped like acorns, thirteen like miniature cottage loaves, and there is one shanked flower-shaped bead with granulations on its spreading surface. Some beads still show traces of gilding or blue colour; the whole object must once have been bright and gay.

I know of no parallel for this. It would be heavy and not very suitable for a toy, and its shape does not suggest an ornament.<sup>28</sup> It is true, as Professor Robinson observes,<sup>29</sup> that the objects buried with children were often not especially suited to them, but this would be equally puzzling in an adult grave.

## Grave XIV.

## Terracotta.

Lamp (PLATE 47c). H. 0.032 m. The spout is shorter than in the example from Grave I, but in other respects the two are similar. The paint, which is very worn, is blue-black and streaky, the clay non-Attic. Perhaps Corinthian; probably early fourth century.

## Destroyed Graves

To this list should be added six other whole vases, the small trefoil oenochoe mentioned as having been found near Grave IV and five lekythoi found in Trench 11, since they also must have belonged to graves now destroyed.

(1) Trefoil oenochoe (PLATE 49g). H. 0.074 m. Handle missing, lip broken but certainly trefoil. On shoulder, rays; on body, broad and narrow bands, the broad black, the narrow, like the rays, red; lip and base are black. Corinthian, late sixth or early fifth century.<sup>30</sup>

(2) Squat lekythos (PLATE 49a). H. 0.123 m. The body is divided into 'melon' slices, alternately plain (broader at the bottom) and with impressed concentric circles (broader at the top). There is a small impressed palmette at the bottom of each plain section. Good black; red wash with black circles on base. Attic, late fifth century; there are examples of this decoration on better pots dated to the third quarter of the century.<sup>31</sup>

(3) Miniature lekythos (PLATE 49c). H. 0.09 m. Red bands inside lip, below handle and round belly; handle barred. Fine pale clay. Corinthian, probably fifth century.

(4) Miniature lekythos. As last but smaller, and handle coated, not barred, with red.

(5) Miniature lekythos (PLATE 49b). Similar but smaller (H. 0.07 m.) and with a reverse curve from neck to shoulder. Red on rim, shoulder, belly, and foot.

(6) Miniature lekythos. The twin of (d) except that its handle is red.

Lekythoi like (3)–(6) have been found at Polis, at Perachora (I owe this information to Mr. Dunbabin), and at Corinth, both in the Potters' Quarter and in North Cemetery graves.

## B. POTTERY NOT FROM GRAVES

No distinction is made in this account between the pottery from different locations, though these are noted. As already stated, the stratification was much disturbed and the state of the pottery such as to render reconstruction impossible and even the identification of shapes often impracticable. Only a few of the more characteristic or shapely pieces belonging to each period will accordingly be considered here.

## Bronze Age Coarse Pottery

There is, naturally enough, a strong family resemblance between the ware of this class found at Stavros and that from Polis, Trilangada, and Pelikata.<sup>32</sup> On the whole its quality was inferior to the Polis pottery and much inferior to that from Pelikata. The fabric is poor and poorly fired, full of grits, some very large; it is crumbly and liable to dissolve in plain water. The less good sherds were occasionally smoothed on the inside, but the outside was left very rough. The colour

<sup>28</sup> Lead and bronze-gilt *stephanai* were found in Roman children's graves in Siphnos, BSA XLIV 84.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.* 181.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Necrocorinthia* 336 and fig. 190 (= CVA Hague I, IIIc, pl. 3, 5). Another oenochoe of this group (NC 1548) was found with a vase by the Pistoxenos Painter.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. from Kephallenia AE 1932, 4, fig. 3, 2.

<sup>32</sup> *Ll.c.* There is similar ware from Metaxata, e.g. AE 1933, 88, fig. 35.

varies; most are bluish-black, or red, at the core, but the surface may be black, red, orange-red, brownish red or grey, blue-grey or brownish yellow, several colours often appearing on the same vessel. Some of the pieces of better quality were coated with a smooth whitish slip, and two from small vessels, both found in Trench 1, were clearly made on the wheel. These are thin and hard, though the fabric is still very gritty. Much of this better ware is black and well-smoothed, almost polished, on both surfaces; marks of the polishing tool can be seen on some pieces.

(1) Small Cup (FIG. 8). H. 0.083 m., D. of base 0.035 m. Coarse, very gritty fabric, red shading to yellow-brown. Part of the rim is missing, no handle preserved. A small 'horn' is set vertically on the rim. Trench 14, 10 m. below datum.

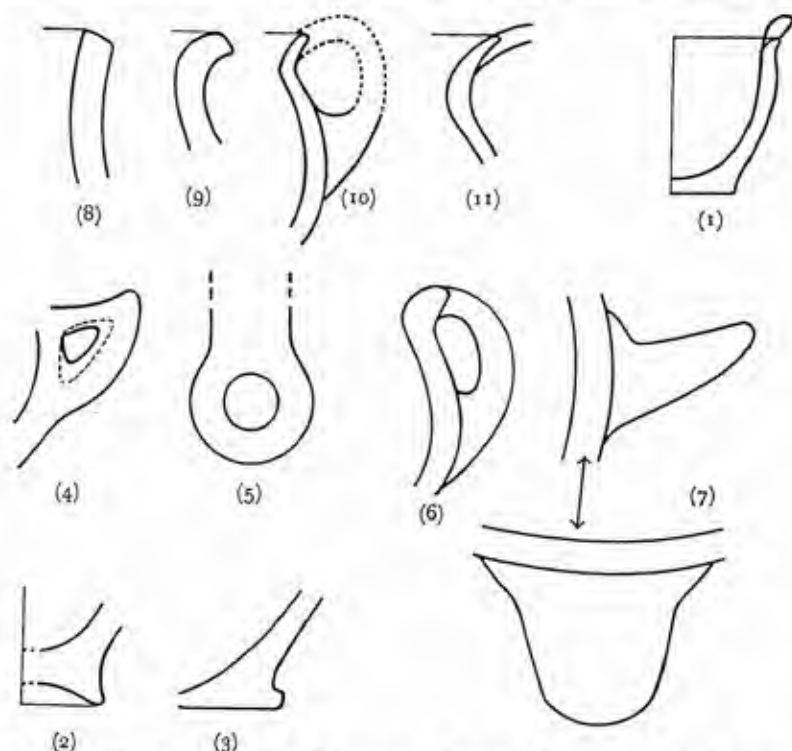


FIG. 8.—BRONZE AGE COARSE POTTERY. SCALE (1), 1 : 4; (2)–(11), 1 : 2.

### Bases.

Very few were found, and all but one were flat. The exception (from Trench 14) was a high foot hollowed out beneath. There was also one example (Trench 1) of a high solid flat base. The walls of most of the smaller vessels rise almost imperceptibly from a flattened or even concave base; a few of the grosser pots have very thick pointed bases which were doubtless intended to be stuck in the ground.

(2) Raised base (FIG. 8). Red fabric, well smoothed but gritty, blackish at the core. Perhaps influenced by L.H. III models and to be connected with a handle of similar fabric, of deep bowl type. Trench 14, second half-metre.

(3) Flat raised base (FIG. 8). Brownish ill-cleansed clay, greyish at core. Inner side much worn. Trench 1, second half-metre.

### Handles.

Vertical handles were decidedly in the majority. The commonest type was the flat (or flattish) ribbon handle; the great width and extraordinary flatness of some examples is probably due to the influence of E.H. and M.H. levigated pottery. Ribbon handles of small pots were attached just below the rim. Other types of vertical handle were the long loop, for big vessels, and the broad 'eared' handle so common at Pelikata.<sup>33</sup> The most common horizontal type was ring-shaped, the ring being very broad and sometimes square, sometimes oval, in section, like those found on the big bowls and askoid jars at Pelikata.<sup>34</sup> A ring-ended handle (FIG. 8(5)) has Macedonian parallels.<sup>35</sup> There were many lugs (or feet), but in no case is more of the parent vessel preserved than the immediate root of the projection. They vary from giants (0.06 m. wide, 0.22 m. thick) to dwarfs (0.035 m. wide, 0.016 m. thick), but all belonged to very thick pots. All are broader than they are long, which suggests lugs rather than feet, and better preserved examples from the E.H. strata at

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia*, Catalogue 162 and fig. 137, 'Tubular lugs with upturned ends'.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. *BSA XXXV*, pl. 6, 40.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. *BMC Vases I* 1, A 96, 2, p. 21 and fig. 28.



Corinth are clearly lugs. On a vessel from Metaxata, however, there are similarly shaped feet,<sup>36</sup> so a certain hesitation over the Stavros pieces is legitimate. In Trench 14 a two-horned example like those from Polis<sup>37</sup> was found; this too may have been a foot.

(4) Eared handle (FIG. 8). Width at lower junction with body 0.047 m. The handle decreases quite sharply, and the loop formed is small and tubular. Fabric thick but well-finished. Trench 14, third half-metre.

(5) Ring handle (FIG. 8). From a dipper or spoon? D. of ring 0.032 m. Gritty clay, Trench 12.

(6) Flat loop handle (FIG. 8). Width at base 0.031 m. Good fabric, black and well polished. Probably from a small two-handled bowl. Trench 14, third half-metre.

(7) Lug (FIG. 8). Width at base 0.062 m. Black at core, surface brown, inside of pot red. A comparatively slender example from Trench 1, above stones.

### Rims.

Rim sherds were very numerous, especially in Trench 14. Some of the very coarse examples simply tapered off vertically, others of equally gross fabric were more or less sharply offset; these probably belonged to large jars or deep bowls (compare BSA XXXV, fig. 23, 92 and pl. 5, 29), some of the former shape to flat-bottomed cooking-pots.<sup>38</sup> The rims of somewhat thinner vessels were often slightly everted, flattened on top and adorned with incised lines; others were slightly offset. Rim sherds from smaller pots, though numerous, were very small, though it could be made out that some at least of the finer examples had belonged to closed or semi-closed vessels. In general, their clay was better cleansed and harder, their surface smoother, and their colour more uniform. Some examples, by the greater elegance and articulation of the shape, revealed the influence of levigated pottery.<sup>39</sup>

(8) Rim (FIG. 8). Top edge crinkled, mottled red surface. Trench 1, among stones.

(9) Offset rim (FIG. 8). From a large bowl (?). Trench 2.

(10) Bowl rim (FIG. 8). Black and well-polished. Trench 14.

(11) Rim from small jar (?) (FIG. 8). Ribbon handle attached at the mouth; possibly wheel-made. Trench 1, second half-metre.

### Decoration.

A few small scraps of this ware were ornamented with pellets, knobs (in one case there was a knob at the base of a vertical ribbon handle), incised lines, and bands of applied thumb-impressions.

### Early Helladic

Of the few pieces that could be with certainty ascribed to this period the most numerous were grooved ribbon handles of the type common at Pelikata.<sup>40</sup> All these were unpainted. Two fabrics could be distinguished, one buff, pinkish at the core, not always well levigated but hard, the other pinkish, blue in the break and much softer. Large flat bases from closed vessels were found in both fabrics, one showing traces of red on the outside. Two non-joining pieces of the same red-glazed bowl were found in Trench 1.

(12) Bowl (PLATE 49 e). Thinnish fabric, soft yellow clay, red-painted inside and out. Two short ribbon handles join the vessel just below the rim, branching slightly at the top. Trench 1, stone area.

### Middle Helladic

Most of the Middle Helladic pieces were recognisable as such only by their shape, handles again predominating. There was one scrap of doubtful grey Minyan and a few matt-painted sherds. The fabric was pale yellow or buff, soft but not ill-cleansed; the painted pieces and some of the plain had a thin creamy slip.

(13) Ring handle (FIG. 10). Pinkish rather thick fabric. Traces of red across its base. Trench 11.

(14) Horned handle (FIG. 10). Width 0.05 m. A semi-circular depression divides this broad flat handle into two 'horns'. Trench 1; similar examples from elsewhere in this trench and from Trenches 2, 14, 15, and 18.

(15) Bottom half of handle (FIG. 9). Pale yellow clay, purplish-black matt stripes running vertically down its outside. Trench 1.

(16) Base of ribbon handle from low carinated bowl (FIG. 9). Width 0.028 m. Two horizontal bars in dull black across the base. From the same.

(17) Lip of bowl (FIG. 9). Pale clay, purplish-black paint. Two horizontal lines, between which elongated lozenges. From the same.

(18) Handle sherd (FIG. 9). Width 0.045 m. Pale yellow clay, diagonal lattice-pattern in purplish-black. From the same.

(19) Carinated sherd, painted with irregular horizontal lines in matt purplish-black on creamy slip; interior very well finished. From the same.

(20) Neck sherd of large pitcher (FIG. 9). Paint and slip as preceding, but undoubtedly wheel-made. From the same.

### Late Helladic III

Such Mycenaean sherds as could be recognised were neither early nor very late. With the possible exception of one piece all seemed to be of local manufacture, resembling the ware from Polis and Trilangada, but the condition of all pieces was poor and little paint was preserved. Shapes which could be recognised included the kylix, bowl on high foot, krater, deep bowl, low concave-sided bowl with horizontal handles, piriform jar, and pitcher.

<sup>36</sup> AE 1933, 87, fig. 34, B 8, 12.

<sup>37</sup> BSA XXXIX, pl. 1, 28.

<sup>38</sup> AE 1933, 88, fig. 35.

<sup>39</sup> This is also clearly visible in Kephallenia, e.g. AE 1933, 87, fig. 34.

<sup>40</sup> Also at Zygyouries, *op. cit.* pl. IV 4-6, VI 5-6.

*Kylikes.*

- (21) Foot. D. 0.114 m. Spreading type with central sinking beneath, black coated. Trench 1, third half-metre.  
 (22) Foot. Estimated D. c. 0.07 m. Upper surface once painted with rings, lower concave, rising gradually from rim to centre. From the same; second half-metre.  
 (23) Stem, from Zygouries-type kylix, unpainted; central sinking below.  
 There are several other pieces of feet and numerous stems; some of the shorter of these may have belonged not to kylikes but to bowls like BSA XXXIX pl. 4, 23. There were no ringed stems.

*Footed bowls.*<sup>41</sup>

- (24) Double foot (FIG. 10). Pale yellow fabric, traces of red paint inside the vessel and at junction with foot. Trench 11.  
 (25) Single foot (FIG. 10). Round in section, but otherwise similar to last. Unpainted. Trench 7.

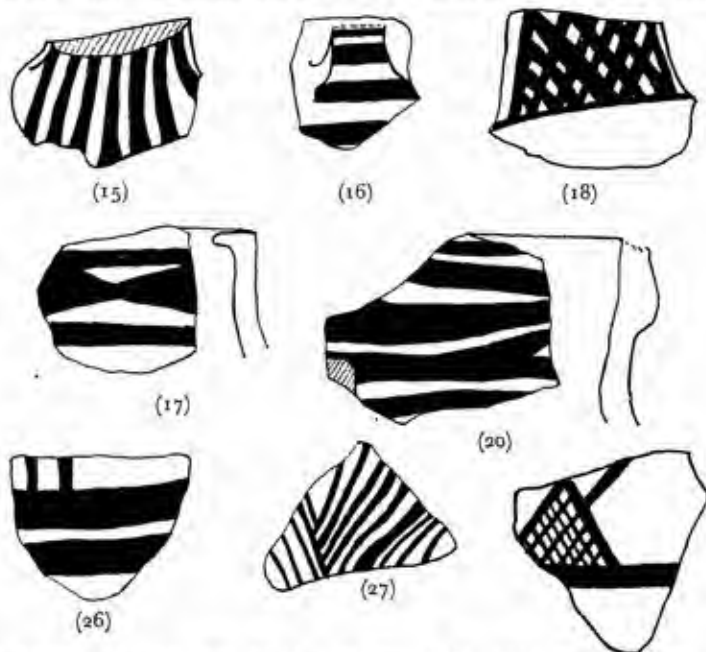


FIG. 9.—PAINTED SHERDS, 15-18, 20, M.H.; 26-27, L.H. III; NO NUMBER, PROTO-GEOMETRIC (p. 240). SCALE 1 : 2.

*Kraters and bowls.*

Kraters were represented by rims, concave-sided bowls by a piece of rim with half a handle. There were many handles from deep bowls and a few painted sherds.

- (26) Bowl sherd (FIG. 9). Soft pinkish clay, traces of creamy slip, washy red-brown paint. Trench 1.  
 (27) (FIG. 9). Pink clay, worn black paint; inside coated, outside patterned. The wheel-marks make the angle of the pattern quite clear; identification from so small and careless a piece cannot be certain, but a late variant (L.H. IIIB/C1) of any of the following<sup>42</sup> would be possible: multiple stem pattern, concentric semicircles, tricurved arch.

*Piriform jars or alabastra.*

Rims only were found, and these might belong to either shape. One piece was coated with crackly black glaze of such good quality as to suggest that the vessel was either of earlier date (at the latest early IIIB) or, more probably, imported.

- (28) Offset rim. Hard buff clay, thick lustrous black glaze. Trench 11.

*Hydriae, pitchers, amphoroid jars.*

These were identified by their bases (one, a ring base, was covered in a creamy slip), handles, both vertical and loop horizontal, and neck sherds; one of the latter once bore a black band below the rim, two others from their dark gritty fabric were probably late in the series.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *AE* 1932, figs. 4 and 18, 6 from Oikopeda in Kephallenia.

<sup>42</sup> See Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery, Analysis and Classification*, motives 19, 43, 62.

*Proto-geometric*

This period was scantily represented by nine high feet from 'Polis' bowls or kantharoi,<sup>43</sup> the rim of a mug, and one patterned sherd (fig. 9, no number).

*Classical*

The bulk of the classical pottery was plain black glaze, little if any of which can be dated much before the end of the fifth century. This is not surprising, since the area was clearly a cemetery, and pieces of vases found within it might be expected to be contemporary with the burials, with which they were no doubt connected. Some pieces were Attic, some probably Corinthian, and for others a South Italian origin is possible. By comparison with the material found in the Athenian Agora, down to and including West Slope ware, the glaze of the Stavros sherds was very poor, more brown than black and often blue and streaky. Ware of similar quality is not uncommon at Corinth<sup>44</sup> and blue and streaky glaze was common at Rhitsona. Mrs. Ure<sup>45</sup> remarked on the likeness between Boeotian and South Italian pottery in this respect, and there may well be parallels to the Stavros black glaze in south Italian museums which I have not visited. It is, of course, possible<sup>46</sup> that Ithaca manufactured its own wares in this as in earlier periods.

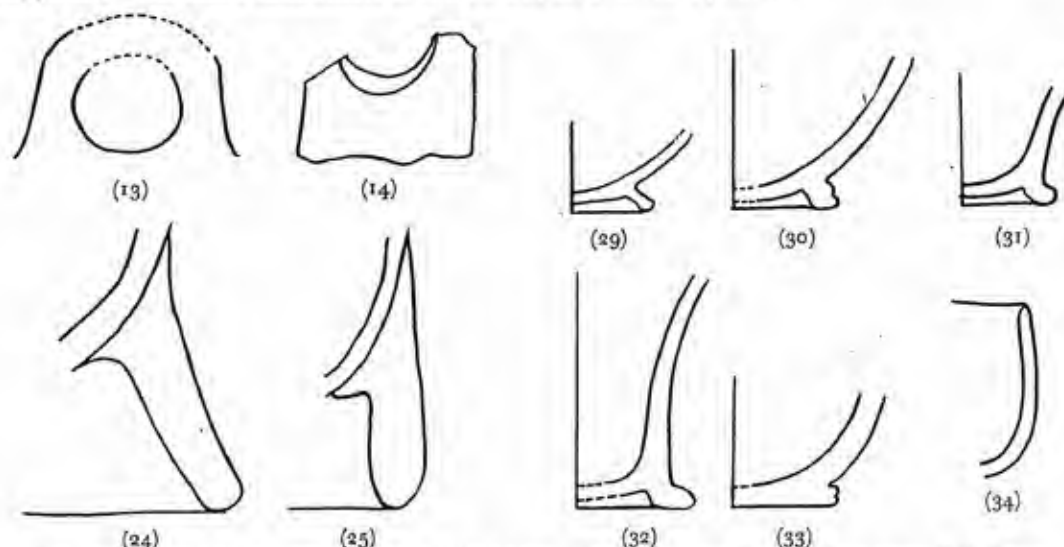


FIG. 10.—13, 14, 24, 25. MIDDLE HELLADIC HANDLES AND LATE HELLADIC III FEET.  
29-34. SECTIONS OF HELLADIC POTTERY. SCALE 1 : 2.

Except for a few scraps of West Slope ware, all thin and from small vases, there were no patterned pieces. The kotyle was the most common shape found; others were the lekythos, krater, bowl, and plate. The only large pieces are illustrated in section in fig. 10, and described below.

(29) Kotyle base. Thick brown glaze; reserved red-washed area inside and out. Trench 11.

(30) Kotyle base. Brown glaze within, outside plain. From the same. Both probably fifth century.

(31) Kotyle base. 'Heavy'<sup>47</sup> shape, slightly moulded foot. Glaze bluish but quite thick. Trench 1.

(32) Kotyle base. Bulgy shape.<sup>47</sup> Thin streaky glaze, pink-washed central area inside. Pale clay, rather like Corinthian. Trench 1.

(33) Bowl base. Interior unpainted, pink wash outside base. Glaze intentionally streaky, paling towards the bottom of the body curve. Trench 1.

(34) Bowl, rim and half of body preserved. Thin bluish glaze, yellow clay. For shape cf. BSA XXXIX fig. 17, 3 (Hellenistic).

(31) to (34) probably fourth century.

<sup>43</sup> BSA XXXIX pl. 6, 25-6, pl. 9 c (restored).

<sup>44</sup> From the fifth-century tomb at Cheliotomylos and from the chamber tomb, Corinth III 2, figs. 45 and 241 respectively.

<sup>45</sup> Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona 74 f.

<sup>46</sup> As Miss Benton rightly points out to me.

<sup>47</sup> For these terms see BSA XXXIX 28 f.

## C. OBJECTS OTHER THAN POTTERY NOT FOUND IN GRAVES

*Metal.*

Four small bronze coins were found, one in Trench 1, three in Trench 9, all paper-thin from corrosion. Other fragmentary bronze objects were two nails, of the simplest type (trenches 7 and 11), and part of a kylix handle (Trench 1). A more interesting fragment was the upper end of a bronze knife.

(35) Knife blade (FIG. 11). Three holes are preserved for the attachment of the handle; nails still remain in two of them. It was found in Trench 14 and may well be Mycenaean. Compare Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 299, from Tomb XXXVII, with 3 rivets, and see Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae* 189 f.

(36) Iron cooking utensil (FIG. 11). Length preserved 0.085 m. The tang suggests that there was once a wooden handle, the curve at the other end that the object was a spoon. Though it is not unlike the strigil handle *Olynthus* X pl. XXXIII 524, a tang would be out of place on a strigil.

*Stone.*

A two-edged flint flake was found in the 1936 trial excavation; the material is plentiful in Ithaca. A small flake of obsidian (probably Melian) was found in the unmixed bronze age deposit in Trench 14.

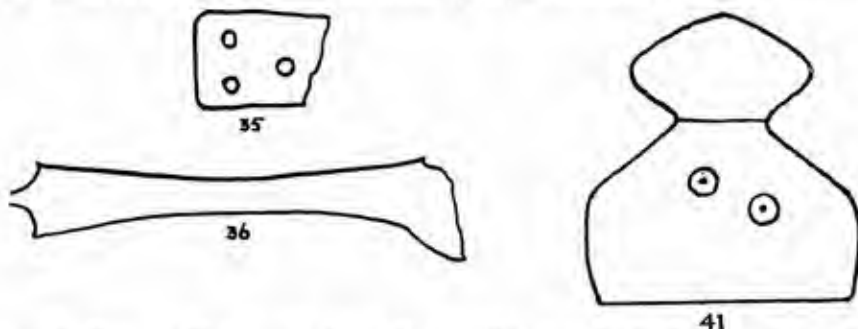


FIG. 11.—35, 36. BRONZE KNIFE AND IRON SPOON (?). 41. LOOM WEIGHT. SCALE: 1, 2 : 3.

*Bone.*

(37) Head of a bone pin. D. 0.009 m. D. of pin 0.003 m. Trench 4.

(38) Ribbed bead. L. 0.022 m. Outside diameter 0.009 m. Trench 3.

*Terracotta.*

(39) Bead. Cylindrical. L. 0.02 m. D. 0.015 m. Brownish ill-cleansed clay, apparently unpainted. Trench 6.

(40) Loom-weight. Square-based pyramidal shape with rounded corners. H. 0.053 m. Base 0.035 m. Trench 9.

(41) Loom-weight (FIG. 11). Max. L. 0.06 m. It is flat, with two asymmetrically placed impressed circles on one face. Very soft pink fabric. Trench 1.

Two other broken loom-weights, in type and size very like (40) above, were also found in Trench 1, and with them a broken terracotta shell, unpainted.

*Glass.*

(42) Bead (FIG. 7 b). L. 0.01 m. The outer stripes are yellow, the middle ones blue, the central 'cable' band blue and white. Trench 12.

## CONCLUSION

The Bronze Age material, though in a shattered and disturbed condition, is sufficient in bulk to make it reasonably certain that its presence is due to habitation on the spot. Prehistoric Ithacians, like those of the present day, seem to have lived *κωμηδόν* wherever climatic, agricultural, or economic considerations suggested. Beyond revealing the site of one such *κώμη*, our material adds nothing to the facts about Bronze Age Ithaca gained from the larger excavations at Polis and Pelikata.

In Greek times the site was a cemetery; the settlement to which it belonged was probably farther towards Polis Bay (see p. 227). The earliest object associated with a burial is the small



oenochoe found near Grave IV, the latest the Syracusan coin from Grave III. No other article of grave furniture was demonstrably as late as this coin, and the majority dated from the late fifth or early fourth century. Tile graves are known from the sixth century,<sup>48</sup> but at Corinth the type does not become common until the late fifth century,<sup>49</sup> and no Rhitsona example is datable earlier than 440;<sup>50</sup> at Olynthus, too, the majority of such graves date from the same period as the Stavros ones. At this time the number of grave gifts was, in most areas, less than in earlier periods (I owe this observation to Professor Robinson);<sup>51</sup> Corinth was an exception, and it is perhaps significant that in the only Stavros grave (IX) with many gifts, undoubted Corinthian objects were common.

In general, it may be said that the ties between Corinth and Ithaca, so strong in the eighth and seventh centuries,<sup>52</sup> were still close in the fourth. The handsome bronze kylikes were probably made at Corinth, much of the pottery is certainly Corinthian. Miss Benton suggests<sup>53</sup> a Corinthian colonisation of northern Ithaca, and certainly some explanation is needed of the predominance, curious at this period, of non-Attic vases among the finds. If some of the rather poor quality black glaze pottery is in fact not local but of South Italian origin this need not surprise us; Ithaca must at all times have been a stage on one sea-route to Magna Graecia, and during the Peloponnesian War the tide of cheap pottery might well have set from west to east.

HELEN WATERHOUSE.

<sup>48</sup> *Olynthus* XI 160, and references *ad. loc.*

<sup>50</sup> *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, 4 f., 81.

<sup>52</sup> Robertson in *BSA* XLIII, *passim*.

<sup>49</sup> *AJA* XXXIV (1930), 403 ff.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.* chap. 4.

<sup>53</sup> *BSA* XXXIX 22.

# LATE MINOAN WARRIOR-GRAVES FROM AYIOS IOANNIS AND THE NEW HOSPITAL SITE AT KNOSSOS

(PLATES 50-56)

THESE five tombs, discovered by chance during the last two years, have an importance out of all proportion to their size and the wealth of their contents. They comprise (see Map, FIG. 1) (1) at Ayios Ioannis, a solitary 'shaft-grave'<sup>1</sup> with bronze weapons of early Late Minoan type, but no vases; and (2) on the site of the new Hospital, a group of four<sup>2</sup> tombs (three 'chamber-tombs' and a 'shaft-grave') containing bronze weapons, together with Late Minoan II vases which provide much fresh information about the pottery of the period.

None of the five tombs had held more than one, or at the most two, bodies: that at Ayios Ioannis, and all except Tomb I on the Hospital site, evidently belonged to warriors buried with their arms. The bronze helmet from Tomb V (see p. 256 and PLATES 50-52) is not only the first of the Bronze Age from Crete, but the only one of its type from the Aegean;<sup>3</sup> and it has important bearings upon the origins of early metal helmets in the rest of Europe to the west and north. The arms, and notably the large fighting-spears (FIGS. 8 and 12, PLATE 53) found in all four of the 'warrior-graves', represent the finest collection of Bronze Age weapons known from Crete, and throw new light on the military equipment of the last phase of the Knossian Empire.<sup>4</sup>

The authors wish to express their very deep gratitude to Dr. N. Platon, Ephor of Antiquities for Crete, for his help and ready co-operation both during the excavation of the tombs and afterwards in the work on the material in the Museum at Herakleion, where his unrivalled knowledge of Cretan antiquities was of inestimable value. His ideas and suggestions have been freely incorporated in the text beyond a possibility of particular acknowledgement in each case. We are also grateful to Mr. S. Alexiou, Epimelete of Herakleion Museum, for much kind help in our work on the material in the Museum, to Professor V. G. Childe, Professor C. F. C. Hawkes, Professor J. M. C. Tynbee, Mr. R. D. Barnett, Miss S. Benton, Mr. P. E. Corbett, Miss D. H. F. Gray, Dr. H. Hencken, Mr. R. W. Hutchinson, Miss R. Levy, Miss H. L. Lorimer, Miss N. K. Sanders, Mr. L. C. D. Tait, and many others who have kindly discussed the material and offered valuable suggestions and references that have helped to elucidate it.

We are very much obliged to Mr. I. W. Cornwall, of the London University Institute of Archaeology, for examining the animal teeth and minerals, and to Mrs. F. L. Balfour-Browne and Dr. E. Trewavas of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, for identifying the wood remains and a shark's tooth from Tomb I; to Dr. D. B. Harden, of the Ashmolean Museum, and Professor W. E. S. Turner, of the Society of Glass Technology, for reporting on the lump of glass from Tomb III; and to the Reverend V. E. G. Kenna, R.N., for a note on the seal from Tomb I, and advice and information with regard to the seals from Tomb III.

Other acknowledgements are reported in the appropriate place. The drawings, except for the plan, FIG. 1, are entirely the work of P. de Jong. The report on the tombs is by P. de Jong and M. S. F. Hood in collaboration. The account of the helmet and other objects from the tombs is by M. S. F. Hood. The photographs of the objects were taken by Mr. E. M. Andrulakis of Herakleion using the School's plate camera.

The following abbreviations are used in this article, in addition to those ordinarily in use in the Annual.

AC	Pendlebury, <i>The Archaeology of Crete</i> , 1939.
Chamber Tombs	Wace, <i>Chamber Tombs at Mycenae</i> ( <i>Archaeologia</i> 82), 1932.
Homer and the Monuments	Lorimer, <i>Homer and the Monuments</i> , 1950.
MP	Furumark, <i>The Mycenaean Pottery</i> , 1941.
New Tombs at Dendra	Persson, <i>New Tombs at Dendra</i> , 1942.
Prehistoric Tombs	Evans, <i>The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos</i> ( <i>Archaeologia</i> 59), 1906.
Prosymna	Blegen, <i>Prosymna</i> , 1937.
Royal Tombs at Dendra	Persson, <i>The Royal Tombs at Dendra</i> , 1931.
Schachtgräber	Karo, <i>Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai</i> , 1930-33.
TDoAx	Evans, <i>The Tomb of the Double Axes</i> ( <i>Archaeologia</i> 65), 1914.

<sup>1</sup> For 'shaft-graves' at Knossos, see *Prehistoric Tombs* 11.

<sup>2</sup> There were indications of a possible fifth tomb (see p. 251).

<sup>3</sup> Not, however, the first Bronze Age metal armour recorded from Crete. See note, p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> As Evans says (*PM* IV 785 ff.), 'The last Palatial phase at Knossos presents a military and indeed militaristic aspect', reflected for instance in the 'Armament Tablets' and the 'Shield Fresco' (here dated to the beginning of L.M. II: but see *PM* III 308, followed by *AC* 197-8, where it is called L.M. IA); and illustrated by the break in continuity visible in the remains of the smaller sites along the northern coast, and by the cessation of Phaistos and Ayia Triadha. For an opposite view of the Minoan Cretans as essentially pacific by contrast with the war-like Mainlanders, see *AC* 271, 286.

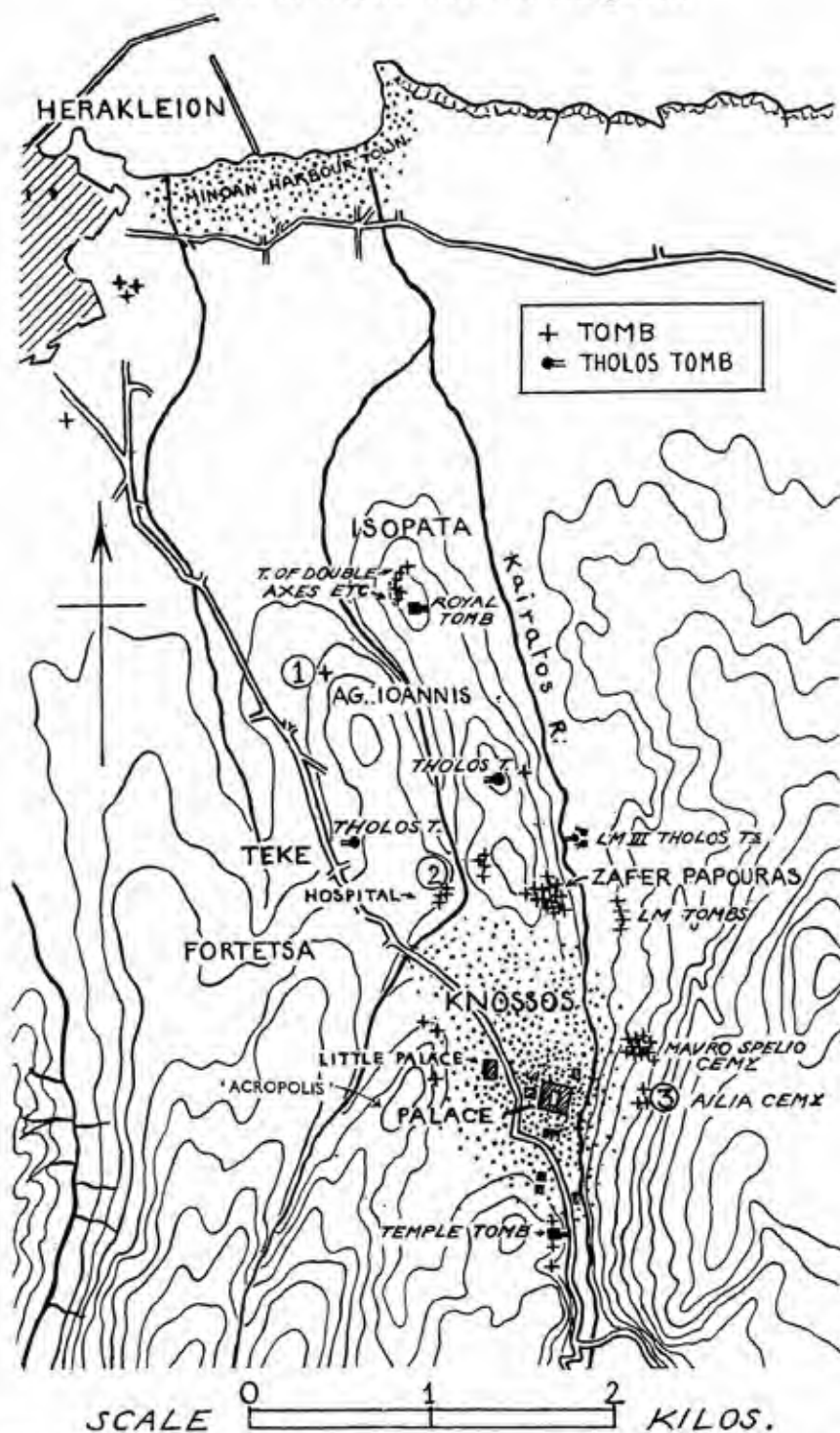


FIG. 1.—THE KNOSSOS AREA, SHOWING THE TOMBS AND CEMETERIES. THE SPECKLED AREAS INDICATE THE APPROXIMATE EXTENT OF THE CITY AND HARBOUR TOWN.

One or two similar 'warrior-graves' have turned up in the past at Knossos. Most comparable to our graves is a solitary tomb that came to light many years ago on the 'Acropolis' hill west of the Palace.<sup>6</sup> No doubt there was at Knossos in this period some kind of military aristocracy, which formed the core of the army, manning the chariots stored in the arsenals of the Palace,<sup>8</sup> and officering the bands of light-armed troops and foreign auxiliaries;<sup>7</sup> and such graves, modest in style, but richly provided with weapons, may be supposed to belong to members of this body.

The tombs are first described (p. 245). There is then a general account of the pottery (p. 253) and bronze weapons (p. 255), with a discussion of the helmet (p. 256); followed by an inventory of the vases and other objects according to tombs (p. 261).

### (1) THE 'SHAFT-GRAVE' AT AYIOS IOANNIS

(See Plan, FIG. 2)

This tomb is situated about 300 metres east of the main Knossos-Herakleion road, at the north end of the ridge that runs parallel to the Isopata ridge from the Hospital site towards the

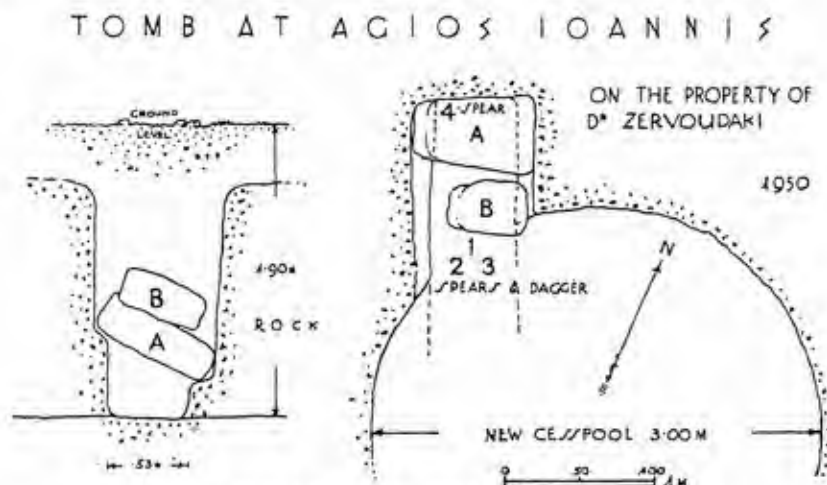


FIG. 2.—THE 'SHAFT-GRAVE' AT AYIOS IOANNIS.

sea. The tomb came to light during the Spring of 1950 in the making of a cesspool immediately in front of the house of Dr. Zervoudhakis. Most of the tomb had been destroyed and the

<sup>6</sup> *PM* IV 849, fig. 832. This is clearly the tomb described in *PM* II 547, as containing L.M. IA relics, and marked on the plan (opposite p. 547) as 'Rock Tomb L.M. I' (at the bottom edge of the plan, just north-west of the ruined Chapel of 'Hagios Kyrillos'). The objects from the tomb, which are now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, consist of two short spear-heads or javelins like AJ (4) and I (11), together with one long 'horned' sword and fragments of another: the only vase recovered from the tomb was a squat alabastron, which emphasises the similarity with the tombs of the Hospital site (see p. 254, and n. 43). For other 'warrior-graves' at Knossos, cf. Tomb 36, the 'Chieftains's Grave', in the Zafer Papoura cemetery (*Prehistoric Tombs* 51 ff.), with long 'horned' sword, short 'cruciform' sword, and two spear-heads like II (4); and Tomb 44 in the same cemetery (*ibid.* 62), with long 'horned' sword and short sword.

<sup>7</sup> For the 'Chariot Tablets', etc., see *PM* IV 786 ff. Compare the similar inventories of war-like stores kept in the Palace at Nuzi, together with records of the equipment bestowed upon individual warriors (Starr, *Nuzi* I 541).

<sup>8</sup> As in the famous fresco of 'The Captain of the Blacks' (*PM* II 755, pl. xiii; IV 886).



objects removed to the Museum before our arrival on the scene.<sup>8</sup> It was a 'shaft-grave', with the floor of the compartment 1.90 below the modern surface and 0.53 wide at the bottom. Ledges ran along each side of the grave at unequal heights, the one 0.25, the other 0.50 above the floor. These ledges had evidently supported cover slabs, one of which, of roughly squared limestone, was still in position (A on Plan, FIG. 2); while another large block of stone (B) was lying at an angle higher in the fill. The only object recovered from the end of the grave that was left for us to examine was the small spear-head A J (4), which lay across the grave about 0.25 above the floor; there were traces of wood in its socket.<sup>9</sup> No signs of a body were detected apart from two tiny fragments that might have been finger or toe bones.<sup>10</sup>

In 1951 trial soundings were made with the hope of finding other tombs on a patch of waste ground about 20 metres square immediately west of this 'shaft-grave' and across the road from the house of Dr. Zervoudhakis. No further tombs came to light, and it is therefore possible that here, as on the Hospital site, we must expect, not a large cemetery, but only a few scattered graves.

## (2) THE TOMBS ON THE NEW HOSPITAL SITE

(See Plan, FIG. 3)

These tombs came to light during the Spring of 1951 in the levelling of the site for a new Hospital on the south slope of the hill that forms the base of the Ayios Ioannis ridge, and immediately north of the little stream which according to Evans may mark the boundary of the Minoan city at its widest extent.<sup>11</sup> As the site lies within the Knossos area, Dr. Platon asked Mr. de Jong to carry out the examination of the tombs on behalf of the British School.<sup>12</sup>

Three of the tombs (I, III, V) were small 'chamber-tombs',<sup>13</sup> the fourth (II) a 'shaft-grave'; and a possible fifth (IV) may have been a 'pit-cave'.<sup>14</sup> The tombs were scattered in a rough line along the slope of the hill over a distance of about 75 metres: the entrances of the three 'chamber-tombs' were more or less on a level. It is possible therefore that the tombs lay beside a path following the contour of the hill. A thorough search was made for further tombs wherever the levelling of the site had exposed the rock, an area of about 150 × 40 metres; and trial trenches were dug on the slope of the hill immediately below the levelled area to the south: but no other tombs were found. These tombs therefore do not appear to form part of a large cemetery like that at Zafer Papoura a few hundred metres to the east, but suggest a small burial ground belonging to some important family. This is also indicated by the character of the tombs, with only one or at most two bodies, and by the comparative wealth of their contents. The family would no doubt own the land on which the tombs stood.

The tombs are securely dated to the last period of the Palace at Knossos by the style of the

<sup>8</sup> The discovery was reported to Dr. Platon, who invited P. de Jong to complete the examination of the tomb.

<sup>9</sup> These small spear-heads probably had quite short hafts, and were hunting spears or javelins (see p. 256, and the evidence from Tomb I, p. 265, under I (11)).

<sup>10</sup> Compare Tomb V and the body on the ledge in Tomb I of the Hospital site.

<sup>11</sup> See the map, PM II, opposite 547. The stream is here shown as the 'Gully' which runs east from 'Loukas Taverna'. The stream has now been filled in and a new bed dug for it about 100 metres further south to make a boundary for the Hospital grounds on that side.

<sup>12</sup> The floors of the tombs were very close to the surface of the levelled area. The actual removal of the soil was therefore a simple matter, and only two men were employed, Spiro Vasilakis and Grigori Kritsalakis, under the supervision of Manoli Markoyannakis, the School's foreman at Knossos.

<sup>13</sup> The chambers, dug in the soft white 'kouskouras' rock of the region, had long ago collapsed.

<sup>14</sup> All three types of tomb were found side by side in the Zafer Papoura cemetery (*Prehistoric Tombs* I ff.).

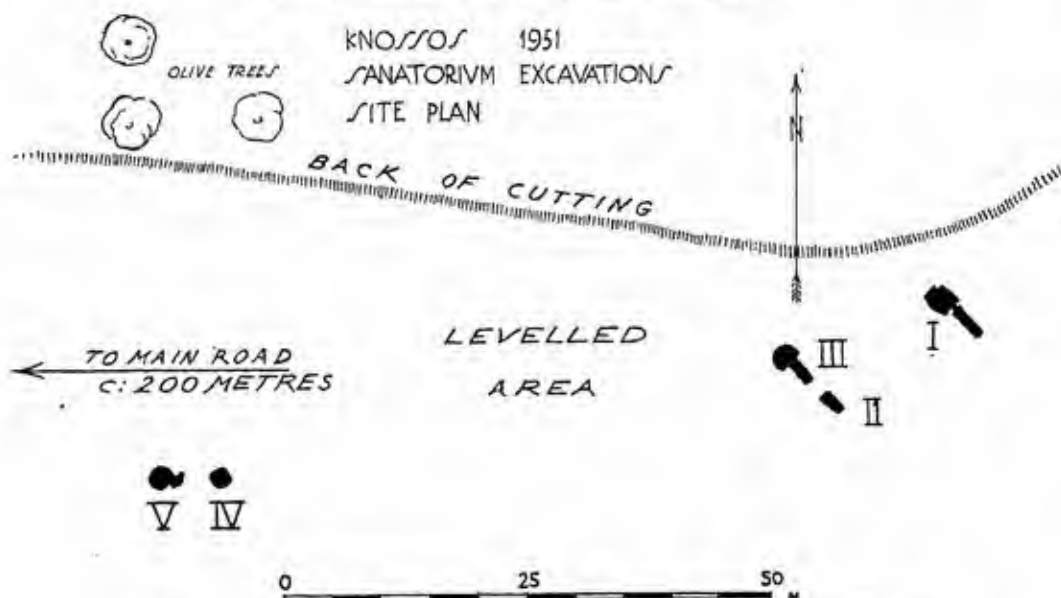


FIG. 3.—PLAN OF THE HOSPITAL SITE SHOWING POSITION OF TOMBS.

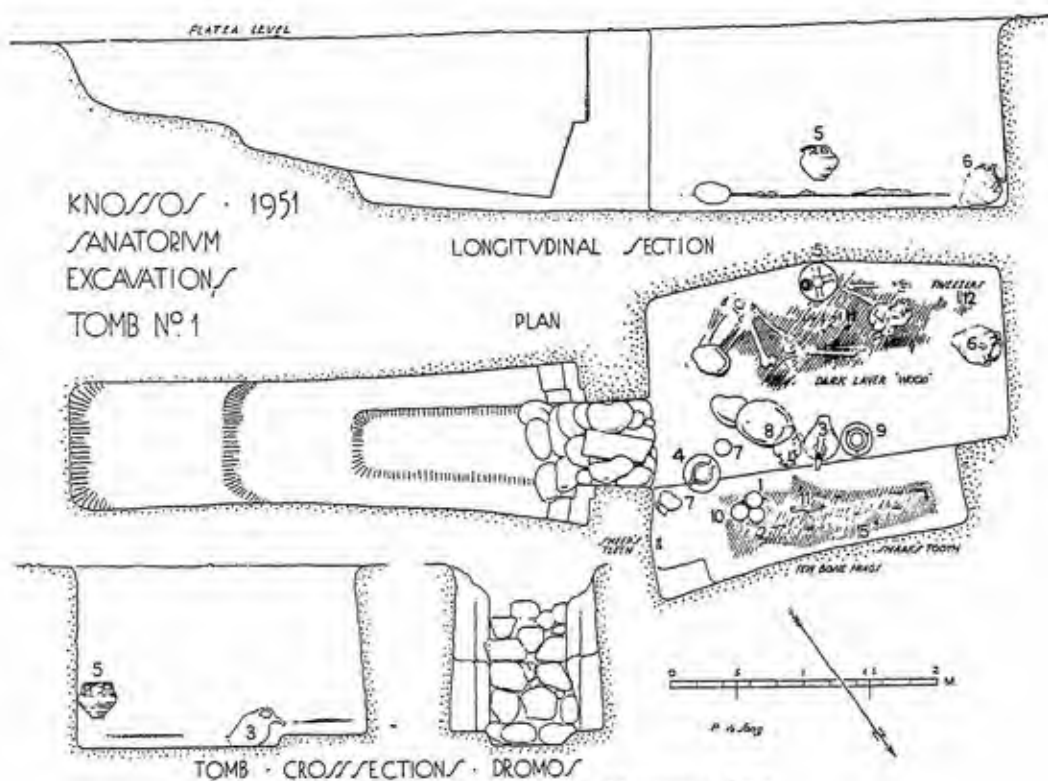


FIG. 4.—TOMB I OF THE HOSPITAL SITE.

vases found in them. While most of the vases may be attributed to Late Minoan II, one at least, the flowered jug from the 'shaft-grave' (II (1)), is better classified as Late Minoan IIIA 1; and it follows that the warrior in this tomb, with his richly ornamented weapons, may have been laid to rest only a year or two before the final destruction of the Palace.

*Tomb I* (Plan, FIG. 4). This was the largest of the 'chamber-tombs'.<sup>15</sup> The dromos, whose sides leaned slightly inwards according to the usual practice, was 1.15 wide at the bottom. It was preserved for a length of 4.00, and sloped down steeply with two rough steps towards the entrance of the tomb-chamber; between the last step and the façade of the entrance was a shallow sinking 7-8 cm. deep and the same width as the door. The façade of the entrance was elaborately cut with sloping pilasters about 0.60 high; above which the upper part of the façade rose vertically, with a set-back of 0.10.<sup>16</sup> The sides of the entrance, like the walls of the dromos, had a slight inward lean: the entrance was blocked with large unworked stones with soft earth between them.

The chamber, which was set at a slight angle to the dromos, measured 2.60 long by 2.20 wide, with the floor about 1.40 below the levelled surface. A low bench, raised 0.10 above the floor of the chamber, was formed by a recess to the right of the entrance. The tomb contained two bodies, perhaps a man and a woman, since by the head of the body on the floor was a pair of tweezers (12) of the type used for plucking hairs, while under that on the bench lay a spearhead (11).<sup>17</sup> The skeletons were very poorly preserved, particularly that on the bench; but human teeth at the north end of the bench imply that this body, like the other, had been placed with its head away from the entrance.

Both the dead seem to have been buried in wooden coffins or on biers, traces of which in the form of brown smudges a few millimetres thick could be made out round the areas where the bodies had been.<sup>18</sup> The smudge above the bench, mixed with scraps of bone, gave a very clear shape, especially at the north end; from which it could be followed down the bench for a length of 1.50 with a width ranging from 0.50 to 0.25. These brown smudges were a good 0.10 above the surface of the rock, which suggests that the coffins or biers were raised on legs: the evidence for this was particularly clear on the bench, from the rock floor of which were recovered a shark's tooth (15) and the spear-head (11), while the brown smudge ran uninterrupted some 0.10 above them; they had presumably been resting on the ledge under-

<sup>15</sup> Tombs II-V were cleared by P. de Jong, Tomb I (which was the last to be discovered) by both of us in collaboration.

<sup>16</sup> This may be copied from the door of a house with high stone socles supporting a wooden frame. Tomb 9, the most elaborate of the important group of fourteen 'Tombe dei Nobili' at Phaistos, had a similar façade, although the 'pilasters' were here rather lower (*MA XIV* 510, figs. 3 and 4). For other carved doorways, cf. the 'Tomb of the Double Axes' and Tomb 5 of the same group at Isopata (*TDox*, figs. 33a and 47), and Tomb 14 (the 'Tomb of the Tripod Hearth') at Zafer Papoura (*Prehistoric Tombs*, fig. 32). For rock-cut benches, cf. Tomb 9 at Phaistos (above) and Tomb 3 of the Isopata group (*TDox*, fig. 19).

<sup>17</sup> There was no evidence that the bodies had been placed in the tomb at different times, and if anything the arrangement of the vases suggested a single occasion of burial. It is therefore worth bearing in mind the possibility of a wife or concubine killing herself or being killed on the death of her husband or master. Something of this kind was suspected by Persson in the tholos tomb at Dendra (*Royal Tombs at Dendra* 68, with a full discussion). For such practices among the Celts of Gaul, illustrated both by the literary and by the archaeological evidence, see Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie IV* (1927), 541 ff.

<sup>18</sup> If coffins were employed they would probably resemble the clay *larnakes* with legs and gabled lids common in Late Minoan tombs. Such *larnakes* were clearly imitated from wooden models (*Prehistoric Tombs* 8 ff.). They are quite short, and the bodies were placed in them with the knees drawn up; so that a body in a wooden coffin of this type might well reach the flexed position seen in the case of the skeleton on the floor of Tomb I, cf. Tomb II (FIG. 5). For wooden coffins, see *New Tombs at Dendra* 111 ff., the only example established with certainty either in Crete or on the Mainland. This was about 1.90 long and 0.55-0.60 wide, and apparently had no legs. Clay *larnakes* are hardly found in tombs on the Mainland (*Chamber Tombs* 9), and wooden coffins may also therefore have been exceptional there: the occupant of this coffin at Dendra was accompanied by the unique bronze helmet! For (?) biers, see Tomb 9 at Phaistos, in the pit to the right of the entrance (*MA XIV* 522 and n. 1), and Prosymna, where traces were noted in three or four tombs (*Prosymna* 249).

neath the coffin or bier. At the south end of the bench near the entrance the head of a sheep or goat had apparently been placed; but of this only some scraps of bone and two teeth survived.

The tomb was poor in bronzes, but yielded a rich harvest of vases, ten in all. At the far end against the north wall of the chamber had stood the fine 'Bird' amphora (6); inside it were two little plaques of schist (14), a few tiny pebbles, and the curious seal-stone (13). Alongside the bench were ranged two other amphorae (7 and 8), together with a jug (3) and an alabastron (9).<sup>19</sup> In the corner between the entrance and the bench was the hole-mouthed jug (4); it was lying on its side with the base well above the floor, and may therefore have fallen from the bench. The stemmed goblet (1) may have been standing on top of the bier or coffin, since it was found complete about 0.10 above the rock floor of the bench. The other stemmed goblet (2) was scattered in fragments around the same area. The lamp (10) came from the actual surface of the bench.

Remarkable was the position of the large stirrup-vase (5), which was lying complete on its side in the fill a good 0.30 above the floor of the chamber.<sup>20</sup> The three large stones in the chamber had apparently fallen from the blocking-wall of the entrance.

*Tomb II* (Plan, FIG. 5). This was a 'shaft-grave' with the floor 1.35 below the levelled surface. On the north side of the grave about 0.95 above the floor were traces of a ledge 0.20 wide. Below this ledge a number of large stones in the filling formed a kind of layer across the grave; and immediately above this layer, in the north-west corner, was standing the jug (1).

The grave at floor-level measured only 1.60 × 0.60. The skeleton rested on its back with the legs flexed and the knees covering the alabastron (2): it is conceivable that the body had originally been set in the grave with the knees drawn up, and that they had afterwards fallen to one side, cf. the body on the floor of Tomb I above. On the chest of the skeleton was a gold-hilted sword (3), the hilt of which had apparently been placed in the dead warrior's right hand; while by his side lay the magnificent spear-head (4) with a butterfly incised on its socket. Traces of carbonised wood in the area of the sword may indicate a sheath, or a coffin or bier as in Tomb I.

*Tomb III* (Plan, FIG. 6). The chamber in this tomb was roughly semi-circular,<sup>21</sup> 1.80 long by 2.10 wide, with the floor less than a metre below the levelled surface. The dromos was preserved for a length of 2.60; it had the walls leaning slightly inwards, and was 0.90 wide at the bottom. The entrance to the chamber was 0.70 wide with a blocking-wall of large unworked stones. Some stones on the floor of the chamber to each side of the entrance either fell there from the blocking-wall when the tomb collapsed, or may have been pushed aside after a re-opening of the chamber to admit a second burial. The tomb contained two bodies, which

<sup>19</sup> Most of the vases in the south-east part of the tomb had been badly smashed and scattered. The amphora (7) was originally full of fine grey ash, which Mr. I. W. Cornwall, of the London University Institute of Archaeology, kindly examined and found to be highly calcareous, containing a considerable quantity of phosphate and scraps of charred wood; it could therefore be fire-ash: the wood scraps were identified by Mrs. F. L. Balfour-Browne, of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, as olive and oak. A few tiny fragments of carbonised wood, identified by Mrs. Balfour-Browne as olive, were recovered from the alabastron (9); but these may have belonged to the contents of the amphora (7) which were much scattered. For the probable uses of alabaster, see p. 254.

<sup>20</sup> It is difficult to believe that this represents the position in which the vase had originally been placed in the tomb; and it had therefore presumably been thrown up in some way when the roof of the chamber collapsed. If the vase had been resting on top of the bier or coffin, this might be more easily understood.

<sup>21</sup> Most of the fourteen 'Tombe dei Nobili' at Phaistos were of this shape (*MA* XIV 507, fig. 2): cf. *Prehistoric Tombs* 3 n. b. for other examples from Crete; but the shape is curiously enough not represented among the forty-nine chamber-tombs of the Zafer Papoura cemetery, although it is found in the Mavrospeio cemetery at Knossos (*BSA* XXVIII 243 ff., figs. 1 and 27, Tombs iii and xiii). It occurs on the Mainland, e.g. at Mycenae (*Chamber Tombs* 135) and Prosymna (*Prosymna* 243).



had been placed head to foot the length of the chamber; the skeletons were very poorly preserved, and the exact position of the bodies was difficult to ascertain.<sup>22</sup>

This tomb was by far the richest of the group in finds. Around the walls of the chamber had stood an array of twelve vases, including a single stemmed goblet (1), a jug (2) and a hole-mouthed jar (3), three small amphorae (4-6), two alabastra (7 and 8), and three lamps (10-12). A large jar (9) had been very much scattered, presumably when the chamber collapsed, so that the base was found at one side of the tomb and the rest of the vase at the other.

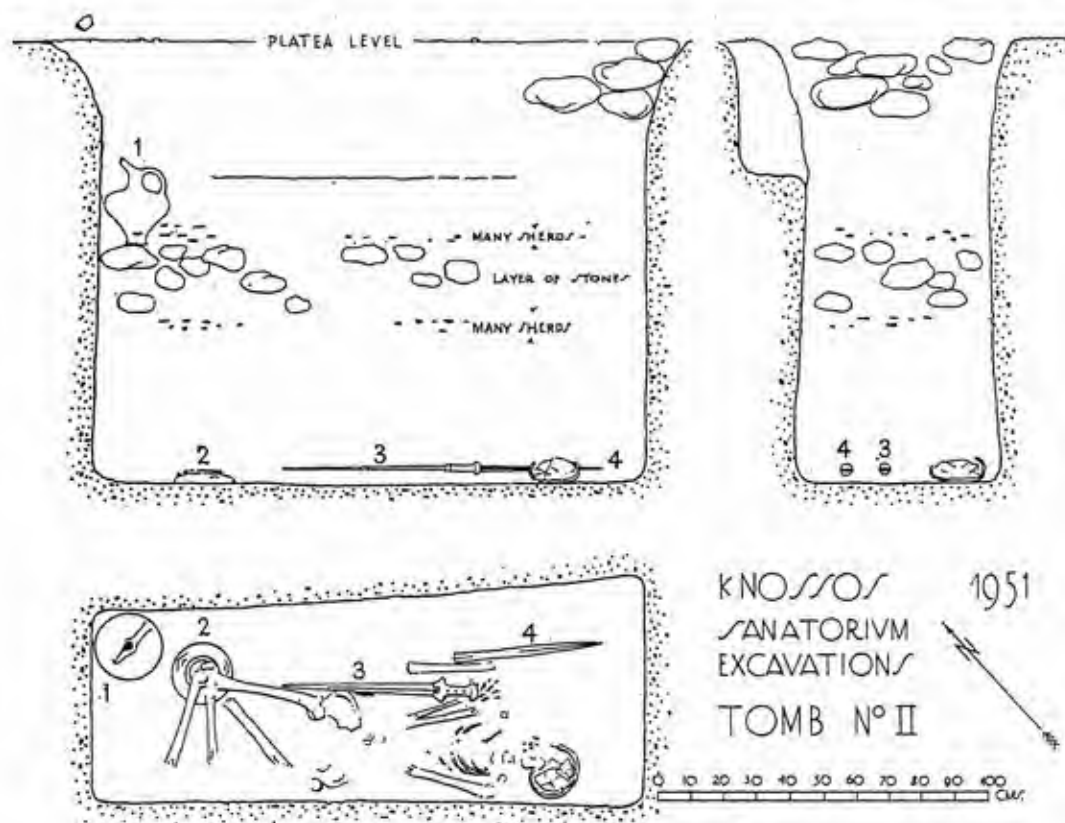


FIG. 5.—TOMB II OF THE HOSPITAL SITE.

In the south-west corner of the chamber, by the legs of the skeleton to the left on entering, lay a large spear-head (14) and a razor (15). Near the head of this skeleton by the wall were found the two fine lentoid seals (20 and 21) and a few beads of blue paste (26), together with scraps of ivory (25) which may be the remains of a small box that had contained them. Two other seals, a prism with two engraved faces (22) and a cylinder (23), came to light about  $\frac{1}{2}$  metre away under fragments of vase (9). Between the head of this skeleton and the feet of the other was the dagger-blade with gold-capped rivets (13), whose base rested upon the gold toggle (19) which may have fastened a baldric: this toggle in turn overlay one end of an ivory panel with spiral decoration (24) that might have adorned a sheath or quiver (see detail at the

<sup>22</sup> There is no evidence from this tomb to indicate that the bodies may have been a man and a woman as in Tomb I. Beads and seal-stones were, of course, worn by men as well as by women.

bottom of the plan, FIG. 6): around the ivory were traces of wood, perhaps from a backing to which the ivory had been attached. Six arrow-heads (18) were found scattered about the tomb.<sup>23</sup>

A number of little copper staples (16) in a group together in the north half of the chamber may conceivably have fastened the leather part of a figure-of-eight body-shield to its wooden centre-piece. From the floor of the tomb among the vases against the right wall were recovered a lump of magnetite (27) and a piece of blue glass (28) which might have served as amulets or charms.<sup>24</sup>

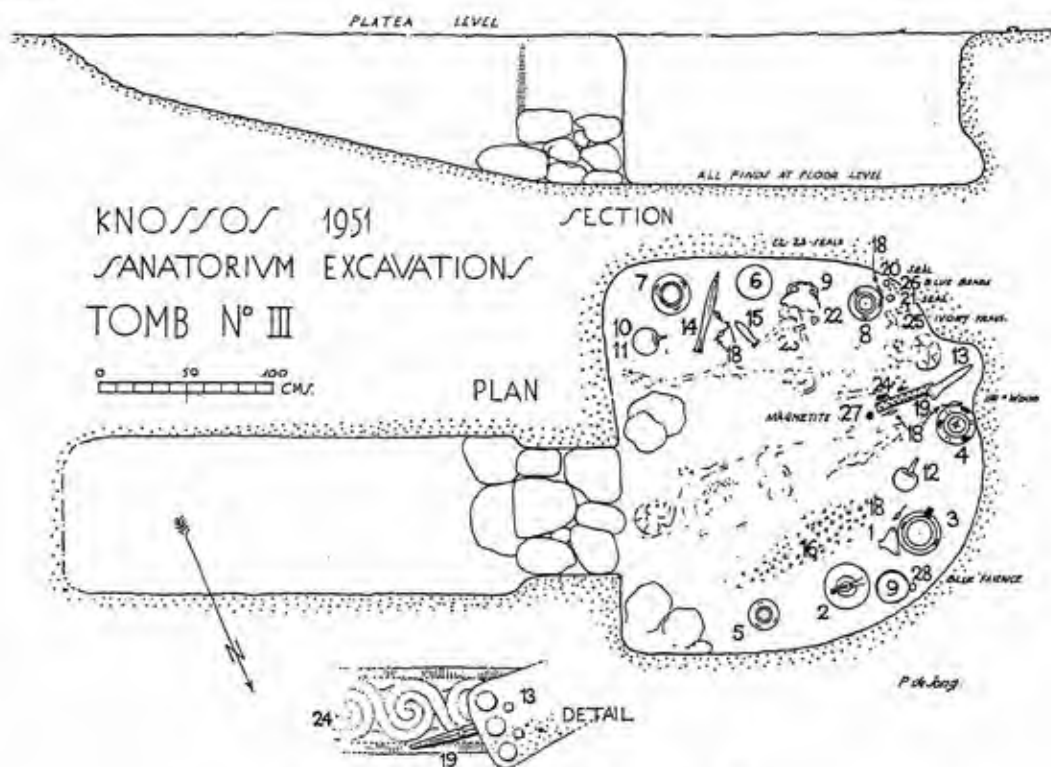


FIG. 6.—TOMB III OF THE HOSPITAL SITE.

? *Tomb IV.* This lay a few metres south of Tomb V. It consisted of a rectangular pit, measuring  $2.40 \times 2.10$ , with rounded corners. The floor of the pit was only 0.40 below the levelled surface. From its filling came a few bits of Minoan pottery,<sup>25</sup> together with some Classical sherds and a fragment of modern glazed ware. From the floor of the pit were

<sup>23</sup> If we assume that the ivory adorned a sheath for the dagger, it follows that since the dagger was found lying on top of the decorated face of the ivory, it cannot have been inside the sheath, which is curious. It is possible therefore that the ivory belonged to a quiver, which was hanging, together with the dagger and a baldric fastened by the gold toggle, from a wooden peg in the wall of the chamber. There was some evidence in a Mycenaean tomb in the Agora at Athens that a garment had been hung on a peg set in the wall (*Hesperia* XVII (1945), 157). Note that in Tomb 10 ('The Hunter's Grave') in the Zafer Papoura cemetery the fifteen arrow-heads were found all together at a height of 0.40-0.60 above the floor, which suggests a quiver full of arrows standing upright in a corner of the tomb (*Prehistoric Tombs* 31, fig. 27).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the shark's tooth from Tomb I (15).

<sup>25</sup> A number of sherds were recovered from the fillings of the dromoi of the chamber-tombs, and from the shaft-grave (Tomb II). These were mostly very fragmentary, and therefore difficult to attribute; but they appeared to range from M.M. I to L.M. I.

recovered some scraps of bone, including a finger bone, which appeared to be human. There was no sign of a dromos; but some stones at the south-east end of the pit might have belonged to a blocking-wall. The tomb, if it was a tomb at all, may therefore have been a 'pit-cave'.<sup>26</sup>

*Tomb V* (Plan, FIG. 7). The chamber of this tomb was roughly circular, about 2 metres across, with the floor only  $\frac{1}{2}$  metre below the surface. The entrance and its blocking-wall had

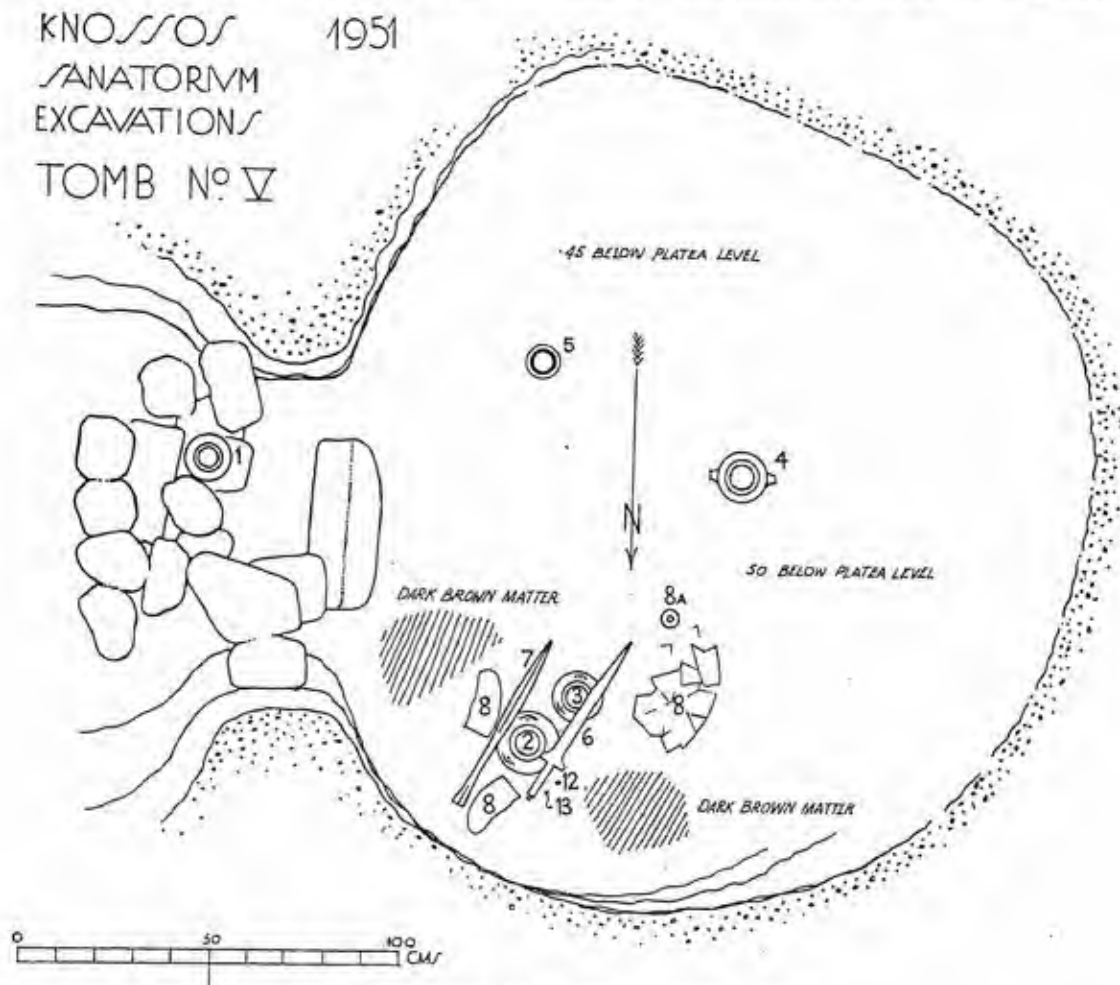


FIG. 7.—TOMB V OF THE HOSPITAL SITE.

been much destroyed in levelling the area before excavation began. The blocking-wall had been built of large stones, two of which were dressed blocks, the rest unworked. From the floor in the centre of the tomb were recovered two stone vases (4 and 5). The only clay vases in the tomb were three alabaster; one of which (1) was found amongst stones that had apparently been displaced from the blocking-wall, while the other two (2 and 3) were resting on the floor just to the right of the entrance: immediately on top of these two alabaster lay the exceptionally

<sup>26</sup> *Prehistoric Tombs* 15 ff. The 'cave' was blocked off from the 'pit' by a stone wall. In many of the tombs of the Zafer Papoura cemetery nothing was found, and no trace of a skeleton was detected.

large spear-head (7) and a short sword (6). A bronze rivet (12) and nail (13) found near the sword may have belonged to military harness of some kind.

No trace of a body was observed; but a thin brown layer, noticeable in patches about 5 centimetres above the floor of the tomb on each side of the spear-head and sword, may represent the decayed wood of a coffin or bier as in Tomb I (see p. 248). Near the sword on the floor lay the remains of a bronze helmet (8). The cheek-pieces which belonged with the helmet were resting a little above the floor nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  metre away. It is possible that the helmet had been placed on top of the wooden coffin or bier, if such existed: <sup>27</sup> this might perhaps explain how the cheek-pieces, on becoming detached from the rest of the helmet, had fallen some distance away from it.

### THE POTTERY

The twenty-nine vases from the tombs on the Hospital site have an unusual importance, because relatively few small clay vases of the Late Minoan II period have up till now been found at Knossos.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the vases and objects from each tomb comprise a 'closed find', since none of the tombs showed any signs of having been entered after the original burials were made.<sup>29</sup>

The vases in general, by many details of shape and decoration, reveal a close dependence on metal models.<sup>30</sup> The fabric of the vases is orthodox, with orange to buff clay, having the surface smoothed or burnished to a paler shade. The decoration is in lustrous paint, ranging from red to brown and black. In three cases (I (6), II (1), III (8)) the clay has a marked greenish tinge, while the decoration appears to have been of a particularly uniform deep black.<sup>31</sup> The surface of the vases had in many cases suffered severely from the action of the soil: <sup>32</sup> and the designs were difficult to distinguish; or showed as a kind of negative, with the parts from which the paint of the design had disappeared standing out a lighter colour than the background, as on the 'Bird' amphora from Tomb I (6) (PLATE 56, a).

The naturalistic scenes of birds among flowers on this vase (I (6)) may be copied from some fresco. Characteristic of the 'Palace Style', as found on the great amphorae of the Palace itself, are the papyrus and 'sacral ivy' of the little amphora III (4). The argonauts of III (2) and (5) are interesting, since argonauts do not appear on the great Palace vases, where the octopus holds sway in sea-scenes; <sup>33</sup> by contrast the octopus is not represented on any vase from the Hospital tombs.

The only form of drinking-vessel found in these tombs is the stemmed goblet. There were three of these, two from Tomb I (1 and 2) and one from Tomb III (1). In shape these

<sup>27</sup> Compare the turbans placed on the coffins of Turkish warriors. If in this tomb there was a wooden coffin with a gabled lid like the clay *larnakes* (see p. 248, n. 18), the comparison would be strikingly apt.

<sup>28</sup> The vases from the Palace itself which display the classic 'Palace style' of Late Minoan II are mostly large amphorae. Small clay vases, apart from stemmed goblets, were excessively rare; doubtless because, as Evans suggests (*PM* IV 353), the smaller vessels of the Palace during this period were made of metal—bronze, gold, and silver—and were therefore removed or plundered when the Palace was destroyed.

<sup>29</sup> Even in the tombs with two bodies the interval between the first burial and the second would not be long, since a close connection of some kind, such as that of husband and wife, may be supposed to have existed between the occupants of the tomb. For the possibility that there was only one occasion of burial even when there were two bodies, see p. 248, n. 17.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *PM* IV 300 ff.

<sup>31</sup> The combination of a greenish tinge in the clay with a uniform deep black colour in the decoration is probably to be explained by a particular circumstance of the firing rather than by a different centre of manufacture for these vases.

<sup>32</sup> The vases had all been broken, and a few (I (4), III (6), and the lamps I (10) and III (11)) had been smashed beyond any possibility of restoration. The work of restoration was in any case difficult, since the fabric had become very soft and friable, and many fragments had actually warped out of shape. The School's technician, Stelio Katsarakis, showed great skill and ingenuity in the successful accomplishment of this task.

<sup>33</sup> Furumark (*MP* 167) states that 'there seems to be no example of the argonaut in the known material'. Cf. *ibid.* 306, where he cautiously adds: 'but it may have belonged to the Palace style repertory'.



three stemmed goblets appear to conform to the types grouped by Furumark as Mycenaean IIB.<sup>34</sup> It is interesting to note that while the stems of two of our goblets are of the hollow type that is characteristic of Cretan goblets in this period, the third (I (2)) has a flat foot with a rim round the edge and a slight depression under the stem, recalling some feet of stemmed goblets found in early levels at Mycenae: but there seems nothing in the character of the clay or in the style of the decoration to suggest that this goblet must be an import from the Mainland.<sup>35</sup>

The finds from these tombs confirm the evidence from the Palace that the stemmed goblet<sup>36</sup> was the usual, if not practically the only, form of drinking-vessel in use at Knossos during the Late Minoan II period. Fragments of such goblets were found in large numbers in the ruins of the last Palace (*PM* IV 359): the decoration on these according to Evans was dominantly in a L.M. IB—II style, with a possible element of L.M. IA.<sup>37</sup> The stems of these goblets from the Palace, so far as is known, were hollow: these hollow stems presumably reflect metal models. Evidence for the existence of two-handled metal goblets at Knossos during this period is provided by the 'Camp Stool' fresco, which Evans dates to L.M. IB.<sup>38</sup> The hollow stem of these Knossian goblets is not apparently found on goblets from the Mainland.

A most striking feature is the large number of squat alabastra from these tombs. Few alabastra of the squat form, that could be assigned to so early a period as this, have hitherto been recognised in Crete;<sup>39</sup> although a good many have been recovered from the Mainland.<sup>40</sup> It has therefore generally been assumed that this type of vase was of Mainland origin and that the early examples found in Crete were imported from abroad.<sup>41</sup>

Such alabastra were no doubt used to contain some sort of unguent or oil for anointing the body, as Evans points out in connection with the large stone vases of this shape from the Throne Room of the Palace.<sup>42</sup> It is an interesting fact that at Knossos in the period before the destruction of the Palace clay alabastra of this squat type appear in the graves of warriors; and indeed in two of these Knossian 'warrior-graves' they were the only clay vases found.<sup>43</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the tombs on the Hospital site should yield seven of these alabastra, representing nearly a quarter of the total number of vases; and alabastra were in fact the commonest single type of vase from the Hospital tombs.

<sup>34</sup> *MP*, fig. 16.

<sup>35</sup> See Pendlebury (*AC* 227) on the difficulty of distinguishing Mainland from Cretan products of this period by the fabric: 'The old distinction between the "feel" of the sherds . . . can, as I can testify, no longer hold good'. It would be particularly interesting, as Pendlebury, *loc. cit.*, points out, to settle the question of origins in the case of the Late Bronze Age pottery exported from the Aegean and found in Egypt and elsewhere abroad. Chemical analysis of the clay might help in this matter.

<sup>36</sup> Wace (*Chamber Tombs* 182 n. 2) reserves the term 'kylix' for the tall L.M./L.H. III goblets. The Knossian goblets of L.M. I-II, and the Mainland goblets of L.H. I-II, are then simply 'stemmed goblets'.

<sup>37</sup> Some of the published examples are classified by Furumark as L.M. IIIA 1 (*MP* 171 n. 2, referring to *PM* IV fig. 302 c). This would still, of course, precede the destruction of the Palace (*MP* 169).

<sup>38</sup> *PM* IV 381 ff., fig. 323-4, cf. *AC* 200. The blue colour of the vase is presumably intended to represent silver. Furumark rightly points out that the lower part of the vessel is not preserved on the fresco, and argues that it is not a true goblet, but a deep cup of L.M. I type (*MP* 56). But these L.M. I deep cups seem normally at any rate to have only one handle.

<sup>39</sup> Pendlebury (*AC* 223, published in 1939) could cite only five examples. Furumark (*MP* 40 n. 4) adds two fragments from Zakro, which may belong to an alabastron (*BMC Vases* I, A 707: there classified as L.M. II, but Furumark would make them L.M. IB).

<sup>40</sup> These alabastra have mostly been found in tombs; but they occurred in the settlement at Korakou (Blegen, *Korakou* 50 ff.).

<sup>41</sup> Furumark, however, expresses a strong faith that a number of alabastra found abroad (in Melos, Palestine, and Egypt), and decorated in a L.M. I style, are of Cretan manufacture (*MP* 40); while admitting that it is a 'very remarkable fact that seven out of the fifteen or sixteen L.M. I vases found in East Mediterranean lands are of a type that is extremely rare in Crete'. See also *MP* 663, where he is clearly anxious to maintain his faith against Wace and Blegen (*Klio* XXXII 137 ff.) and Pendlebury (*AC* 223), who argue a Mainland origin for these early alabastra found abroad.

<sup>42</sup> *PM* IV 938.

<sup>43</sup> *E.g.* the tomb on the 'Acropolis' hill (see p. 245, n. 5), and Tomb 3 ('The Mace-bearer's Tomb') at Isopata.

There is nothing in the fabric of these alabastra to distinguish them from the other vases, or to suggest that they must be imports from abroad.<sup>44</sup> The designs, as far as they can be distinguished, belong to the rather specialised repertory of 'rock patterns' that appear on the alabastra found on the Mainland.<sup>45</sup> It is interesting to note that Furumark says of the earliest variety of this 'rock pattern' that occurs on the Mainland, that 'although actual prototypes seem at present to be missing, there is a strong general probability that the Mycenaean I designs in question were derived from an early L.M. IA type. In any case, they are entirely in keeping with the Minoan tradition': and later, 'There is a very great probability that L.M. IB prototypes are responsible for the Mycenaean IIA variants'.<sup>46</sup> It is significant that this 'rock pattern' appears in one of its most typical 'Mycenaean IIA' forms on a large alabastron I (9) from our tombs, which betrays peculiarities that would, apart from any other consideration, suggest that it was of local manufacture; the large size and heavy fabric, together with the extreme squatness of the shape with the sides making a sharp edge to the base, are features to differentiate it from the ordinary run of alabastra. But another alabastron of this same type was found at Knossos in the 'Tomb of the Double Axes' (Tomb 5 of the Isopata group).<sup>47</sup> These two vases are clearly reminiscent of the great stone alabastra from the Throne Room in the Palace, and may perhaps be regarded as deliberate imitations of such stone vases.

The base of this large alabastron (I (9)) is rough and undecorated. The decoration on the bases of the other alabastra from our tombs consists in almost every case of concentric circles: <sup>48</sup> on only one example (V (3)) is there a suspicion of some simple kind of wheel pattern. This is interesting in the light of the fact that the bases of alabastra of the Late Helladic II period or earlier on the Mainland normally have the wheel pattern, and concentric circles only become common in Late Helladic III.<sup>49</sup>

### THE BRONZE WEAPONS

Each of the three 'warrior-graves' on the Hospital site and that at Ayios Ioannis contained a large spear-head, together with a short sword of the 'cruciform' type, with cross-shaped hilt, characteristic of the last age of the Palace; <sup>50</sup> in Tomb III, however, the spear-head was accompanied by a tangless dagger (III (13)) in place of a sword. The standard equipment of these warriors therefore appears to have been a single heavy spear and a short sword <sup>51</sup> or dagger.

These four spear-heads are the largest and finest weapons of their kind yet recorded from Crete.<sup>52</sup> They display a considerable variety in their shapes, which represent three distinct forms, and only two of the spear-heads (III (14) and V (7)) are the same. All four were

<sup>44</sup> See p. 254, n. 35. <sup>45</sup> *MP*, Motive no. 32: 'Rock Pattern I'.

<sup>46</sup> *MP* 322. <sup>47</sup> *TDox* 24, fig. 35.

<sup>48</sup> Concentric circles on the bases of II (2), III (7) and (8), V (2), and probably V (1).

<sup>49</sup> Blegen (*Prosymna* 419-20) goes so far as to say that 'In all examples (i.e. from Prosymna) dating from L.H. II or earlier the bottom bears as its characteristic decoration . . . a "wheel pattern" . . . In fact, I do not know of a single alabastron of contemporary date from any Mainland site that does not bear this distinctive mark in one form or another'. See, however, Furumark (*MP*, under Motive no. 68: 'Wheel', 404), who claims that four out of the nine L.H. I alabastra bases that can be distinguished have 'simple circles, mostly concentric, once with a central disc'; but he admits that the wheel pattern is characteristic of L.H. II, though concentric circles appear again in IIB and in III supersede the wheel.

<sup>50</sup> *PM* IV 851. For a description of these swords see under A J (1), p. 261.

<sup>51</sup> These swords are really short stabbing-swords rather than 'rapiers' in the strict sense.

<sup>52</sup> The largest (V (6)), with a length of 0.49, was longer than the sword found in the same tomb. But even larger spear-heads have turned up on the Mainland. One from the tholos tomb at Dendra, for example, attained the extraordinary length of 0.57 (*Royal Tombs at Dendra* 37, no. 18).

clearly made by casting in a mould, although all have a slit down the socket. In the case of II (4) the slit runs at an angle and not straight up one of the faces of the octagonal socket, and is so fine that it is only just possible to squeeze a razor blade down it. Round the base of the socket in three of the four spear-heads (A J (3) is the exception) is a ring; this does not seem to be cast in one piece with the socket, but was presumably fixed in place after the shaft had been inserted.<sup>53</sup> As a further guarantee that the shaft would not slip a wooden peg appears to have been passed through two 'rivet' holes on opposite sides of the socket near its base. Between the two 'rivet' holes of II (4) there are traces on the surface of the socket where some sort of binding has been wound round it.

All four spear-heads are embellished with delicate ribs and grooves along the socket and the mid-rib of the blade. The socket merges into the blade, except in A J (3); here the dagger-like ogival blade is differentiated from the socket by three curving loops of a type which also appear on some sword-hilts of gold or other material, cf. II (3).<sup>54</sup> These loops may be derived from an imitation of the binding that helped to fasten the old socketless 'dagger' blades to their hilts or hafts.<sup>55</sup> The socket of the fine spear-head II (4) is further adorned on one side with a lightly incised butterfly in flight towards the butt.

The two small spear-heads (A J (4) and I (11)) are of quite a different type and shape from the large spear-heads; they may have belonged to throwing-spears or javelins used primarily for hunting.<sup>56</sup> This point is well brought out by Marinatos in an interesting article apropos of a short spear-head of similar type from the Vaphio tholos tomb: here the shaft was encased in metal, and the whole weapon as restored was only just over a metre long.<sup>57</sup> Evidence from Tomb I suggests a similar length for the spear (I (11)) there. Like the large spear-heads these small spear-heads have a slit down the socket and two 'rivet' holes, but no ring round the base: they are simple in style without any decoration.

The heavy tanged blade A J (2) is evidently from a short-hafted weapon, which may have been differentiated as a boar-spear: it is the finest example that has yet come to light of a rare type apparently confined to Crete.

### THE BRONZE HELMET, V (8)

(PLATES 50-52)<sup>58</sup>

The helmet is conical, with a knob perforated to hold a plume riveted to the top, and separate cheek-pieces. The helmet as restored without the cheek-pieces is about 0.17 high with an overall length of 0.24 and a width of 0.21. The knob is 0.039 high with a diameter at the base of 0.05. The fragments of the helmet together with the knob weigh 695 grammes. The cheek-pieces are each 0.165 long and 0.09 wide at the top, and together weigh 214 grammes. The helmet had been crushed and smashed into over a hundred fragments as a result of the

<sup>53</sup> PM IV 842. Cast spear-heads with a ring round the base of the socket appear at Ras Shamra in 'Ugarit Moyen' I (c. 2000 B.C.). But the ring is rare on spear-heads of the Late Bronze Age there according to Schaeffer (*Ugaritica* II 55 ff.).

<sup>54</sup> For further examples see p. 267, n. 119.

<sup>55</sup> For the possibility that these early socketless blades were used as spear-heads as well as daggers, e.g. Childe, *Dawn of European Civilisation* (4th ed. 1947), 32.

<sup>56</sup> But there was clearly no very rigid differentiation between weapons of war and weapons of the chase; and hunting might call for the organisation and armament of war. This is well illustrated by the famous 'lion-hunt' dagger from Mycenae, where men carry the figure-of-eight shield also used in warfare.

<sup>57</sup> Marinatos, 'Σιγούνη' (*BSA* XXXVII (1936-7), 187 ff.). From the Vaphio tholos came one other spear-head, which was larger and had a ring round the base.

<sup>58</sup> For Minoan helmets see PM IV 867 ff. For Aegean helmets in general, Kukahn, *Der griechische Helm* (1936); and more recently, Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (1950), 211 ff.



collapse of the tomb-chamber. Many of the individual fragments were warped and bent, which increased the difficulty of reconstructing the helmet.<sup>59</sup> Most of the helmet appears to be preserved; but it was impossible to fit in some few small pieces, and at one end of the helmet there is a gap, across which no joins could be noted.<sup>60</sup>

The bronze of the helmet itself is thin, varying from less than 1 millimetre to nearly 1.5 millimetres in thickness. In its present state of preservation it is not possible to say how the helmet was made; but like some of the similar helmets from Hungary and Germany (see p. 259), it may have been cast in a mould and then finished by hammering.<sup>61</sup> The plume-knob was evidently cast; it is of solid bronze, and was fastened to the top of the helmet by seven small rivets (FIG. 18).<sup>62</sup> A hole 4 millimetres in diameter to hold the plume<sup>63</sup> passed through the knob and continued down through the top of the helmet. Around the edges of each cheek-piece were spaced eighteen small holes between 1.5 and 2 millimetres in diameter, and there were similar holes along the bottom edge of the helmet at intervals of about 0.016: these were clearly intended for sewing the helmet and cheek-pieces to a padded lining.

All the helmets of this period in the Aegean presumably had a thick padding of some kind as a base. Helmets which consisted entirely of padding, sewn into strips like a modern rugger cap, appear to be depicted in several cases.<sup>64</sup> A padded helmet of this kind seems to be represented on a vase from Tomb 5 at Isopata.<sup>65</sup> But this padded base might be armed with boar's tusks, as described in Homer;<sup>66</sup> or with metal plates or discs (see p. 261, n. 101): or it might be given a complete metal shell like our helmet and that from Dendra.<sup>67</sup> Even a thin metal casing, such as this helmet and that from Dendra provide, would no doubt improve the defensive qualities of the helmet; but the aspect of prestige must not be overlooked.<sup>68</sup>

It is not certain whether the cheek-pieces were meant to overlap the bottom of the helmet, or whether helmet and cheek-pieces merely fitted edge to edge (as shown on PLATE 50). In either case the lining would presumably be continuous from the helmet to the cheek-pieces, and might have extended to form a neck-piece which was not armed with metal.<sup>69</sup>

This helmet from the Hospital site is important because to judge from the representations that survive it is of the shape that appears to have been most characteristic of Aegean helmets during the Late Bronze Age. The Dendra helmet, the only other example of the Bronze Age yet found in the Aegean, is of quite a different type, like the helmets depicted on the

<sup>59</sup> The School's technician, Stelio Katsarakis, was employed for nearly three weeks on this exacting task.

<sup>60</sup> The metal is very thin at this end, which might indicate that it was the back part of the helmet.

<sup>61</sup> Sprockhoff, *Zur Handlungsgesch. der germ. Bronzezeit* (Berlin, 1930) 44, apropos of the Oranienburg helmet, one of the group of three which most resemble our helmet (see p. 259).

<sup>62</sup> These had escaped our notice at first; but they were observed by Mr. de Jong on making a careful examination of the knob with a view to drawing it.

<sup>63</sup> Possibly a long bunch of horse-hair. For representations of plumes flowing from the tops of helmets of similar shape, though not necessarily made of metal, cf. the 'Battle of the Glen' gold signet-ring from Shaft-grave IV (*Schachtgräber*, pl. xxiv, no. 241). What seems to be an actual plume of this type 0.22 long, composed of gold strips, was found in Shaft-grave V (*ibid.*, pl. lvi, no. 639).

<sup>64</sup> *PM* IV 867. *Homer and the Monuments* 222-3. Cf. *ibid.* 210-11, for linen corslets in later times. The defensive qualities of such padded armour ought not to be underrated. The allied troops at the Battle of Lepanto found quilted corslets an effective protection against the formidable Turkish arrows (A. Wiel, *The Navy of Venice* (1910), 256 n. 1).

<sup>65</sup> *TDox* 27, fig. 37 b, reproduced in *Homer and the Monuments* 221, fig. 22.

<sup>66</sup> See *Homer and the Monuments* 212 ff.

<sup>67</sup> *New Tombs at Dendra* 43, 119 ff., pl. I.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. the views of Philopoemen on the importance of keeping metal armour bright: *Μεγάλα γὰρ μὲν ἔρη τὴν λαμπρότητα συμβάλλουσι πρὸς ἐκτέλειαν τῶν ὀπλων*. (Polybius XI 9. Quoted by Miss Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* 252 n. 4.)

<sup>69</sup> Cf. the helmet on the vase from Isopata T. 5 (n. 65 above). It is just conceivable that the curious lead-filled disc V (8a), that was found with the remains of the helmet, might have acted as a weight in some way to such a neck-piece. The thin bronze coating on one side of the lead seems to make sense only if it was intended to be seen; and the disc might therefore have been sewn into the neck-piece with the bronze showing on the outside. This suggestion was put forward, although with every reserve, by Miss D. H. F. Gray of St. Hugh's College, Oxford, who has kindly permitted us to quote it. It is admittedly not very satisfactory; but no better explanation for the use of the lead disc has offered itself up till now.



'Boxer Vase' and like a Classical 'Corinthian' helmet.<sup>70</sup> It is clear that there was an extraordinary variety in helmet-fashions in the Aegean at this period, particularly in the matter of crests and plumes, which offer an almost mediaeval fantasy and elaboration.<sup>71</sup> But the dominant shape of helmet, whether made of metal or of any other material, was conical.<sup>72</sup> Metal helmets were already in use in Mesopotamia during the third millenium, and actual examples were recovered from the Royal Tombs at Ur.<sup>73</sup> These early helmets from Mesopotamia itself appear to have been low caps. But tall helmets seem to be in general use in Syria and Anatolia by the Late Bronze Age, to judge from the representations, which in many cases at any rate depict metal helmets. Notable is a type of Syrian helmet seen on Egyptian monuments: this is a high dome-shaped cap with scalloped edges, but no cheek-pieces. The helmet is not surmounted by a knob, but from its top flows a double plume.<sup>74</sup> In Anatolia a high pointed helmet, evidently of metal, with large cheek-pieces, appears on the head of the figure perhaps of a god, on the relief at the 'King's Gate' at Boğazköy: this helmet carries a ridge-crest in place of a plume-knob, and the cheek-pieces are of a different shape from those on our helmet; but the general similarity may be admitted.<sup>75</sup>

It seems therefore as if in the matter of helmet-fashions, as in so many other details of its civilisation, the Aegean falls into a province covering Anatolia and stretching perhaps into Syria and farther East. But the Aegean helmet of the conical type is in general less high than the domed or pointed helmets of Syria and Anatolia, and is distinguished by having a knob fastened to the top to carry a plume or crest.<sup>76</sup> That a helmet of the conical type was already in vogue in the Aegean, or at any rate in Crete, early in the Middle Bronze Age, is suggested by a fragment of the 'Siege Mosaic' from Knossos of Middle Minoan II date,<sup>77</sup> which seems to show a conical helmet. Certainly by the Late Bronze Age the Aegean appears to have developed its own recognisable variations upon the general theme; and the particular type represented by our helmet, with its low conical form, perforated plume-knob, and large separate cheek-pieces, is probably best regarded as an Aegean, if not a specifically Minoan, development. Nothing precisely comparable to a helmet of this type appears to have been recorded, either in representations or by finds of actual examples, from Anatolia or from anywhere else in the Near East.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *New Tombs at Dendra* 43, 119 ff., pl. I. There is also a solitary bronze cheek-piece of a helmet from a Mycenaean tomb at Ialysos (Rhodes) in the British Museum (Walters, *BMC Bronzes* (1899), no. 36: *Homer and the Monuments* 211, pl. xiii, 1, where it is illustrated for the first time): this closely resembles our cheek-pieces in the thinness of the metal (about one millimetre), the slightly rounded section to agree with the curve of the helmet, and the little holes round the edges for sewing on to a padded lining; but it is rather larger (0.175 long by 0.125 wide at the top), and the profile of the front edge is concave instead of scalloped as on our cheek-pieces.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. the helmets on fragments of a silver vase from Shaft-grave IV, and that on a gem from the Vaphio tholos tomb (reproduced in *Homer and the Monuments*, pl. xv, 1, and 217, fig. 20).

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *Homer and the Monuments* 225: 'The commonest form of Minoan-Mycenaean helmet is conical'.

<sup>73</sup> Woolley, *Ur Excavations II. The Royal Cemetery* (1934), pl. 218.

<sup>74</sup> Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Painting*, pl. xxiv, from the Tomb of Menkheperren-senb, dating from the later years of Thutmose III (1475-48). The plumes are painted blue and red, the helmet yellow, which may be intended for bronze. This reference was kindly supplied by Mr. L. C. D. Tait.

<sup>75</sup> This unique monument dates from the period of the Hittite Empire. On some later 'Hittite' monuments from Carchemish and elsewhere, which all seem to belong to the Iron Age, helmets or caps surmounted by a large globe are worn by gods (Weber, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (*Orbis Pictus*, Vol. 9), pls. 2, 3, 14, 21 and 29). Humans on some Iron Age reliefs from Zencirli (*ibid.*, pls. 24-6 and 33) are wearing what are apparently (Mr. R. D. Barnett informs me) leather caps and not helmets in any true sense of the word, but which carry a low knob or projection on top giving them a profile remarkably like that of the helmet on the Isopata vase. The standard Assyrian metal helmet of the Iron Age is high and pointed, but normally at any rate without cheek-pieces or plume or knob on top.

<sup>76</sup> But note the very high pointed cap, that might conceivably be regarded as a helmet, worn by the figure carrying shield and spear who appears to be a warrior-god, on a sealing from the Temple Repositories at Knossos of M.M. III date (*PM I* 505, fig. 363 b; *III* 465, fig. 324 A).

<sup>77</sup> *PM I* 308, figs. 228, 1 and 229 b. This might even be intended to represent a metal helmet.

<sup>78</sup> For the survival of a conical type of helmet in the Aegean and Cyprus into the Iron Age, see *Homer and the Monuments* 225 and n. 2. From Greece itself only two examples appear to be known, both from Olympia (*Ol. IV* 172, pl. lxii, no.

It is therefore the more remarkable to find a scatter of bronze helmets of exactly the same type as our helmet across Hungary and up into North Germany, the so-called 'Glocken' or 'Bell-helmets'.<sup>79</sup> Till now these have generally been supposed to belong to an advanced phase of the European Bronze Age, the tenth century B.C. or later; and many, which are surmounted by a large round plume-knob<sup>80</sup> and have thick metal walls, may be quite late in date, as their associations in certain cases indicate. But three of these 'Bell-helmets', those from Beitzsch, Oranienburg and Lucky, so closely resemble our helmet that it is difficult to believe they were not copied from contemporary Aegean models.<sup>81</sup> These three are distinguished from the rest of the 'Bell-helmets' by having thin walls and a small plume-knob with an angular profile like our helmet. The most interesting of the group is that from Beitzsch, in the Lausitz area of South-east Germany, now in the British Museum.<sup>82</sup> It came to light over a hundred years ago in a peat bog, and according to early accounts was found together with a dagger or halberd blade and a couple of 'ingot' torcs.<sup>83</sup> These are objects characteristic of the Central European Early Bronze Age, and may be dated therefore to about the same period as our helmet, c. 1400 B.C.<sup>84</sup> This helmet from Beitzsch does not look as though it were itself an import from the Aegean: <sup>85</sup> the plume-knob in particular is mean in size, and crudely shaped by comparison with the neat evenly moulded knob of our helmet; <sup>86</sup> and it is fixed in place, not by means of rivets, but by a curious system that is found on other Hungarian and German 'Bell-helmets', the metal of the knob continuing down through a hole in the top of the helmet and being beaten or pressed round to grip the edge of the helmet.<sup>87</sup>

A few helmets of the 'Bell' type are also known from Italy.<sup>88</sup> Two of these <sup>89</sup> differ from the German and Hungarian examples in having the knob riveted to the top of the helmet as in

1031. *Jdl* LII (1937), *Ol. Bericht*, 52, pl. 6 right): neither is exactly comparable to our helmet, and neither has preserved any trace of a knob, if there ever was one. Furtwängler, in discussing the first of these, could only cite two parallels, both from Cyprus and both unpublished. The place of manufacture of these helmets would appear to be quite obscure. Models of detached cheek-pieces were found at Bassae (*AE* 1910, 315, fig. 34); Kukahn (*Der griechische Helm*, n. 45) thinks that these are comparatively early in date; but they are not like the cheek-pieces of our helmet.

<sup>79</sup> Von Merhart, *Zu den ersten Metallhelmen Europas* (30 *Bericht der Rom. Germ. Komm.*) (1940), 4 ff. See also Sprockhoff, *Zur Handelsgesch. der germ. Bronzezeit* (1930), 44 ff., for the German examples. Von Merhart argues that the early metal helmets of Europe are mid-European creations, and certainly free from Aegean influence. He had, however, prophetically complained apropos of the Dendra helmet that in the light of the representations a metal helmet of the Aegean Bronze Age might have been expected to resemble a European 'Bell-helmet'.

<sup>80</sup> But a large round knob appears in some Aegean representations of helmets, e.g. a fragment of fresco from Mycenae (*AM* XXXVI (1911), 239, pl. xi, 2. Cf. *Hom. and the Monuments* 217): this might be intended for a boar's tusk helmet; but admittedly no trace of divisions could be recognised. The colours in which the helmet was painted are not given.

<sup>81</sup> Von Merhart (*op. cit.*, 11) notes that these three helmets fall outside the main group of 'Bell-helmets' by reason of their smaller knobs. With them he places the two helmets from Corneto in Italy (see p. 259, n. 88).

<sup>82</sup> B.M. no. 68.12-28.248. Described by Sprockhoff (see p. 259, n. 79 above). In the files of the British and Mediaeval Department of the Museum is a very clear and detailed MS. summary of the literature on the Beitzsch helmet by Professor C. F. C. Hawkes. With his consent, and by courtesy of the Department and the Trustees of the Museum, the fullest use has been made of this account.

<sup>83</sup> These are also in the British Museum. The blade has elaborate incised decoration, and closely resembles the most ornate of the blades from the Neuenheiligen hoard (Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory*, fig. 143, top r. centre).

<sup>84</sup> For recent views on the dating of the European Bronze Age, see Childe and Hawkes in *Proc. Prehistoric Society* XIV (1948), 177 ff.

<sup>85</sup> The Beitzsch helmet weighs only 353 grammes compared with the 695 grammes of our helmet without the cheek-pieces. The weight of the Beitzsch helmet was kindly supplied by Mr. J. W. Brailsford of the British and Mediaeval Department of the British Museum.

<sup>86</sup> It must, however, be noted that the standard of workmanship would tend to reach a very much higher level at a great capital city like Knossos, than at some provincial centre. This can easily be seen by comparing the spears and swords from our tombs at Knossos with contemporary weapons of the same types from provincial sites in Crete.

<sup>87</sup> Illustrated by Hampel, *Ältherthümer d. Bronzezeit in Ungarn* (1890), pl. xxxiii, 2 c. In the case of the Beitzsch helmet at any rate the metal appears to have been pressed down while in a soft or molten state with some implement whose marks are clearly visible, cf. Sprockhoff, *Zur Handelsgesch. der germ. Bronzezeit* 44, apropos of the 'Bell-helmet' from Sehlisdorf.

<sup>88</sup> Two from Corneto (Etruria), two from San Canziano near Trieste, and one from somewhere in Italy, according to von Merhart's list. But there are also clay imitations of 'Bell-helmets' which were used, like the helmets themselves, to cover cremation-burial urns, e.g. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pl. 11, 15, from Corneto.

<sup>89</sup> The two from Corneto. These are tentatively grouped by von Merhart with the three 'Bell-helmets' of p. 259 and n. 81, which most closely resemble our helmet.

our helmet.<sup>90</sup> This would seem to indicate, what is in any case probable, that this fashion in armour spread to Italy direct from the Aegean and not through the Balkans.<sup>91</sup>

None of the 'Bell-helmets', whether from Italy or from Germany or Hungary, has been found with cheek-pieces, although there are cheek-pieces on a helmet of another early type from the region of Salzburg (Austria),<sup>92</sup> and an isolated cheek-piece has turned up in North Germany;<sup>93</sup> but these cheek-pieces do not show the peculiar scalloping of the front edge which distinguishes the cheek-pieces of our helmet.

It is therefore the more astonishing to find certain Etruscan helmets of a characteristic type flourishing from about the fifth to the third centuries B.C., which not only in a general way seem to reflect the tradition of early Aegean helmets like ours, but which actually reproduce the same scalloped edge in the cheek-pieces.<sup>94</sup> These Etruscan helmets are of thick bronze, while the knob, which is unperforated, is cast in one piece with the rest of the helmet and the cheek-pieces are hinged: but the points of resemblance are so striking that, despite the gap of a thousand years that separates them, it is tempting to believe that they are in fact descendants of Aegean helmets of the Bronze Age like ours. This Etruscan type of helmet and the scalloped cheek-pieces continue into Roman times.<sup>95</sup>

#### NOTE ON PREVIOUS FINDS OF BRONZE AGE METAL ARMOUR IN CRETE

One of the fourteen 'Tombe dei Nobili' at Phaistos yielded a fragment of bronze plate, which Savignoni thought to be part of an armour-belt, the *μῆτηρ* of Homer (*MA* XIV 537-8 no. 6, fig. 22). This fragment was 0.295 long and 0.12 wide, with the edges of the long sides much destroyed and one end broken short; but the other end was very well preserved, having one corner rounded, and there were five small holes down the edge of this end for sewing the metal to some sort of backing.<sup>96</sup> Fragments of another similar bronze plate are mentioned in the account.

No other example of metal body armour of the Bronze Age appears to have been reported from the Aegean.<sup>97</sup> But metal armour was in general use during the latter part of the third millennium in the Near East.<sup>98</sup> There is therefore no reason why these plates should not have belonged to some sort of body armour as Savignoni believed. Such plates would conveniently form a corslet built up of strips like the corslets depicted on the 'Chariot Tablets' from Knossos, whose metallic character Evans did not doubt.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>90</sup> But with only four rivets in place of the seven on our helmet.

<sup>91</sup> The 'Bell-helmet' is not the only early type of helmet in Italy for which Aegean Bronze Age parallels can be found. The distinctive 'Villanovan' helmet with its fore-and-aft ridge-crest strongly resembles a helmet depicted on a silver vase from Shaft-grave IV, as Kukahn and Miss Lorimer note (*Der griechische Helm* 7. *Homer and the Monuments* 216, pl. xv, 1. Cf. *Schachtgräber*, pl. cxxxi, g). The third type of early Italian helmet, which also occurs in Central Europe, is not very unlike some of the squatter forms of helmet seen on Aegean monuments (compare e.g. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pl. 13, 12, 15 and 16, with helmets depicted on the Zakro sealings, *JHS* XXII 79, nos. 24 and 25). In this context the similarity long ago noted between the *ancilia* of ancient Rome and the Minoan figure-of-eight shield may be kept in mind (cf. Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult* (1901), 31).

<sup>92</sup> Von Merhart, *Zu den ersten Metallhelmen Europas* 23, fig. 8, 3, from Pass Lucg, Reichsgau (Salzburg).

<sup>93</sup> *Prähist. Zeitschrift* XXXII-XXXIII (1941-42), 74, fig. 13. L. 0.155, W. 0.118. In shape not unlike the cheek-piece from Ialysos (*Homer and the Monuments* 211, pl. xiii, 1), although the metal is much thicker. This reference was kindly supplied by Dr. H. Hencken.

<sup>94</sup> E.g. *BM Guide to Greek and Roman Life* (3rd ed. 1929), 79, fig. 72, no. 230.

<sup>95</sup> For Roman helmets which continue the tradition of the Etruscan 'Jockey-cap' helmets, *ibid.*, 81, and fig. 74; but the cheek-pieces are missing here. For the cheek-pieces, see *BM Guide, Roman Britain* (1951), pl. xxv, 6. Both these helmets were found in Britain!

<sup>96</sup> Compare the holes along the edges of the helmet and cheek-pieces from Tomb V (p. 257 and PLATES 50 and 51).

<sup>97</sup> *Homer and the Monuments* 200, 246.

<sup>98</sup> *PM* IV 804. *Homer and the Monuments* 196 ff. Actual bronze scales were found in quantities at Nuzi (Starr, *Nuzi* I 475, pl. 126). Part of a bronze 'belt' came from one of the tombs at Ras Shamra (*Syria* XIX 240, fig. 32 w, reproduced in *Ugaritica* I, fig. 63 w).

<sup>99</sup> *PM* IV 803. For the possibility that the waist-belt of Minoan civilian dress may have been plated with metal on occasion, cf. the 'Cup-bearer' fresco, where the blue and orange of the belt might be taken to represent silver and copper as seems probable for the rhyton (*PM* II 705, col. pl. xii).



From the same group of tombs at Phaistos<sup>100</sup> came two small trapezoidal plates (*ibid.*, nos. 7 and 8), measuring about 0.05 by 0.04, with holes round the edges of two or three of the sides: the holes retained scraps of the thread which had fastened the plates on to some sort of backing. These plates also seem to belong to armour, and might be scales from a coat of mail or from a helmet. A helmet on a fragment of a steatite rhyton from Knossos<sup>101</sup> has the surface divided into rectangles which might represent metal plates like these from Phaistos.

## INVENTORY OF THE VASES AND OTHER OBJECTS FROM THE TOMBS

### (1) THE 'SHAFT-GRAVE' AT AYIOS IOANNIS

**A J (1).** Sword (FIG. 8). Bronze. Blade damaged and broken. Part of tang missing. L. if complete c. 0.40.

The sword is of the 'cruciform' type (see p. 255 and n. 50). The blade has a thick mid-rib resembling that of the spear-head A J (3) from the same grave. There are flanges all down the hilt and round the shoulder to hold the wooden hilt-plates firmly in position: the hilt-plates were further secured by two small bronze rivets in the shoulder, and also apparently by three wooden pegs which passed through the three large holes in the tang, cf. the gold-hilted sword II (3) (p. 265 and FIG. 15 a). The projection at the end of the tang was clearly for fastening the pommel, of wood or ivory, which had perished. The slots in this projection on the tang were made by boring circular holes which overlap in a line, cf. the slots in the blade of A J (2) and in the projection on the tang of II (3).

**A J (2).** Leaf-shaped spear-blade (FIG. 8). Bronze. L. 0.38. Max. W. of blade 0.06. W. of tang 0.028. The tang is broken, and the tip of the blade has burst apart through corrosion so as to give the false impression of having four prongs.

The blade is slightly leaf-shaped with a thick heavy tip. There is a short tang, and two slots appear half-way up the blade just before the blade begins to swell and thicken. The weapon was evidently hafted in a cleft stick, and lashed in place round the tang and through the slots.<sup>102</sup> On each face of the blade, just above the point that the haft would have reached, is a lightly incised spiral.

This blade is clearly derived from a Middle Bronze Age type found over a wide area in the Aegean, in Crete, the Cyclades, and at Troy.<sup>103</sup> But this Late Bronze Age form with a heavy leaf-shaped blade appears to be rare and confined to Crete.<sup>104</sup> Such a heavy blade, so weighted towards the tip, can only have been a thrusting weapon on a comparatively short haft. It is reminiscent of the mediaeval boar-spears with their strong short hafts and heavy blades to be seen in the Tower of London; and it may perhaps have been developed for the same object.<sup>105</sup>

**A J (3).** Spear-head (FIG. 8). Bronze. L. 0.43. W. of blade at the base 0.05. W. of socket 0.034. Socket broken, and parts missing from socket and blade.

The blade is ogival with a thick mid-rib. The socket is split, and has a pair of 'rivet' holes but no ring at the base. For the decoration, see p. 256. The ogival shape of the blade is unusual.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>100</sup> It is not made clear from which of the fourteen tombs the various bronze plates came, or whether they were all from the same tomb.

<sup>101</sup> PM III 184, fig. 128. Evans thought the rectangles were intended for boar's tusks, cf. *Homer and the Monuments* 220. But Persson (*New Tombs at Dendra* 129) believed that in Crete at any rate such representations implied metal plates, e.g. the Zakro sealing reproduced in PM IV, fig. 856. Metal discs from Shaft-grave IV may, as Karo suggests, come from a helmet (*Schachtgräber*, nos. 541-49, pl. lxx); Evans (PM IV 869) cites, but does not illustrate, an ivory relief from Knossos showing a helmet which seems to be armed with similar metal discs.

<sup>102</sup> For the slots, see above under A J (1).

<sup>103</sup> CRETE: Khamaizi (AE 1906, pl. 7, 5). Tip broken. L. as preserved 0.19. Presumably M.M. I. Mallia (*Études Crétoises* VII 52, pl. lxi, 2-3, no. 2255): from the interior of the necropolis building at Khrysolakkos. L. 0.28. Attributed by Demargne, but only on the grounds of its appearance, to the second period of the Palace. CYCLADES: Amorgos (AM XI (1886), 24, Beil. 1, 8): L. 0.23. TROY (Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* I 344, fig. 262 d): Troy II-V. N.B. On p. 345 Dörpfeld speaks of a mould found at Troy for a blade of this type. These blades were probably spear-heads (Childe, *Dawn of European Civilisation* (4th ed. 1947), 54; for the system of mounting on a haft, *ibid.* fig. 26, reproduced from *BM Bronze Age Guide* (1920), fig. 173).

<sup>104</sup> There is one in the collection of Dr. Giamalakos at Herakleion (Κρητικά Χρονικά Δ' (1950), 110 and 122, no. 358, pl. Γ'. Published by Miss Xenakis. Dr. Platon kindly brought this reference to our notice). L. 0.216. Miss Xenakis notes the resemblance of this blade to our blade A J (2). A second blade of this type was found in a hoard of L.M. bronzes at Tourloti, near Mouliana (Sitia), and is now in Herakleion Museum (No. 542): it is mentioned by Xanthoudides (AE 1906, 135) apropos of the Khamaizi M.M. blade (see n. 103 above). Some daggers of the Late Bronze Age in the Aegean also have a leaf-shaped blade, e.g. *Prehistoric Tombs* 82, fig. 90 (from Knossos), and *BM Bronze Age Guide* (1920), fig. 173 (from Naxos).

<sup>105</sup> For differentiated boar-spears, see Marinatos in *BSA XXXVII* (1936-7), 191, esp. n. 2. Cf. the fine spear-head from Ras Shamra with two boars springing from the ring at the base of the socket, and Schaeffer's remarks (*Syria* XIV (1933), 118-19).

<sup>106</sup> There is a very similar spear-head in the collection of Dr. Giamalakos (Κρητικά Χρονικά Δ' (1950), 112 and 124, no. 508, pl. Δ'); and another from Gournia (Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. iv, 48).



**AJ(4).** Small spear-head (FIG. 8). Bronze. L. 0.24. W. of blade 0.03, of socket 0.024. The socket is split, and has a pair of 'rivet' holes at the base. Remains of the wooden shaft were recovered from the socket. For the type, cf. I (11) and p. 256.

**AJ(5).** Leaf-shaped 'razor' (FIG. 8). Bronze. Broken; tang and end of blade missing. L. preserved 0.12. W. 0.045.

There were six of these implements in the Zafer Papoura cemetery, and Evans thought that they were razors (*Prehistoric Tombs*, 117). This is denied by Blegen (*Prosymna*, 332); from Prosymna twelve examples were recovered in L.H. I-III contexts. Persson inclines to accept them as razors (*New Tombs at Dendra*, 45), on the grounds that to judge from the monuments, as Evans pointed out, the people of the Mainland shaved the moustache after the Shaft-grave period.

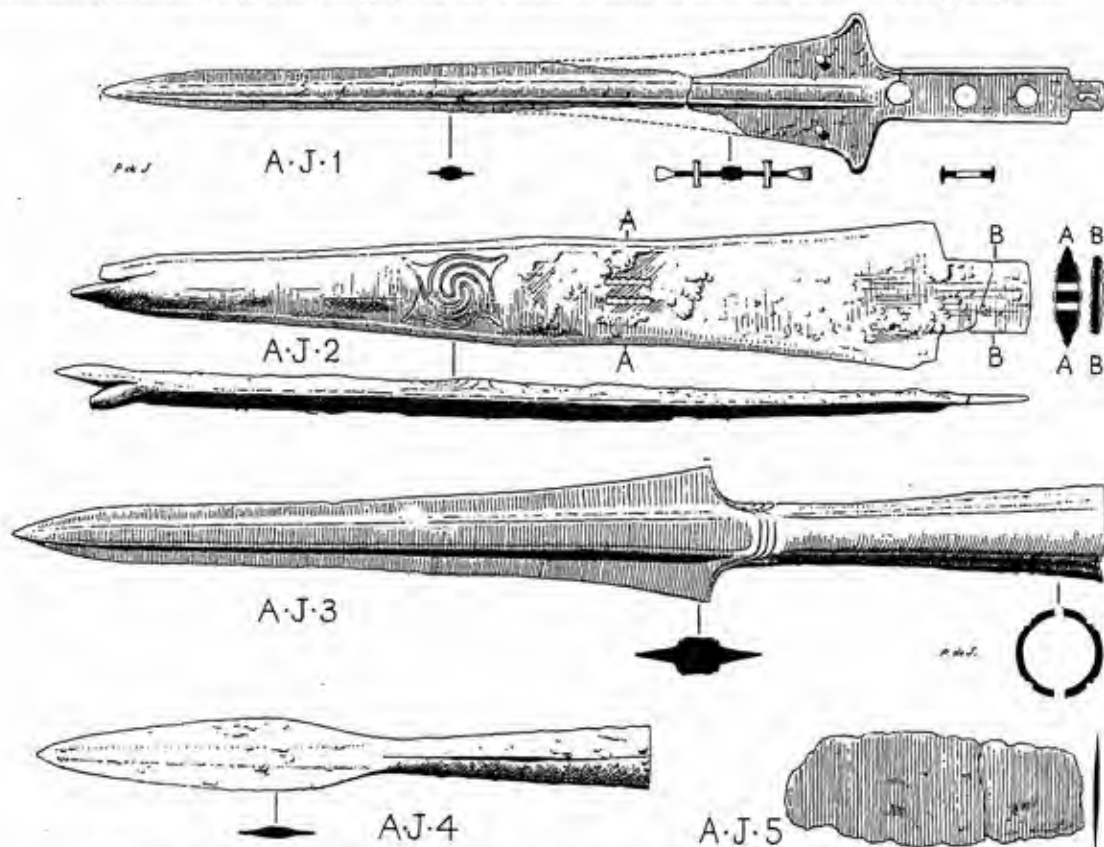


FIG. 8.—BRONZES FROM THE 'SHAFT-GRAVE' AT AYIOS IOANNIS. Scale 1 : 3.

## (2) THE TOMBS ON THE NEW HOSPITAL SITE

**I (1).** Stemmed goblet with two handles (FIG. 9, PLATE 55, c). H. 0.103. D. 0.12. Fine orange clay with the surface smoothed to a paler shade. Decoration in dark-brown lustrous paint. The foot is remarkable in having a rim round the outside edge and a slight depression under the stem in place of the usual hollow stem (see p. 254). The foot, rim, and handles are painted solid. There are two zig-zag lines round the body with horizontal bands below.

**I (2).** Stemmed goblet with two handles (FIG. 9, PLATE 55, c). H. 0.09. D. 0.10. Fine orange clay with the surface well smoothed. Decoration in red lustrous paint. Hollow stem. The inside of the cup is painted solid on the bottom, with a band above, and a band round the inside of the rim. There is a band round the bottom of the foot, cf. III (1). The handles are decorated with hatching, which continues down each side of the stem. For the central pattern, cf. PM IV, fig. 301 n (L.M. II) from the Palace; this, however, lacks the dots; the motive in the angles is an iris according to Furumark, MP, no. 10 A, c (L.M. II-III).

**I (3).** Large jug (FIG. 9, PLATE 55, a). H. 0.40. D. of body 0.27. 'Metallic' base and handle. Greenish-buff clay. Decoration in black. The decoration is very faint, and the designs on the neck and shoulder are not at all certain. For 'net pattern' covering the body of vases in L.M. II, see MP, 202: the 'net pattern' on our jug is probably a degenerate version of the 'tricurved arch net' (MP, no. 62), derived from rock work. For the fill-ornament in the network, see MP, no. 10 A, types b and c (L.M. II-III).



FIG. 9.—VASES FROM TOMB I. Scale 1 : 3, unless otherwise indicated.

I (4). Bridge-spouted jug (FIG. 9). Much destroyed and incapable of complete restoration. H. estimated c. 0.30. D. of body 0.275, of mouth 0.115. Orange clay. Decoration in brownish-black lustrous paint shading to red. 'Metallic' handle with two low 'rivets' at the top of the handle where it joins the rim of the vase. The decoration was difficult to distinguish, and is uncertain in detail. There is a wide band of running spirals round the body, cf. I (5): some at least of the spirals may have had filling ornament of some kind at the centre.<sup>107</sup>

I (5). Large stirrup-vase with three handles<sup>108</sup> (FIG. 9, PLATE 55, a). H. 0.26. D. of body 0.28. Pale orange clay with a smoothed buff surface. Decoration in brownish-black, much worn. Band of running spirals round the body. The details of the decoration on the top of the vase are very uncertain.

I (6). Three-handled amphora (FIGS. 10 and 14, PLATE 56, a). H. 0.33. D. of body 0.28, of rim 0.16. 'Metallic' base, handles, and rib round the shoulder. The handles are set sideways and upright. Greenish-buff clay. The decoration was in black, and traces of the original black paint are still preserved on the bands round the neck and the base; but elsewhere the paint has disappeared, leaving the design showing like a negative, pale against a darker background. Over large areas of the vase the design has entirely vanished.

The elaborate scene on the body of the vase shows three birds, which may be intended for partridges, walking among flowers. The three groups of flowers vary in detail: in two lilies seem to be dominant, while the flowers of the third group closely resemble the flowers to the left on a L.M. IA sherd from Knossos (PM II, fig. 276j).<sup>109</sup> The naturalism and variety of this scene are probably to be explained as a copying from some fresco on the walls of the Palace or elsewhere.<sup>110</sup>

There is a similar amphora with the same scene from Ialysos in Rhodes (Ann. VI 130, figs. 50 and 52). But this has only two instead of three birds, and the style of the decoration is very much cruder than on our vase. It is dated by Furumark to L.M. IIIA1.

The occurrence of birds on pottery of this period from Crete is unusual.<sup>111</sup> Evans (PM IV 337) mentions fragments of bowls with ducks and papyrus of a class parallel to IIIA2 examples from Phaistos (MP, 171), and says that some of these may well come within the limits of L.M. II. He cites a sherd from Knossos on which the bird has the body filled with dots, cf. our birds (JHS XXIII 198, fig. 14).

For the wavy lines of the upper border, see MP, no. 53, and PM IV, fig. 282. The motive is found from L.M. IB onwards: it is derived from metal work, e.g. the bronze jug from the NW Treasure House (PM II, figs. 402, 411 a).

For the tricurved arch linking the loops of the lower band of wavy lines, see MP, no. 62. The motive is derived from rock-work (ibid., 144): it is characteristic in land scenes of L.M. IB period (ibid., 160), and occurs in L.M. II (ibid., 210), e.g. PM IV, fig. 262.

For the quatrefoil rock-work in the loops of the lower band of wavy lines, cf. an amphora from a chamber-tomb at Mycenae, which is regarded by Evans as of Knossian fabric and incipient 'Palace style', i.e. L.M. IB/IIA (PM IV, fig. 262 b: on the right of the vase under the handle). The trefoil variety of this motive appears to be more common.<sup>112</sup>

I (7). Three-handled amphora (FIG. 10, PLATE 54, b). H. 0.20. D. of body 0.165, of rim 0.11. 'Metallic' base, handles, and rib round shoulder. The handles are set vertical. Fine orange clay with the surface smoothed to a paler shade. Decoration in dark brown shading to reddish.

The body is decorated with scale pattern (MP, no. 70). This is very common on three-handled amphorae found on the Mainland, e.g. Mycenae (Chamber Tombs, pl. xxviii, 1 (L.H. II)) and Prosymna (Prosymna, figs. 260, 621 (L.H. III)). But Furumark (MP, 405) claims that there is evidence to show that the characteristic Mycenaean IIA types of scale pattern are of Minoan origin.

This amphora had been filled with fine grey ash.<sup>113</sup>

I (8). Three-handled amphora (PLATE 54, b). H. 0.21. D. of body 0.175, of rim 0.11. Fine orange clay with the surface smoothed to a paler shade. Decoration in black. For the shape and design, cf. I (7); except that there is a band of dots in place of V marks round the shoulder.

I (9). Alabastron (FIG. 10, PLATE 55, c). H. 0.08. D. of body 0.27, of rim 0.135. For the unusually squat shape, with the sharp angle between the sides and the base, see p. 255. The vase is heavy, and has thick walls; the fabric is rather coarse, with gritty orange clay, the surface orange and not well smoothed. Decoration in thick brownish-black lustrous paint. The under side of the base rough and undecorated.

The decoration consists of 'Rock Pattern I' (MP, no. 32, 19) in a Myc. IIA form characteristic of such vases found on the Mainland, e.g. Chamber Tombs, pls. xxviii 2, xlviii 12; Prosymna, no. 1167, fig. 687.

I (10). Lamp. Much destroyed and incapable of restoration. Very soft fabric. Orange clay. For the type, cf. III (12).<sup>114</sup>

<sup>107</sup> For running spirals on jugs of this type, but of an earlier date, e.g. PM IV, fig. 195 (L.M. IA).

<sup>108</sup> Three handles are unusual. Cf. PM IV, fig. 298, from the S.W. part of the Palace at Knossos, dated by Evans to the beginning of L.M. II.

<sup>109</sup> Furumark regards these as iris (MP 190 n. 1. N.B. i should be j); but Evans seems to think that all the flowers on this sherd may be a version of 'honey-suckle' as seen on a fresco fragment from the House of the Frescoes (PM II 469).

<sup>110</sup> For the influence of the naturalistic designs of M.M. III wall-paintings on the decoration of L.M. pottery, see PM II 468 ff., cf. JHS XXIII 194. For a fresco with partridges, cf. PM II, fig. 51-4, from the Caravanserai, which according to Evans is L.M. IA (ibid., 116); one of these partridges has a raised wing (fig. 51), another a slightly parted beak (fig. 52), like the birds on our vase. Furumark (MP 195) suggests that representations like that of this partridge fresco may have served as models for some of the birds on L.M. III vases.

<sup>111</sup> See AC 243.

<sup>112</sup> See PM IV 314, fig. 250, for the evolution of trefoil rock-work from the triple group of rock and seaweed of the L.M. IB 'Marine' style.

<sup>113</sup> See p. 249, n. 19.

<sup>114</sup> For Minoan clay lamps in general, see BSA XXVIII 292, pl. xxii, where the lamp V 23 (at bottom r.) most resembles our small type I (10) and III (12). Cf. MP 77. N.B. The raised lip by the handle is to protect the hand from heat.

**I (11).** Small spear-head (PLATE 53, b). Bronze. L. 0.25. W. of blade 0.03, of socket 0.025. The socket is split, and has a pair of 'rivet' holes at the base. For the type, cf. A.J. (4) and p. 256.

This spear-head was lying on the ledge immediately above the rock and well below the undisturbed layer of brown marking the presence of the coffin or bier with the body (see p. 248). It was probably found, therefore, in exactly the position in which it had originally been placed in the tomb. There were traces of the wood of the haft in the socket. It follows that if the spear had been put on the ledge with the haft unbroken and with the head resting where it was found, the length of the spear when hafted could not have exceeded 1.25, cf. the spear of the same type from the Vaphio tholos tomb (p. 256).

**I (12).** Tweezers (FIG. 12, PLATE 53, b). Bronze. L. 0.082. Badly corroded and broken. For this type in Crete as early as the E.M. period, cf. Seager, *Mochlos*, t. xix, fig. 12.

**I (13).** Seal (FIG. 18). Lentoid. Grey steatite. L. 0.015. W. 0.015. Worn condition, and damaged on the reverse side round one end of the string-hole and elsewhere. The design is rudely incised or scratched; the drill does not seem to have been used. This seal was found together with I (14) inside the 'Bird' amphora I (6).

The Rev. V. E. G. Kenna, R.N., has kindly supplied the following note on the seal: 'I have not seen the original; but from the drawing and description submitted to me it seems that in the field are three groups of figures. They do not appear to be script or pictographic signs, but either individual marks, whose value in sealing would be their uniqueness, or debased motives from another sphragistic tradition. It is suggested that the origin of the seal be looked for in Anatolia. The material, grey steatite, and the technique, are more akin to Anatolian products than to Minoan work. Yet the sense of the 'round' in the arrangement of the figures points to Minoan influence, and the figures themselves to decadent copying of original Minoan motives. This is not without parallel either in Anatolian or Syrian seals of the latter half of the second millennium, cf. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (1920), 19, 62, 70 (esp. no. 133, procured from Smyrna); compare also the sudden entry into Phoenicia at the same period of the scarabs having their faces covered with tubular drill marks, which are obviously related to similar amygdaloids of L.M. I-II.

The groups of figures consist of (1) perhaps a debased form of the two-animal motive of L.M. I: one animal looks to the left, the other behind it looks back. (2) Probably a debased bird. A bird in flight in the field with the animals is common on peripheral lentoids derived from L.M. sources. (3) If one group, a debased form of bull: the figure has then affinity with the Ayios Onouphrios whorl (Evans, *Scripta Minoa* I 118, fig. 52 a). If two groups, then the chevron at the top is to be considered as decoration or filling ornament, and the rest of the design as the debased form of an animal.'

**I (14).** Two schist plaques (FIG. 18): (1) L. 0.048, W. 0.019; (2) L. 0.04, W. 0.017. Found with the seal stone I (13) inside the amphora I (6).

**I (15).** Shark's tooth <sup>114</sup> (FIG. 18). L. 0.012. W. 0.012. This was lying on the rock surface of the ledge under the layer of brown marking the coffin or bier with the body.

**II (1).** Jug (FIG. 10, PLATE 56, b). H. 0.25. D. of body 0.20. 'Metallic' handle and rib round the shoulder. Greenish-buff clay. The decoration is much worn, but seems to have been in dark brown or black. Three stylised papyrus-like flowers hang downwards from the neck. In the intervals between them are two other flowers, difficult to distinguish but perhaps of the same type, growing straight upwards from bands round the body.

The flowers on this vase clearly look towards the 'Flower' motive so characteristic of developed Mycenaean vase decoration (MP, no. 18). As Furumark says: 'The genesis of the Myc. III flower may be described as a transformation of the Myc. IIIA<sub>1</sub> lily under the influence of late L.M. IIIA<sub>1</sub>-2 hybrid floral types with the Palace Style papyrus as the basic element' (MP, 286). Thus while our flowers with their curling volutes are reminiscent of the lily, they are closely paralleled by what is evidently papyrus on a sherd from a large jar found in a house west of the Palace at Knossos (PM IV 334-6, fig. 278: below the duck on the left). Evans is cautious in his attribution of this vase, but concludes that 'it may seem best to group it with a certain number of painted clay goblets . . . which . . . seem to have been actually in use in the last Age' of the existence of the Palace; 'but which typologically fit on rather to the succeeding L.M. III phase'. In other words, this vase would belong to Furumark's L.M. IIIA<sub>1</sub> phase, which immediately precedes the destruction of the Palace (MP, 169); and the flowers of our vase are also probably best regarded as belonging to the style of IIIA<sub>1</sub>.

In the same way the shape of our vase corresponds to Furumark's shape 144 of IIIA<sub>1</sub> (MP, fig. 5), cf. a jug from the Zafer Papoura cemetery (*Prehistoric Tombs*, fig. 175), and another from the Tomb of the Double Axes (PM IV, fig. 244 b), both classified by Furumark as IIIA<sub>1</sub> (MP, 171 and 173).

**II (2).** Alabastron (FIG. 10, PLATE 56, b). H. 0.06. D. of body 0.19, of rim 0.09. The vase was much destroyed, and about half the rim and other pieces are missing. The clay is orange, and the fabric very soft; the surface has much perished, but preserves traces of decoration in red, consisting of some form of rock pattern with dots. There are concentric circles on the under side of the base.

**II (3).** Sword (FIG. 15 a, PLATES 50, b, 53, a, 54, a). Bronze. The hilt plated with gold. The pommel was originally of ivory, of which fragments were preserved (N.B. the pommel in PLATES 50, b and 53, a has been restored in wax). L. with the pommel as restored 0.61. W. across shoulder 0.06. D. of pommel 0.045. The blade is broken, and the bronze is in very poor condition. <sup>116</sup>

The sword is of the 'cruciform' type cf. A.J. (1), with the wooden hilt-plates held in position by flanges round the shoulder and tang, and by three large wooden pegs passing through holes in the tang, together with two small bronze rivets at the base of the blade (see p. 255). The flanges round the tang and shoulder were plated with gold, which was wrapped over their edges. <sup>117</sup> The wooden hilt-plates were also covered with gold, a single sheet of gold on each face stretching

<sup>114</sup> Dr. E. Trewavas of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, who kindly examined the tooth, informs us that it matches well with the teeth of some of the species *Carcharhinus*, notably *C. longimanus* (Poey) and *C. obscurus* (Lesueur), both of which are known from the Mediterranean.

<sup>116</sup> This is doubtless because, as Mr. Cornwall suggests, the bronze was in contact with the decaying flesh of the body, which, containing sodium chloride, would favour metallic corrosion. The contrast between the poor preservation of the sword and the unusually fine condition of the spear-head II (4) is remarkable.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. a 'horned' sword from Tomb 9 of the 'Tombe dei Nobili' at Phaistos (MA XIV 535-6, fig. 20 a).





FIG. 10.—VASES FROM TOMBS I-III and V. Scale 1 : 3, unless otherwise indicated.

over the hilt and shoulder; these sheets of gold were decorated in repoussé with interlocking spirals<sup>118</sup> which were divided at the join of the hilt with the shoulder by two loops like those on the spear-head A J (3) (see p. 256).<sup>119</sup> There were three large holes in each gold sheet, corresponding in size to the holes in the tang, to allow for the passage of the three wooden pegs: into the ends of the pegs were fixed six bronze nails with short points and wide gold-capped heads shaped to fit the curve of the hilt. The two bronze rivets at the base of the blade were also capped with gold. The hollow at the base of the blade on each face, formed by the extensions of the hilt-plate, is covered by a sheet of gold, decorated with running spirals in repoussé which continue the line of the mid-rib. No trace of decoration could be made out on the mid-rib itself; but in view of the poor state of preservation of the bronze it is impossible to be certain that the mid-rib was not decorated. The hilt is divided from the pommel by a ribbed collar of gold; and the ivory of the pommel was held in a gold 'cup' (PLATE 54, a), decorated like the plates covering the hilt with interlocking spirals in repoussé, and perforated to take a peg, which secured the pommel to the projection at the end of the tang.<sup>120</sup> The projection on the tang had a slot composed of three overlapping holes, cf. the slots in the blade of A J (2).

The hilt of this sword is only moderately 'cruciform' and in profile rather reminiscent of a 'horned' hilt. There are two swords with gold-plated hilts of a fully developed 'cruciform' type which may be compared with our sword: (1) from the 'King's Grave' in the tholos tomb at Dendra (*Royal Tombs at Dendra*, 35, no. 11, pls. xx and xxii). The blade is rather longer than that of our sword: but the hilt is decorated in the same way with interlocking spirals; although there is no gold along the flanges, or at the base of the blade. (2) From the 'Chieftain's Grave' in the Zafer Papoura cemetery at Knossos (*Prehistoric Tombs*, 57, fig. 59). This is exactly the same length as our sword (0.61 with the pommel). The hilt has an elaborate scene of lions and wild goats. As in the Dendra sword, there is no gold along the flanges or at the base of the blade: but both the mid-rib and the flanges are decorated with double rows of running spirals 'of microscopic fineness in relief', cf. the 'horned' sword from the same grave (*ibid.*, fig. 58).<sup>121</sup>

II (4). Spear-head (FIGS. 12 and 15 b, PLATES 53, a, b). Bronze. L. 0.56. W. of blade 0.03, of socket outside 0.025, inside, 0.02.

This weapon, which is in the finest state of preservation, belongs to the type already well known from the 'Chieftain's Grave';<sup>122</sup> of which Evans aptly says that 'on the whole this must be regarded as . . . very practical . . . for its purpose, both compact and penetrating' (*PM IV* 844). The mid-rib, with three fine ridges running down it on each side of the blade, widens at the bottom to form two facets of the octagonal socket. The edges of the blade flatten out to produce another two facets of the socket, each of which is also decorated with three ridges. The other four facets, in the intervals between these, are formed by the continuation of the leaves of the blade. At the base of the socket are two 'rivet' holes (6 mm. in diam.) for a peg to secure the shaft; and on the surface of the socket between these two 'rivet' holes are traces for a width of 3 mm. where a binding of some kind had been wrapped round the socket. The socket has a slit, which runs diagonally instead of straight up the socket, and is so fine that a razor blade can barely be forced down it: the slit can only be traced for a distance of 0.09 from the butt. The base of the socket is closed by a narrow bronze ring, which was apparently fixed in place after the shaft was in position, and not cast in one piece with the rest of the spear-head. On the same side of the socket as the slit is the lightly incised figure of a butterfly with outspread wings, in flight down towards the butt;<sup>123</sup> this design is not repeated on the opposite face of the weapon. The tip of the wooden shaft was remarkably well preserved inside the socket.<sup>124</sup>

III (1). Stemmed goblet with two handles (PLATE 55, b). H. 0.115. D. 0.12. Fine orange clay with the surface smoothed a paler shade. Decoration in reddish-brown. Hollow stem. The rim is painted solid inside, and hatched outside. There is a band round the bottom of the foot, cf. I (1). The body is decorated on each side with a double spiral.<sup>125</sup>

III (2). Jug (FIG. 10, PLATE 55, a). H. 0.40. D. of body 0.30. Orange clay with the surface smoothed a paler shade. Decoration in red-brown lustrous paint. The rim is painted solid round the inside. The 'scale pattern' of the neck (cf. *MP*, no. 70, 4a, which according to Furumark is Myc. IIA), and the 'foliate band' of the shoulder (*MP*, no. 64), are both to be derived from metal work (see p. 253, n. 30). The 'foliate band' in particular, as Furumark says, is very unusual in the Palace style (*MP*, 180 with references). In other respects the decoration of this vase is remarkable. The body is adorned with six argonauts, and argonauts have not apparently been recognised hitherto on any vase of the L.M. II period (see p. 253, n. 33. Cf. III (5)); moreover, these argonauts are peculiar in having a fourth 'arm' substituted for the body of the animal. For the dots along the arms of the argonauts, cf. a vase from Shaft-grave I (*Schachgräber*, no. 197, pl. clxviii), which must be L.H. I; and an L.M. I vase from Gournia (Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. J): but dots represent suckers on the tentacles of an octopus on a Palace style amphora from Knossos, classified by Evans as L.M. IIA (*PM IV* 305, figs. 240-1).

III (3). Bridge-spouted jar (FIG. 11 PLATE 55, b). H. 0.195. D. of body 0.20, of rim 0.15. 'Metallic' base and rim, and a little rivet-like knob projecting from the back of the vase opposite the spout. Greenish-buff clay. Decoration in black. The broad flat top of the rim is decorated with chevrons. The design on the upper part of the body is very

<sup>118</sup> The design of interlocking spirals shows signs of wear in places owing to frequent handling of the sword. This is some indication, if such were required, that richly decorated weapons of this type were not kept merely for occasional parade or ceremonial use.

<sup>119</sup> For such loops on the gold hilts of 'cruciform' swords, see the sword from the tholos tomb at Dendra and that from the Zafer Papoura cemetery at Knossos described below. Cf. the 'cruciform' hilt-mountings of agate and faience from Mycenae, and one of crystal from the Palace at Knossos (*Prehistoric Tombs* 110; illustrated in *PM IV* 852-4, figs. 836-7).

<sup>120</sup> The peg may have been of wood or ivory and not bronze, as no trace of it was found.

<sup>121</sup> Persson believed that these two swords actually came from the same workshop, which was situated on the Mainland (*New Tombs at Dendra* 61). The discovery of our sword suggests a Cretan origin at any rate for the two swords from Knossos.

<sup>122</sup> *Prehistoric Tombs* 55, figs. 55-7. Cf. *BM Bronze Age Guide* (1920), fig. 171, from Ialysos.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. a bronze double axe from Phaistos (Mosso, *Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation* (1910), 318, fig. 180). For butterflies in general as representing the 'life' of man, see *PM III* 148 ff., cf. II 787.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. III (14) (p. 271), where the wood was identified as olive.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. the rather similar motif on a jug from Korakou (Blegen, *Korakou*, fig. 69 and pl. V), classified by Furumark as Myc. IIB (*MP* no. 47, 1).



FIG. 11.—VASES FROM TOMB III. Scale 1 : 3.

worn and not at all certain; but that on the lower part is well preserved, and consists of simple rosettes above an elaborate variety of zig-zag, which may be derived from an imitation of the veining on alabaster vases (*PM* IV 271, fig. 201, cf. *MP*, no. 61, 9, a sherd from the tholos tomb at Oxyliothos (Euboea), classified by Furumark as IIIA 2: Furumark observes (*ibid.* 387) that 'the intermediate dots . . . are a constant feature of Minoan designs of this class'.

III (4). Three-handled amphora (FIG. 11, PLATE 55, b). H. 0.30. D. of body 0.22, of rim 0.13. 'Metallic' base and handles: the handles are set vertical. The vase was much broken, and large parts of the body are missing. Fine orange clay, with a buff surface well smoothed. Decoration in brownish-black lustrous paint.

This vase is adorned with floral decoration in the most typical Palace style, including papyrus (cf. *MP*, 11, 23 etc. Myc. IIA), 'sacral ivy' (*MP*, no. 12, = L.M. IIA), and rosettes (*MP*, no. 17, 7 = Myc. IIA late).<sup>126</sup> Somewhat similar in shape and decoration is the amphora from a chamber-tomb at Mycenae (although this has the handles set sideways and not vertical), which is described by Evans as being of Knossian fabric and incipient Palace style (*PM* IV 320, fig. 262 a). The 'stippling' on our vase, so characteristic of the L.M. II Palace style,<sup>127</sup> is here transferred from marine scenes, where it represents the sea sands.<sup>128</sup> For the 'tricurved arch' rock work of the background, see under I (6) (p. 264).

III (5). Three-handled amphora (FIG. 11). Much broken, and large parts missing, including most of the rim and neck. H. to base of the neck 0.18. D. of body 0.17. The handles are set sideways and upright. Very soft fabric. Orange clay, with an orange surface, well smoothed or burnished. Decoration in dark brown shading to red-brown paint.

The body supports three ivy-like argonauts<sup>129</sup> swimming against a stippled background, which may represent the sands of the sea.<sup>130</sup> For the argonauts, cf. *Chamber Tombs*, t. 529, 4, 103, pl. xlviii (L.H. II).<sup>131</sup> For the 'foliate band' on the shoulder, cf. III (2) (p. 267).

III (6). Three-handled amphora. The vase was of such soft fabric and so badly destroyed that it was impossible to restore it. 'Metallic' base, and rib round the shoulder. The three thin 'strap' handles were set vertical.<sup>132</sup> The clay was orange. The decoration, in lustrous red paint, consisted of a flower design, including lilies which in a general way resemble the types grouped by Furumark as L.M. IIA-B (*MP*, no. 9, a-1).

III (7). Alabastron (FIG. 11, PLATE 55, b). H. 0.065. D. of body 0.21, of rim 0.105. Fine orange clay with the surface smoothed. Decoration in brownish-black lustrous paint. The body has a simple version of the 'rock pattern' (*MP*, no. 32, 5 = Myc. I-IIIB). There are concentric circles on the base, but it is impossible to distinguish whether the centre of the base is occupied by closely spaced circles or by a solid spot.

III (8). Alabastron (FIG. 11, PLATE 55, b). H. 0.07. D. of body 0.185, of rim 0.095. Greenish-buff clay, the surface much worn, but showing traces of decoration in black. On the body a version of 'rock pattern' (*MP*, no. 32, 22 = Myc. IIA). The base seems to be decorated with concentric circles.

III (9). Large two-handled jar (FIG. 13, PLATE 55, a). H. 0.40. D. of body 0.28. Soft fabric. Gritty orange clay. Decorated with horizontal bands in brownish-black. On the shoulder are traces of a circle with a cross inside it.

III (10). Large lamp with 'candlestick' centre<sup>133</sup> (FIG. 13, PLATE 55, b). H. to rim 0.065. D. of rim 0.19. Much broken, and several pieces including the tip of the handle missing. Very soft fabric. Rather gritty reddish clay. There were faint traces of light blue paint along the top of the rim and the upper side of the handle, cf. III (11).<sup>134</sup> Marks of fire along the top of the rim.

III (11). Lamp, cf. III (12). Much destroyed and incapable of restoration. Very soft fabric. Deep orange clay. Traces of light blue paint along the top of the rim and on the handle, cf. III (10).

III (12). Lamp (FIG. 13). H. to highest point of rim 0.05. Width of rim 0.11. Very soft fabric. Orange clay. The whole surface of the lamp is covered with a poor black wash inside and outside and under the base.

III (13). Dagger (FIG. 12, PLATE 53, b). Bronze. L. 0.285. W. 0.055. The blade is flat and has no tang. The hilt was secured by three large bronze rivets with gold-capped heads 0.014 in diam., and by two smaller rivets set between and immediately below them on the blade. This is an early type, of which many examples have been found in Crete and on the Mainland.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>126</sup> For the rosettes, cf. a fragment of a L.M. II goblet from Knossos (*PM* IV 360, fig. 302 a).

<sup>127</sup> *BSA* Suppl. I (1923), 74. Cf. *MP* 205, where Furumark notes the occurrence of stippling on Palace Style vases with designs both of the marine and of the floral class, and its survival into L.M. IIIA1.

<sup>128</sup> *PM* IV 306. Furumark agrees with Evans that this type of stippling was imitated from a fresco pattern, which probably represented sands (*MP* 423): but he doubts if such stippling was really meant to depict sea sands in marine scenes on Palace Style vases, and suggests that it may have served as a substitute for other patterns which were used to represent water in marine compositions of L.M. IB-II (*ibid.* 205-6).

<sup>129</sup> For the tentacles, cf. in a general way the types classified by Furumark as IIB-III A1 (*MP*, no. 22).

<sup>130</sup> See under III (4) above and nn. 127 and 128.

<sup>131</sup> The figures on this vase are called by Wace 'argonauts'; but Furumark classifies them as 'sacral ivy', and regards them as 'a kind of pictorialisation under the influence of the argonaut' (*MP* 269, no. 12, 11 = Myc. IIA).

<sup>132</sup> Contrast the thick handles with their elaborate 'metallic' sections on the other amphorae from these tombs. The thin strap handles of this amphora may, of course, also be imitated from metal.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. *BSA* XXVIII 294, fig. 46 (ix. B. 12), from the Mavrospeli cemetery: also *PM* I 579, where the type is described and compared with Egyptian 'candlesticks' of Dyn. IV.

<sup>134</sup> Several tombs in the Mavrospeli cemetery produced fragments of lamps painted in unfixed colours, red, white, and blue (*BSA* XXVIII 294). Cf. *TDoA* 26 ff., and *Prehistoric Tombs* 72.

<sup>135</sup> E.g. CRETE: Gournia (Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. iv 60, 61): no. 61 has gold-capped rivets like our dagger. A. Triadha (Montelius, *La Grèce Préclassique*, pl. 7, 20): from the second tholos tomb. Mochlos (Seager, *Mochlos* 37, t. II 52): found close to the surface and probably intrusive. Seager thought that this 'would appear to belong to L.M. I' on typological grounds. MAINLAND: Dendra (*New Tombs at Dendra* 43, fig. 48, 1); Mycenae (*Chamber Tombs* 189, pl. vii 27): from its associations not later than the first half of L.H. II; Prosymna (*Prosymna* 330): three examples, all attributed to L.H. II: that on Pl. II (bottom) has gold-capped rivets like our dagger.



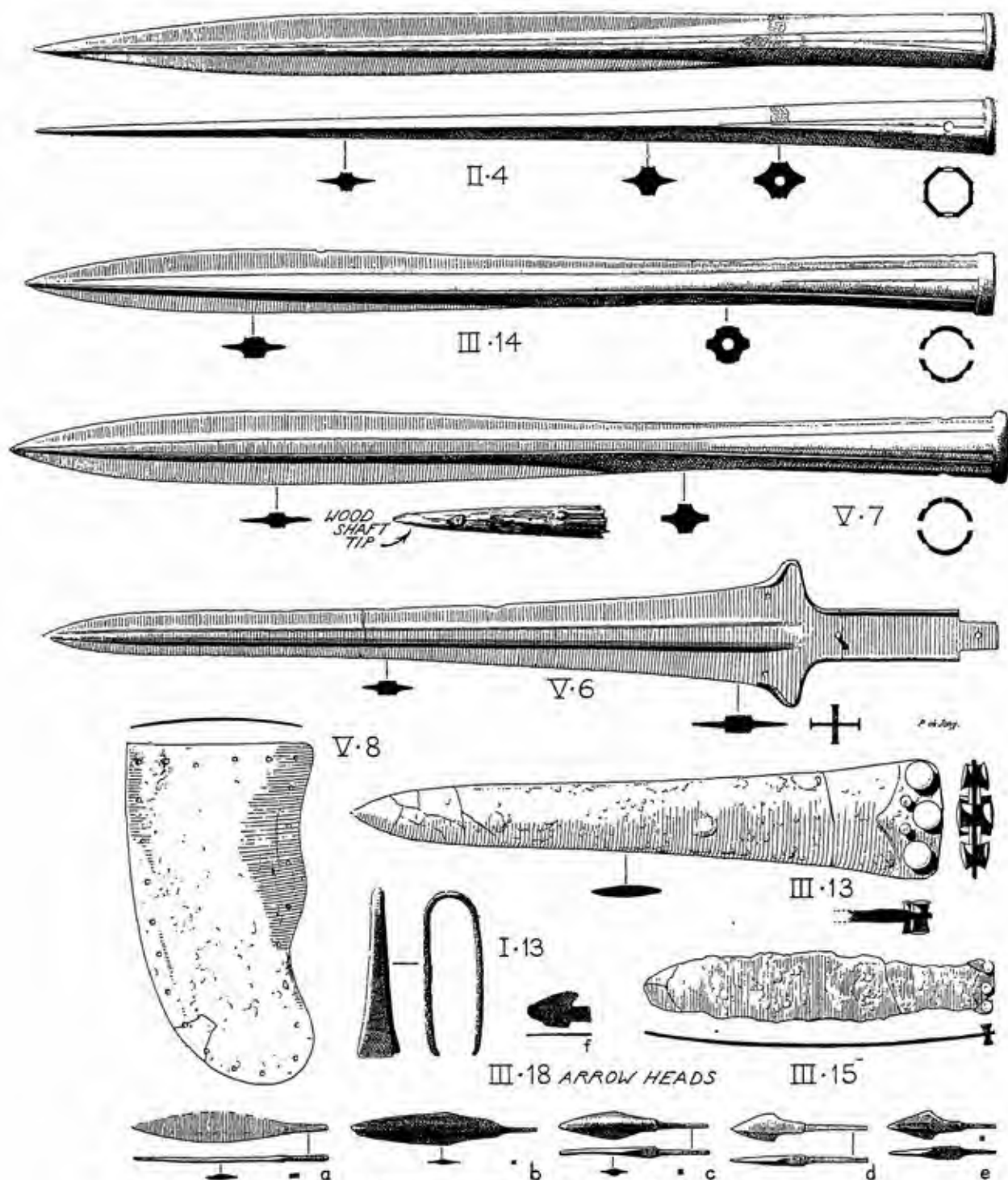


FIG. 12.—BRONZES FROM TOMBS I-V. Scale 1 : 3.

III (14). Spear-head <sup>136</sup> (FIG. 12, PLATE 53, b). Bronze. L. 0.47. W. of blade 0.03, of socket outside 0.029, inside 0.025. The blade is leaf-shaped, and has a very pronounced mid-rib, rectangular in section, with a thin groove along each side of the top surface. The mid-rib continues down the blade and merges into the socket; the leaves of the blade similarly continue, to become four semi-circular channels. The socket is split, and has two 'rivet' holes and a ring round the base, cf. II (2). The tip of the shaft of olive-wood <sup>137</sup> was preserved in the socket.

III (15). Razor (FIG. 12, PLATE 53, b). Bronze. L. 0.17. W. as preserved 0.033. The handle was fastened to the blade by three small bronze rivets with heads 5 mm. in diam. Cf. A J (5) (p. 262).

III (16). Copper staples <sup>138</sup> (PLATE 52, b). About 150 in number, many of them broken, found scattered on the floor of the tomb over an area of c. 0.95 x 0.30. With the staples were three small fragments of very thin copper/bronze plate (III (17)), having traces of perforations into which the staples could fit. The staples, made from copper wire with a circular section 1-1.5 mm. in diam., appear to be of various types—some of simple horseshoe-shape with equal arms, others of the same shape but with one arm longer than the other, and others again with one end bent in one direction and the other end bent in a different direction. These staples (if straightened out) would vary in length between c. 0.014-0.025; their ends in every case seem to be blunt and not pointed.

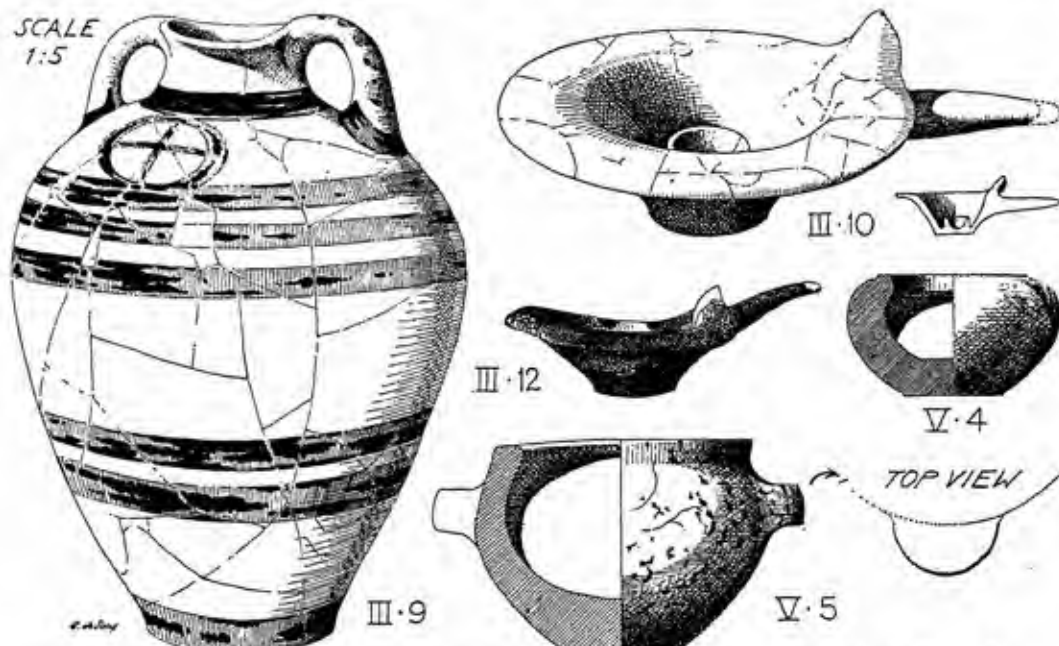


FIG. 13.—VASES FROM TOMBS III AND V. Scale 1 : 3, unless otherwise indicated.

The area over which the staples were found is roughly the same in form and size as that which might be occupied by the cigar-shaped centre-piece of a figure-of-eight shield as depicted, for instance, on the 'Shield fresco' in the Palace.<sup>139</sup> It is suggested therefore that these staples may possibly have fastened the leather or hide part of such a shield to its centre-piece. This centre-piece was probably of wood, if Evans is right in deriving the figure-of-eight shield as represented on the 'Shield fresco' from an original wooden parrying-stick (PM II 52; cf. JHS XIII (1892), 215 n. 44). Even if the centre-piece was of wood, its outside surface may have been covered with hide, as the strokes on the centre-pieces in the 'Shield fresco' seem to indicate.

III (17). See under III (16) above.

III (18). Six arrow-heads (FIG. 12, PLATE 53, b). Bronze. Various types. The longest (a) (L. 0.092) is leaf-shaped and flat with a flat tang; (b) and (c) (L. 0.09 and 0.072) have a more angular profile and a slight mid-rib, while the tang is square in section; (d) and (e) (L. 0.065 and 0.052) have a small thick diamond-shaped head and the tang square in

<sup>136</sup> Cf. *TD&A* 15, fig. 21, which is almost exactly the same length (0.468) as our spear-head (the text mentions five holes in the base of the socket, with a wrong reference to fig. 22. Fig. 21 shows only the usual two 'rivet' holes). Also *FLMV*, Text Vol., pl. D, 4 and 5: these two spear-heads are from Ialysos (Rhodes) and are rather shorter than ours (0.41 and 0.42).

<sup>137</sup> The wood was kindly identified by Mrs. F. L. Balfour-Browne of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington. A knife from one of the Zafer Papoura tombs had an olive-wood handle (*Prehistoric Tombs* 80, no. 80 a). For wooden shaft tips well preserved in spear sockets, cf. *Prosymna* 199, fig. 511.

<sup>138</sup> The metal was identified as copper and not bronze by Mr. I. W. Cornwall, to whom a sample was submitted.

<sup>139</sup> *PM* III 299 ff., fig. 196 and col. plate xxiii; cf. IV 785.

section. The arrow-head (f), which is only 0.031 long, is a thin flat plate of bronze with one barb; it is damaged, and the second barb appears to be missing.

For the types (a)-(e), cf. *TDoAx*, 6, fig. 10 (*PM* IV, fig. 820), from the Isopata Tomb 1 A (L.M. IIIA), described by Evans as 'javelins or darts': but note that in the tomb there were only the three examples figured of this type, and they were found together with 'arrow-plates', i.e. thin flat arrow-heads akin to our type (f). What seems to be another arrow-head of type (a)-(e) is mentioned, but not illustrated, from Isopata Tomb 3 (*TDoAx*, 15). Cf. *Prosymna*, 200, fig. 512, from tomb x (L.H. III).

Arrow-heads therefore of these types with a mid-rib like (a)-(e) appear to be rather rare compared with the flat 'arrow-plates', of which many examples are recorded both from Crete and the Mainland; although the particular type of 'arrow-plate' represented by (f), with a wide barbed head and a short tang and no perforations through the blade, does not seem to be usual. However, there are some from *Prosymna* which look rather similar to our type (f) (*Prosymna*, 113, figs. 263-4 (t. xxxiv); 182, fig. 461 (t. iii)). Cf. *BCH* LXXI-II (1947), 233, fig. 27, from the Artemision deposit at Delos (this deposit, however, yielded post-Bronze Age as well as Bronze Age relics).

**III (19).** Gold toggle with eight facets (FIG. 18, PLATE 54, c). L. 0.055. Weight 13 grammes. Probably for fastening a belt or baldric (see p. 250).



FIG. 14.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE DESIGN ON THE BODY OF THE AMPHORA I (6).  
Scale 1 : 4.

Similar gold toggles were found in association with two baldrics of strong gold plate, each over a metre long, from Shaft-grave IV (*Schachtgräber*, 76, pl. lviii); each of these baldrics was fastened by two gold toggles, of which one (no. 372) had eight facets like ours. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. cxliii, from Shaft-grave V, of silver; *Prosymna*, 95, fig. 214, 2, of gold with 'remnants of a bronze attachment' round the middle; Frödin and Persson, *Asine*, 371, fig. 241, of bronze covered with gold-leaf with spiral decoration.<sup>140</sup>

**III (20).** Lentoid seal (FIG. 16, PLATE 54, c). Onyx.<sup>141</sup> L. 0.034. W. 0.031. One axis is therefore longer than the other, cf. III (21).<sup>142</sup> String-hole 2.5 mm. in diam. Very fine condition. Scene of a goddess flanked by two griffins and supporting above her head a pair of bow-like objects surmounted by a double axe. Both goddess and griffins are standing above a ground marked by two lines. The goddess is dressed in a long skirt with her breasts bare, and almost appears as if she were suckling the griffins, although this effect may not be intentional.

A number of seals are known from the Aegean of about this period which show variations of this scene. These are listed and discussed by Chapouthier (*REA* XLIX (1947), 22), and more recently by Nilsson (*The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (1950), 360 ff.). The goddess is sometimes flanked by lions instead of griffins, e.g. *PM* IV, fig. 133, from Knossos, and

<sup>140</sup> A rather similar toggle, but made of bone, was found in the lowest Copper Age Level I at Alişar in Central Anatolia (Schmidt, *The Alişar Hüyük: Seasons 1928-9 (Researches in Anatolia IV)* 71, fig. 85, b. 752). Another toggle from Level II of the same site is made of stone: it is fat and dumpy in appearance, but curiously enough has eight facets like our toggle. It is described by the excavator as 'the most beautiful ornament from Stratum II' (*ibid.* 171-2, fig. 221). Schmidt compares these toggles to some, apparently of faience, from pre-Dyn. IV contexts at Abydos, which Petrie thought to be toggles for fastening dress with a loop (Petrie, *Abydos II* 26, frontispiece and pl. viii, nos. 141-3). Professor Childe has kindly drawn our attention to another toggle, said to be of ivory, from 'Troy III' (Schliemann, *Ilios* (1880), 426, no. 536 = S. S. no. 7917); and to one of bone from as far afield as the 'tholos' tomb at Almizaraque in the south of Spain (Leisner, *Die Megalithgräber der iberischen Halbinsel (Röm.-Germ. Forschungen 17)* (1943), 11, pl. 28, 22).

<sup>141</sup> We are much indebted to Dr. Platon for identifying the stones from which the seals are made.

<sup>142</sup> The Reverend V. E. G. Kenna, R.N., informs us that 'this disparity which produces an elliptical shape seems intentional, and is not usually seen in lentoids of M.M. III-L.M. I, although it occurs in L.M./L.H. III'.

*Chamber Tombs*, pl. xxviii, 31 and 32, from Mycenae. The bow-like object may be triple instead of double, and there may be indications of some kind of binding which ties the 'bows' together. The double axe does not appear above the goddess in all cases.

The intention of the bow-like objects is puzzling. Perhaps the least unsatisfactory explanation is that offered by Evans, that the 'bows' represent a ritual object composed of stuffed snake skins (*PM* IV 168 ff., cf. *Chamber Tombs*, 200). Nilsson is doubtful, but cannot suggest anything more probable.<sup>143</sup>

**III (21).** Lentoid seal (FIG. 16, PLATE 54, c). Dark sardonyx. L. 0.029. W. 0.027. One axis is therefore longer than the other, cf. III (20) (see n. 142, p. 272). String-hole 2 mm. in diam. Very fine condition. Two oxen are lying back to back above a ground line indicated below. There are thistle-like plants to left and right of the oxen. This scene is known from several seals of the period, e.g. *PM* I 695, fig. 517, bought in Athens, but according to Evans from Crete. Cf. *Chamber Tombs*, pl. xxviii, 35, and p. 200, with references to other examples from the Vaphio tomb and Mycenae; and *Royal Tombs*, 80, pl. xxxiv, from the cenotaph at Dendra.

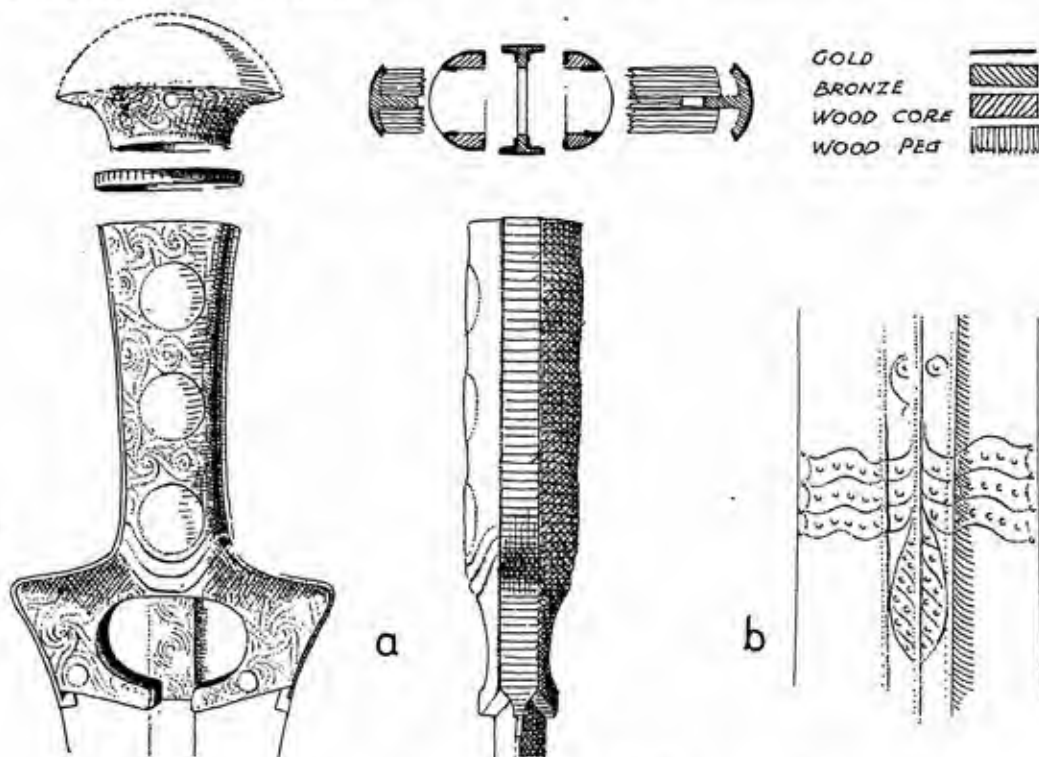


FIG. 15.—(a) HILT OF THE SWORD II (3). (b) BUTTERFLY INCISED ON THE SOCKET OF SPEAR-HEAD II (4). Scale 2:3.

**III (22).** Three-sided prism seal with gold mountings at the ends of the string-hole (FIG. 16, PLATE 54, c). L. (without gold mountings) 0.021. W. 0.019. String-hole 1.5 mm. in diam. Fine condition. One face of the seal is blank; the other two faces are engraved with scenes: (1) Recumbent ox with a shrub or tree behind. (2) Wounded lion turning to view the spear that sticks in its back. The shaft of the spear is knobbed.<sup>144</sup> Behind the neck of the lion project what appear to be three spikes of a plant.

Both these scenes are usual on seals of the period. For wounded lions in general, see *Chamber Tombs*, 199, with references: a gem with a similar scene is described, but not illustrated, from the 'Chieftain's Grave' at Knossos (*Prehistoric Tombs*, 59, 36 m.).

<sup>143</sup> The interpretation of the bow-like objects must to some extent depend upon whether they are regarded as being different from (so Evans and most authorities) or the same as one or other of the similar looking objects that appear on the following: (1) The gold signet-ring from Dendra (*Royal Tombs* 56, fig. 34 and pl. xvii). (2) The pin from Shaft-grave III, and the Aegina pendant (reproduced in *BSA* XLVI (1951), figs. 1 and 7). (3) Some Zakro sealings (*JHS* XXII 82 ff., nos. 57, 61-3, 66, 80-5, 88). For the view that all these are representations of one and the same thing, see most recently Marinatos in *BSA* XLVI (1951), 102 ff. Cf. Holland, 'Mycenaean Plumes', *AJA* 33 (1930), 190 ff.

<sup>144</sup> For the knobbed shafts of short hunting-spears or javelins with heads like A J (4) and I (11), see Marinatos in *BSA* XXXVII (1936-37), 187 ff.



**III (23).** Cylinder seal (FIG. 16, PLATE 54, c). Carnelian. L. 0.019. D. 0.008. String-hole 2 mm. in diam. Fine condition. The design, which is remarkably vivid considering the confining character of the medium, represents two lions<sup>145</sup> hunting in a landscape with clumps of bushes. The lion above is turning back its head, while a wild goat springs upwards out of a thicket on the left; on the right is a long-billed bird also facing up the picture, with what may be intended for another bird or perhaps a bush immediately behind it. Mr. Kenna observes: 'The cylinder is interesting, because the design shows the element of "torque", or feeling for the round, which is habitual in all Minoan engraving, and which here appears even though there is an attempt at a horizontal pattern'. For cylinder seals in Crete, see *PM IV* 496: they were not actually made in Crete before L.M. IA.

**III (24).** Ivory panel (FIG. 17, PLATE 54, d). L. preserved 0.34. W. without border 0.045, with border 0.059. The panel is c. 0.01 thick. The design on the panel consists of eight running spirals boldly carved. The ivory was in very poor condition, and is largely restored in wax as seen in PLATE 54, d.

The border is composed of separate strips 7 mm. wide. Only fragments of these strips are preserved, except at the right end of the panel in PLATE 54, d, where part of the border remains in position. The end of one strip was recovered; it is cut obliquely to form a bevelled joint (FIG. 17c). On the under side of the strips are little holes for pegs to fasten the strips to a backing of wood; traces of wood were noted in the area from which the ivory panel came. There is no indication that the strips were fixed in this or in any other way to the panel itself; the panel was presumably fastened in the same way as the strips to the wooden backing. It is interesting to note that one of these border strips preserved traces of red paint or dye.

For similar ivory panels with spiral decoration, cf. *BCH LXXI-II* (1947-8), pl. xxxii, no. 19; <sup>146</sup> and pls. xxvi-xxvii, nos. 2-5, for ribbed borders. Cf. *New Tombs at Dendra*, 47, pl. II, 2, where the border is exceptionally well preserved. For the ribbed border, cf. *Schachlgräber*, pl. cxlvi, no. 819, with holes on the under side like our border strips.

It is suggested that this ivory panel may have decorated a quiver<sup>147</sup> or a sheath<sup>148</sup> (see p. 251 and n. 23). Cf. Homer, *Od. VIII* 405, where Odysseus is given a sheath 'of newly sawn ivory' at the Court of Alkinoos.

**III (25).** Fragments of ivory, perhaps remains of a small box which might have contained the two seals III (20) and (21) and the beads (26) below.

**III (26).** Three beads (FIG. 18). One of light, the other two of dark blue paste. Flattened globular in shape. L. 4.5 mm. W. 5 mm. Perforation 1 mm. in diam.

**III (27).** Lump of magnetite.<sup>149</sup> C. 0.03 × 0.03. Mosso (*Palaces of Crete* (1907), 26, fig. 6) reports a lump of magnetite from the Neolithic levels at Phaistos, and says that 'we may be certain that it was a sacred stone'. Similarly our lump of magnetite may have been kept for its supposed magical qualities as a charm or amulet, cf. the lump of glass III (28) below, and the shark's tooth I (15).

**III (28).** Lump of light blue glass (FIG. 18). C. 0.25 × 0.25. The lump has one straight edge with a single large hole in it, but apart from this is formless.<sup>150</sup> The material is opaque, and full of small cavities. The lump was submitted to Professor W. E. S. Turner, of the Society of Glass Technology, who kindly arranged for tests to be carried out on it and reports that the material is 'glass, although incompletely fused, probably for the lack of a high enough temperature—a common feature of many of the samples of Egyptian glass of the same period. The cylindrical cavity in the straight edge clearly appears to have been drilled to contain a socket and some means of suspension'.<sup>151</sup> Therefore, the object might perhaps be, as Professor Turner suggests, some kind of charm or amulet, cf. the lump of magnetite III (27) above, and the

<sup>145</sup> Dr. Platon first pointed out to us that these creatures were lions. His opinion is endorsed by Mr. Kenna, who says that there can be no doubt whatever that they are lions 'on technical, stylistic, and associative grounds'.

<sup>146</sup> This reference was kindly brought to our notice by Mr. S. Alexiou.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus* (1900), 17, fig. 28, for the remains of an (?) ivory quiver with bronze arrow-heads.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Frödin and Persson, *Asine* 256, fig. 181, for a bone mounting of trapezoidal shape, with running spiral decoration, from a late E.H. stratum (*N.B.* In the text 'M.H.' seems to be misprinted for 'E.H.'): it is described as a mounting for a sheath.

<sup>149</sup> Mr. Cornwall, who kindly examined the lump, describes it as 'a lump of mineral, largely composed of magnetite (magnetic iron ore)'.

<sup>150</sup> From tombs at Phaistos came 'pezzi vari di una materia di colore turchino (κόκκος?) . . . Incerto e l'uso' (*MA XIV* 522 and 557), which sound as if they might conceivably be formless lumps of glass or faience comparable to III (28).

<sup>151</sup> Professor Turner adds: 'Colleagues or old students of mine (namely, Dr. Eric Preston, Mr. H. P. Rooksby, Mr. B. S. Cooper, Mr. A. C. Jeffkins, Mr. G. Warr) at the Research Laboratories, and laboratories attached to the Glass Works of the General Electric Co., Ltd., Wembley, were good enough to carry out the experimental work of which the following is a summary of the facts: I. The sample is an incompletely fused glass with all the characteristics, such as type of fracture, of a glass. II. The major constituents found by a spectrographic examination are silicon, sodium, potassium, calcium, and magnesium, and the elements found in smaller but appreciable amounts are copper, aluminium, iron, boron, and antimony. It is the copper which is the source of the blue colour. This was the common agent in use also in Egypt for producing the various shades of blue colour. III. A quantitative chemical analysis disclosed the following percentage composition: SiO<sub>2</sub>, 64.40%; Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>, 2.11%; MnO, 0.25%; Fe<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>, 0.36%; TiO<sub>2</sub>, trace; BaO, trace; CuO, 1.62%; Sb<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>, 0.50%; CaO, 9.88%; MgO, 2.56%; Na<sub>2</sub>O, 14.42%; K<sub>2</sub>O, 2.40%; SO<sub>3</sub>, 2.03%.

From the composition above no conclusion could be drawn whether the glass was made in Crete or was a somewhat crude piece derived from Egypt. All the samples of Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty glass so far analysed vary distinctly in composition amongst themselves. There is a certain general pattern in the balance of the constituents, and the composition of this Cretan sample can be said to belong to the same pattern. IV. The whitish material associated with and embedded in crevices of the sample appears to have the same general composition as the glass and not to be merely a decomposition product arising from its weathering. This observation must not be assumed, however, to exclude the probability that the white material does include some constituents resulting from weathering.'

shark's tooth I (15). In Greece and Turkey today beads of a light blue colour are regarded as having prophylactic qualities, and are used to adorn animals.

V (1). Alabastron (PLATE 56, b). H. 0.065. D. of body 0.17, of rim 0.085. Orange clay, the surface much worn, but bearing traces of decoration in black. The design cannot be distinguished, but appears to consist of sprays of some kind on the body, with rows of dots round the neck. Possible traces of concentric circles on the base.

V (2). Alabastron (FIG. 10, PLATE 56, b). H. 0.06. D. of body 0.175, of rim 0.105. Very soft fabric. Fine orange clay, the surface much worn, but showing traces of decoration in red. The design can just be distinguished as a variety of 'rock pattern', cf. III (8). Concentric circles on the base.

V (3). Alabastron (PLATE 56, b). This vase is less squat in shape than the other six alabastra from the tombs. H. 0.075. D. of body 0.13, of rim 0.095. Pale orange clay, the surface originally buff well smoothed or burnished. Traces of decoration in black visible under the rim and round the handles. Possible indications of a simple cross on the base.



FIG. 16.—SEALS FROM TOMB III. Scale  $3/2$ , unless otherwise indicated.

V (4). Stone bowl with two solid lug-handles (FIG. 13, PLATE 56, b). H. 0.083. D. 0.12. Soft crumbly yellow stone flecked with black. There is a bowl of identical shape and made of the same stone from the Palace at Mallia (found in 1924: Herakleion Mus. no. 2094). Cf. BSA Suppl. I 133, pl. xxx, D. 3, from the hoard of stone vases in a L.M. II house at Palaikastro.

V (5). Stone 'Bird's Nest' bowl (FIG. 13, PLATE 56, b). H. 0.048. D. 0.087. Black stone boldly veined with white. The surface is rough. Cf. BSA Suppl. I 133: 'Bird's Nest' bowls were common in the L.M. II Hoard. The broad flat rim as found on our vase is said to be characteristically L.M.<sup>152</sup>

V (6). Sword (FIG. 12, PLATE 54, e). Bronze. L. 0.47. Broken, but complete. The blade has a pronounced mid-rib. The sword is of the 'cruciform' type with flanges round the tang and shoulder, cf. A.J. (1) and II (3). There are two small 'rivet' holes 3 mm. in diameter low down on the shoulder, and a single bronze rivet of the same size still in place at the base of the tang. The tang has no other rivets or holes in it: but the extension of the tang is provided with a single small 'rivet' hole for affixing the pommel.

V (7). Spear-head (FIG. 12, PLATE 53, b). Bronze. L. 0.049. W. of blade 0.035, of socket outside 0.032, inside 0.024. This is the largest of the spear-heads from the tombs; it is slightly longer than the sword V (6) found with it. For the description cf. III (14), which it resembles in detail.

V (8). Helmet (see p. 256).

V (8a). Lead disc (FIG. 18, PLATE 51, b). D. 0.055. The disc is convex on one face, with a slight depression on the other. The convex face is plated with a thin sheeting of copper/bronze, which overlaps round the edges of the other face. This disc was found with the remains of the helmet, and may or may not belong to it (see p. 257, n. 69). From a tomb at

<sup>152</sup> Bird's Nest stone bowls first seem to occur in M.M. I, and flourish into the L.M. period (Seager, *Mochlos* 38).

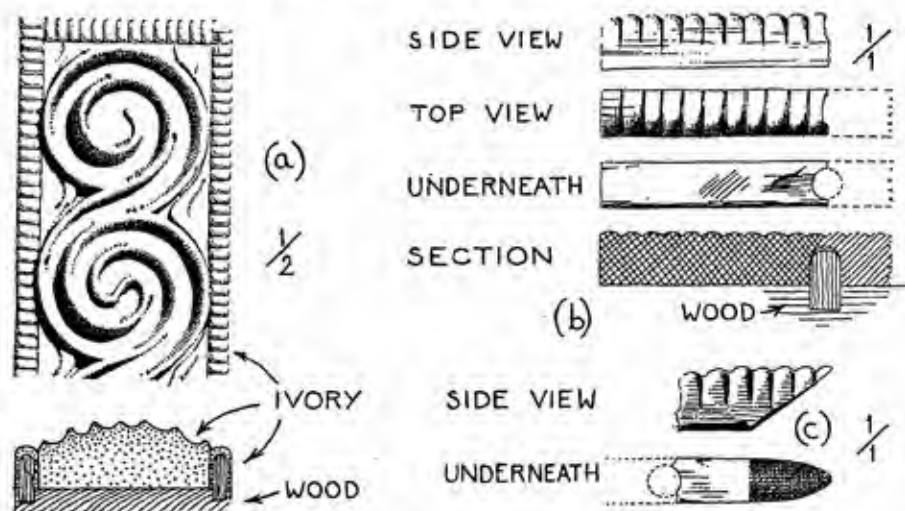


FIG. 17.—THE IVORY PANEL II (24).

(a) End of the Panel. Scale 1:2. (b) and (c) Fragments of Border Strips, (b) showing method of attachment to wooden backing, (c) with the bevelled end preserved. Scale 1:1.

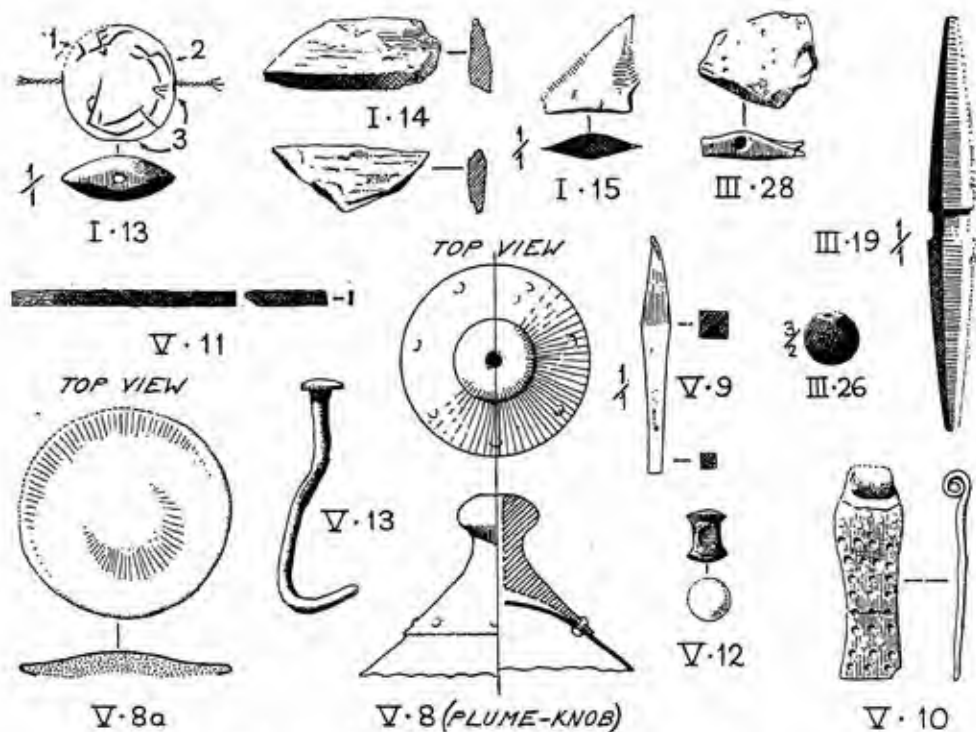


FIG. 18.—SMALL OBJECTS FROM TOMBS I-V.  
Scale 1:2 except where otherwise indicated.

Dendra came a 'convex bronze button filled with lead' 0.041 in diameter: but this had a 'small severed rod on its lower surface' (*New Tombs at Dendra*, 64, fig. 76, 1).<sup>153</sup>

V (9). Point (FIG. 18). Bronze. L. 0.03. Square in section. Rather roughly made and irregular in shape. The tip is blunted and bent over. Possibly an arrow-head. Cf. *MA* XIV 536, no. 4 (L. 0.122), from Phaistos: this is not illustrated, but is compared to one from Menidi (Lolling, *Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi* (1880), pl. ix 12, cf. two others similar, 8 and 9). Similar objects from Prosymna are called by Blegen 'small javelin points' (*Prosymna*, 145, plan 29, (44) and (47), fig. 361, 4 (L. just over 0.045)).

V (10). Pendant (FIG. 18). Thin bronze plate. L. 0.055. Broken. The pendant seems to be decorated on both faces with rows of punched dots. Cf. *BSA* XXVIII 268, fig. 38, ix D. 1, from the Mavrospelio cemetery, described as a 'bronze pendant axe blade'.<sup>154</sup>

V (11). Band (FIG. 18). Bronze. Broken. The pieces preserved have a total length of 0.14. W. about 5 mm.

V (12). Rivet (FIG. 18). Bronze. L. 0.012. D. of head 0.01.

V (13). Nail (FIG. 18). Bronze. L. if straight would be 0.073. The head is circular (0.11 in diam.) with a flat top, and the shaft of the nail is round in section. Cf. *Schachtgräber*, 121, pl. clxii, for nails from Shaft-grave IV, similar in size and bent in the same way; they are said to come from bronze vases.

M. S. F. HOOD

P. DE JONG

<sup>153</sup> The 'button' was found at the bottom level of the *stomion* (i.e. entrance) of Chamber-tomb 10. The tomb yielded no weapons; and the gold ornaments, etc., from it suggested that a woman had been buried here. On the other hand, all these ornaments, etc., came from pits in the floor of the tomb: and the tomb had evidently been opened, and the objects from the floor itself removed. The material recovered ranged from L.H. II to the beginning of L.H. III in date.

<sup>154</sup> Two objects of a rather similar shape appear attached to the ends of (?) cords floating from the top of a Syrian helmet in an Egyptian representation (reproduced in *Homer and the Monuments*, pl. xvi, fig. 5). It is therefore conceivable that our pendant had something to do with the crest or plume of the helmet.



## THE DEDICATION OF CALLIMACHUS. A POSTSCRIPT

I wish to add some points to the description of *IG I<sup>2</sup> 609* which I gave in *BSA XLV* (1950), 140 ff. The plate number and page references in the following will refer to that article.

(1) I do not now think that the traces reported by Wilhelm on the right edge of fragment *f* (p. 144 and plate 11 *a*) are definite enough to suggest a particular or indeed any letter. The bracketing in my version (p. 160) should therefore be amended to:

ὁ[νομ' ἔστεφάνουσεν:]

Mr. M. Mitsos and Mr. E. Vanderpool have kindly checked this point for me on the stone and agree.

(2) Through the courtesy of Prof. Klaffenbach I can add two more details concerning readings in this inscription.

Hiller in *IG I<sup>2</sup>* wrote Ἀφιδναῖος in the first line, where neither Lolling in 1891 nor myself, more recently, could report traces of a *sigma*. Prof. Klaffenbach tells me that neither the squeeze nor the photograph in the Berlin Academy (both were Hiller's sources) show any traces of the *sigma*. He also points out that there can be no question of recent loss of a letter through damage to the edge of the stone, as the present state is already attested by the drawing *IG I 350 b* in conjunction with *IG I suppl. p. 91 no. 373*<sup>108</sup>. The *sigma* in Ἀφιδναῖο[ς] is therefore not supported by any evidence from the stone.

Secondly I must correct a statement made on p. 147 n. 23. Klaffenbach tells me that the *sigma* of πολέμαρχος which is now lost, though extant when Lolling first saw fragment *c*, is already missing on the Berlin squeeze and photograph. Hiller's apparatus should therefore have noted the loss of this letter.

Concerning the restoration of the epigram, I refer to E. Fraenkel's recent note in *Eranos XLIX* (1951), 63-4. His rejection of <sup>†</sup>ε(λ)λένον in the second line of the inscription in favour of τὸν ἀγῶνα: τὸν Μα[ραθινόθεν <sup>†</sup>ἔλεν seems to me irresistible. Further, his restoration of ὁ[λεσε is rendered easier by the amended reading reported above under (1).

B. B. SHEFTON

## A SHERD FROM PELIKATA, ITHAKA

The claim put forward as an opinion (*BSA* XLIV (1949), 307) and as a fact (*ibid.* 309, fig. 1, 4) that an 'Early Helladic Patterned' sherd from Pelikáta is really 'East Greek' should be accepted only with considerable reserve.

The condition of the sherd is such as to make positive identification either as one or the other impossible, but the context leaves little room for doubt that it is another Early Helladic Patterned sherd of which five other examples were found in the same layer associated with an E.H. pithos burial. The pattern is familiar from other Early Helladic sites, and if no precise analogy for the shape has so far been recorded, this can hardly be considered a serious objection, unless we are to suppose that all Early Helladic shapes are already known.

W. A. HEURTLEY

## *SUPPLEMENTUM EPIGRAPHICUM GRAECUM*: NOTICE

The twelfth and subsequent volumes of *SEG* will take the form of an annual review of Greek Epigraphy. As far as possible it will give references to work done during each year on or relating to Greek inscriptions, and will reprint new or emended texts. The arrangement of the contents will be by geographical areas, on the general pattern of the early volumes of *SEG*. The editor and publishers of *SEG* are confident that this will be a service which epigraphists, and classical scholars generally, will appreciate and find helpful.

The editor of *SEG* would, therefore, be grateful if scholars who publish studies on Greek Epigraphy or substantially using epigraphic material, would send him a notice (or if possible a reprint) of their work. Their co-operation in this way would be much appreciated, and would greatly aid him and the publishers in making *SEG* as complete as possible.

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Part II of Volume XI, which was left unfinished at the death of the previous editor, Dr. J. J. E. Hondius, will be published as soon as possible.



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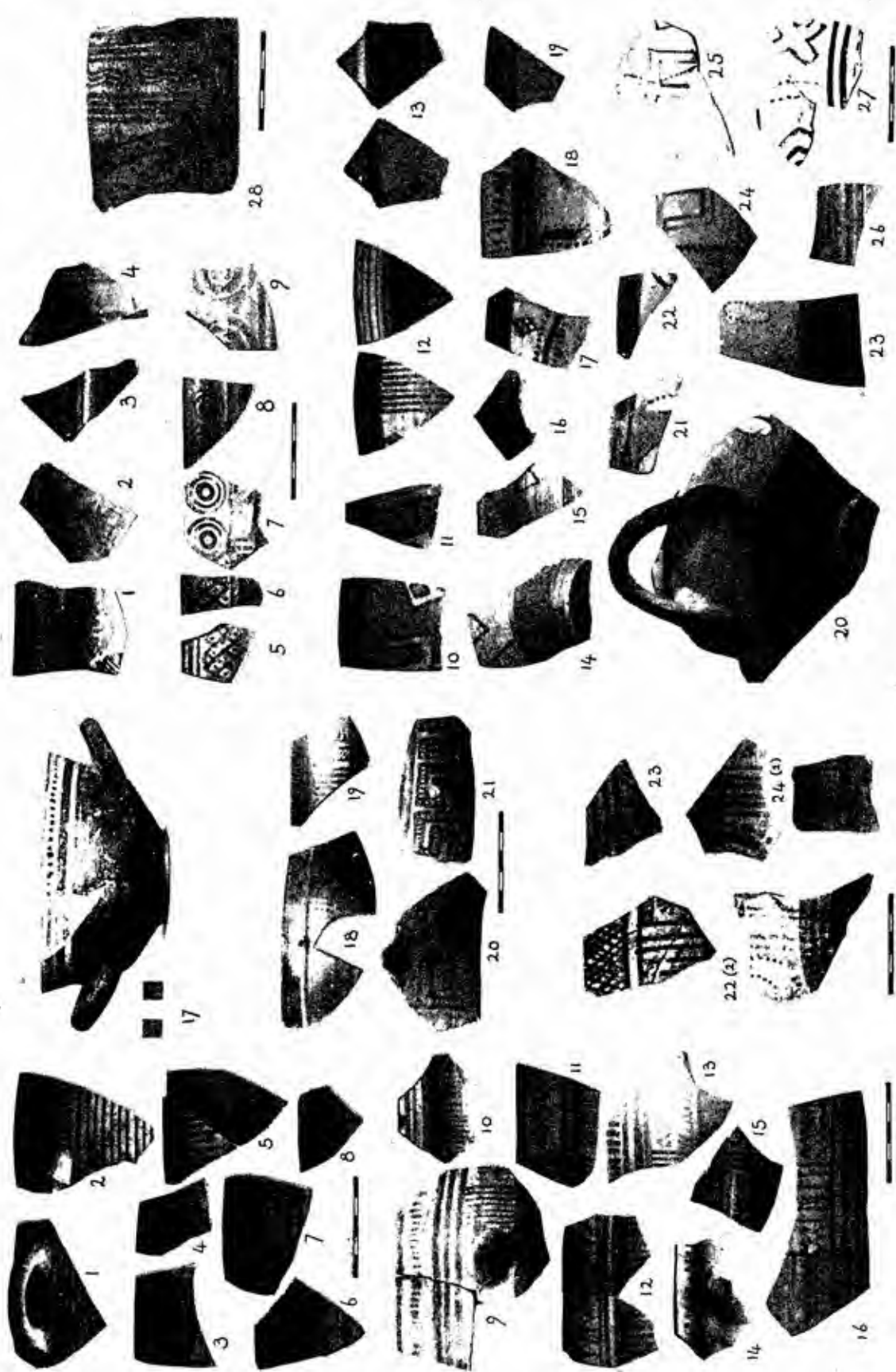
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## 3. COMMON NAMES AND ADJECTIVES

- |                               |                     |                       |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| ἀμφίπολος 122.                | καρυο(πώλης) 113.   | σαακ(οποιός) 113.     |
| άρτοπ(οιός), ἄρτοπ(ώλης) 113. | κε]ραμολό(γος) 113. | σειναρμοστρηάα 119.   |
| γεωργός 113.                  | κρομμυοπ(ώλης) 113. | σιτο(πώλης) 113.      |
| γναφεύς 113.                  | μισθωτός 113.       | σκυτοτόμος 114.       |
| [γραμ]ματεύς 113.             | οἰκοδόμος 113.      | στα[φιδ(οποιός)] 113. |
| εἰσαρχία (?) 121-122.         | ὀλίος 98.           | τραπεζοποι(ός) 114.   |
| ἐμπορος 113.                  | ὄνοκό(μος) 113.     | ὑπογ(ραμματεύς) 113.  |
| ἐρισπ(λύτης) 113.             | πριονο(ποιός) 113.  | φορτηγός 114.         |
| ἐρισπ(ώλης) 113.              | πριονο(πώλης) 113.  | φουτουργός 113.       |
| *θυγατριδεύς -οὺς 121.        |                     |                       |

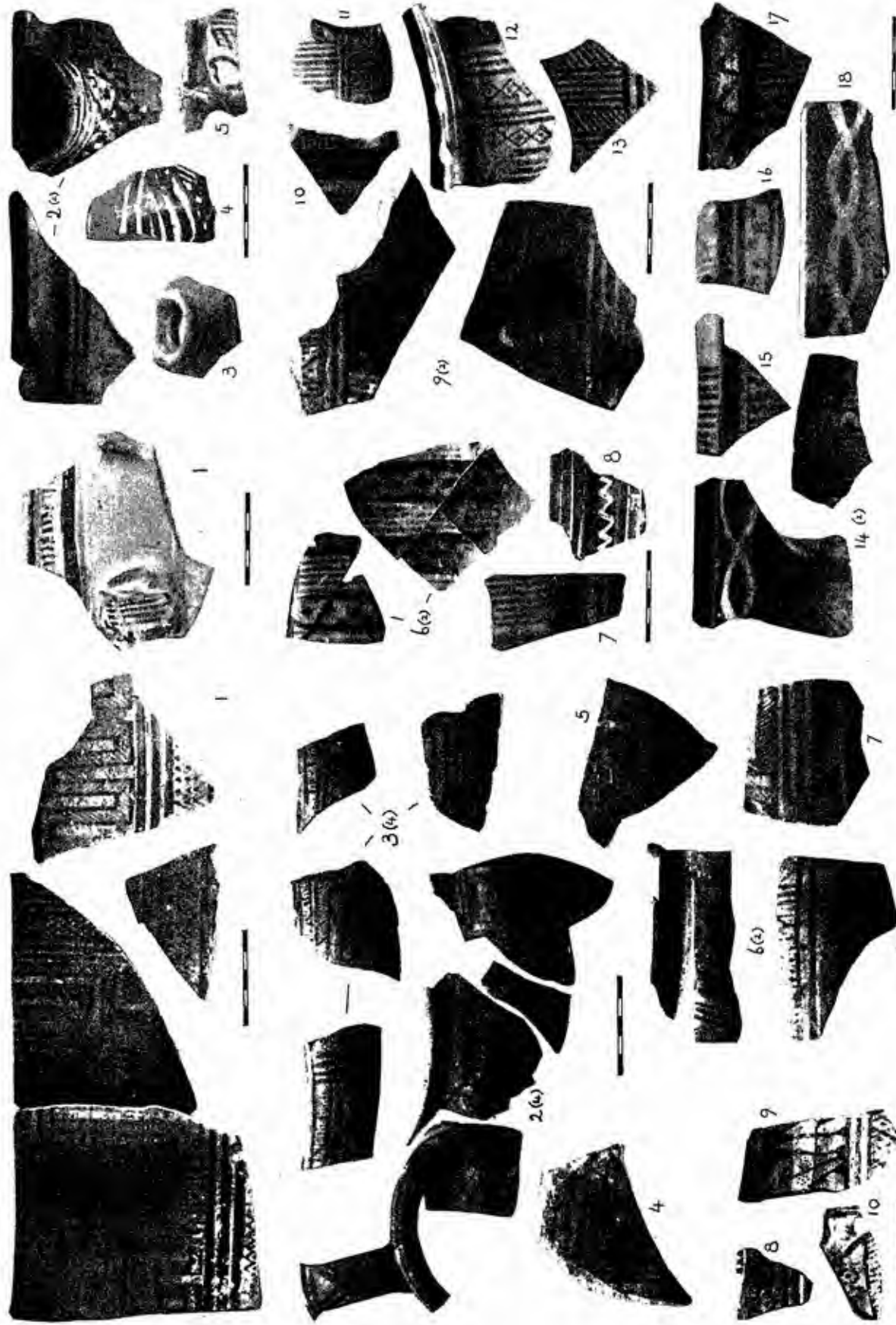
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BUNGAY SUFFOLK.





POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. A, TEXT, pp. 2-4. B, TEXT, pp. 4-5.

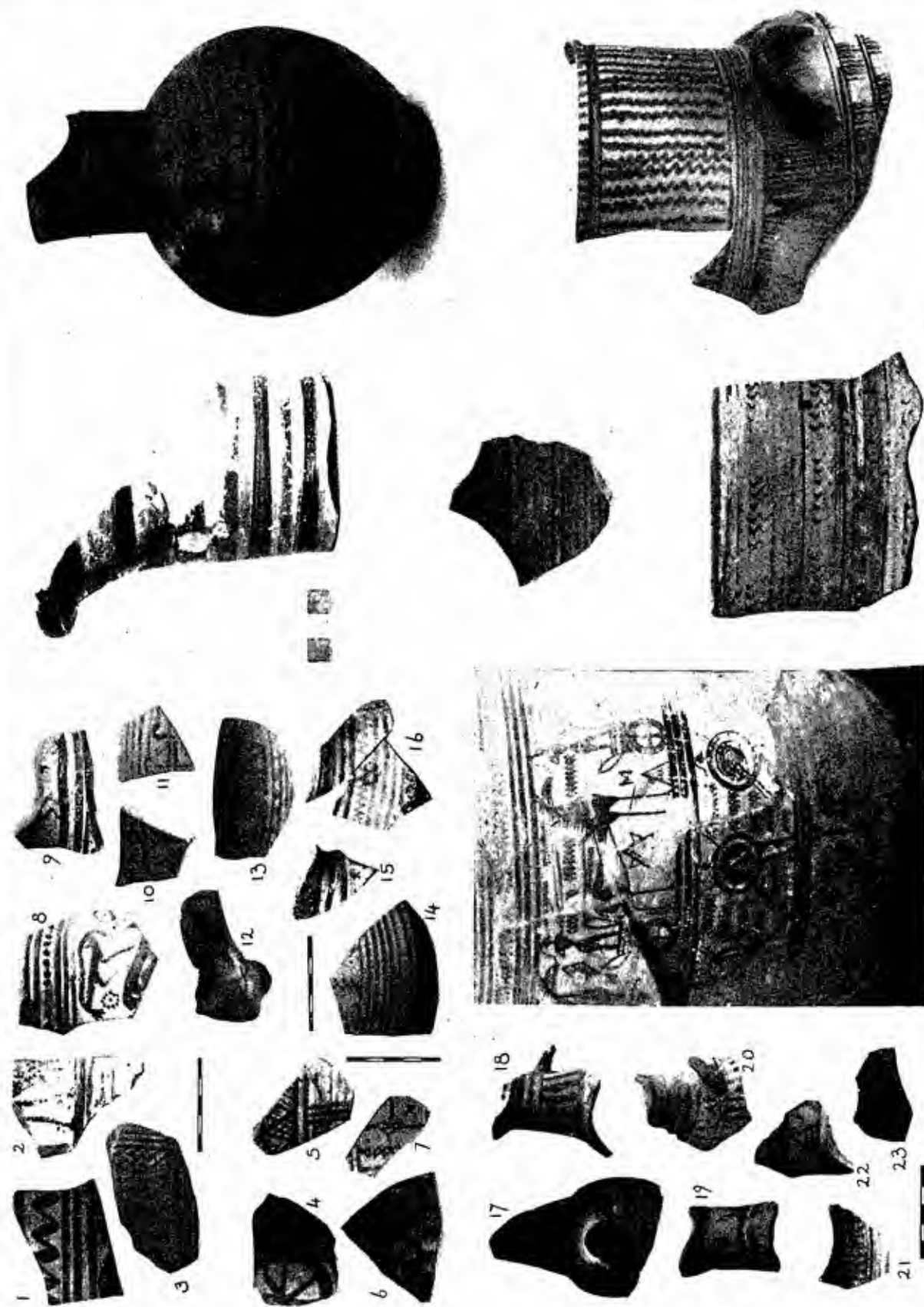




B

A

POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. A, TEXT, p. 6. B, TEXT, pp. 6-7.



POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. A, TEXT, pp. 7-11. B, FRAGMENTS OF CLOSED VASES AND SUB-GEOMETRIC GRAVE AMPHORAE.



A5



B2

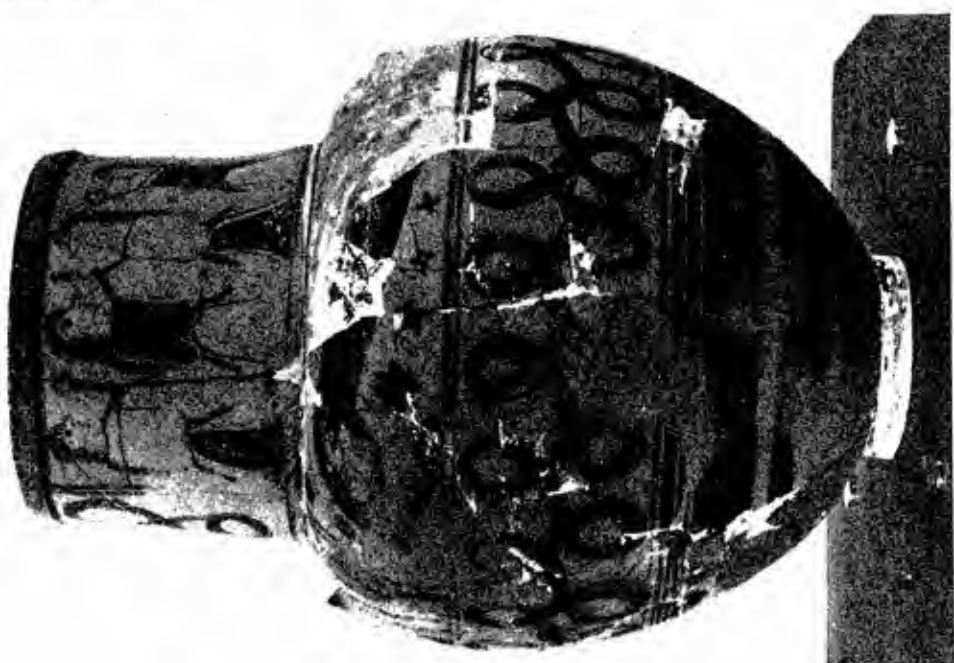


B6

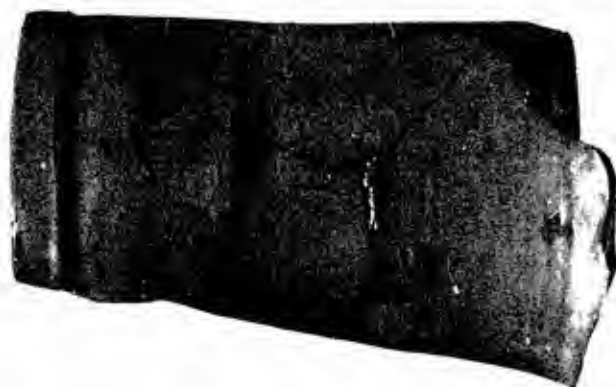


AMPHORA IN CAMBRIDGE.

POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. SUBGEOMETRIC GRAVE AMPHORAE.



C3



C1



C2

POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. SUBGEOMETRIC GRAVE AMPHORA FRAGMENT (C1), AND ORIENTALISING GRAVE AMPHORAE (C2, C3).





C6



C4



C8

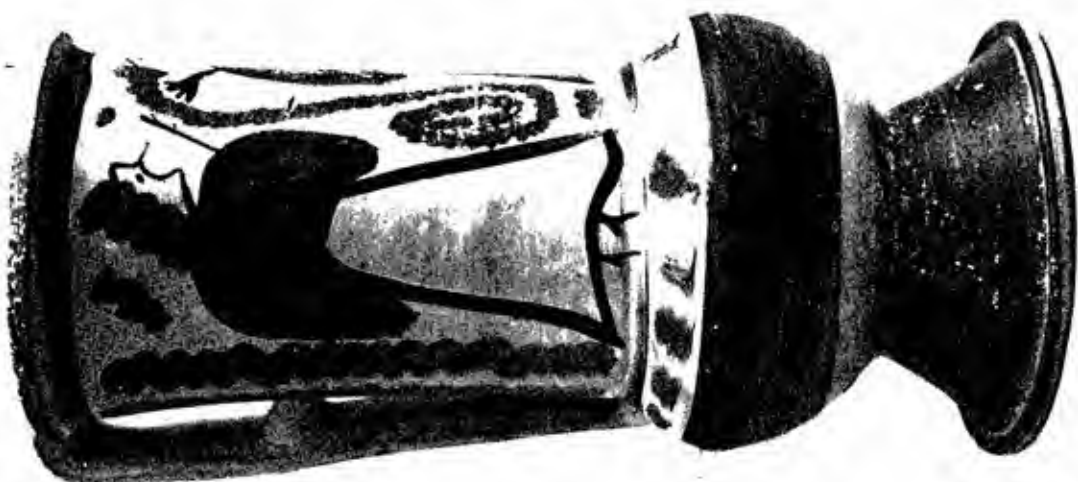
POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. ORIENTALISING GRAVE AMPHORAE AND FRAGMENT.



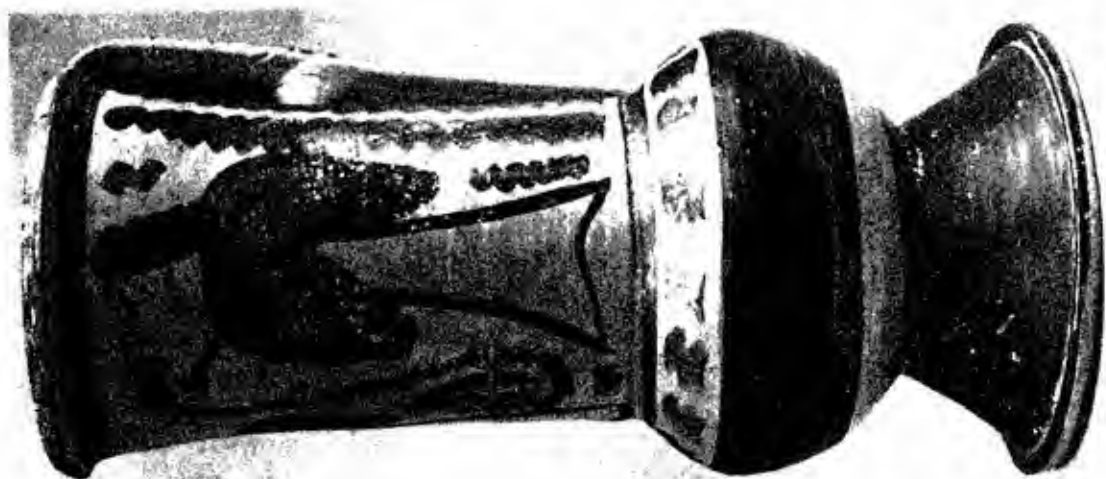
C7



D8



C12 LOUVRE CA2365



POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. LOUVRE CA2365 AND FRAGMENTS OF ORIENTALISING GRAVE AMPHORAE.



D10

D4

D1

POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. SIXTH-CENTURY GRAVE AMPHORAE.



POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. *a* and *b* THE WEDDING AMPHORA. *c* THE PELEUS AMPHORA.





POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. *a* and *b* THE HERAKLES AMPHORA. *c* LID OF PELEUS AMPHORA. *d* B.F. FRAGMENT.

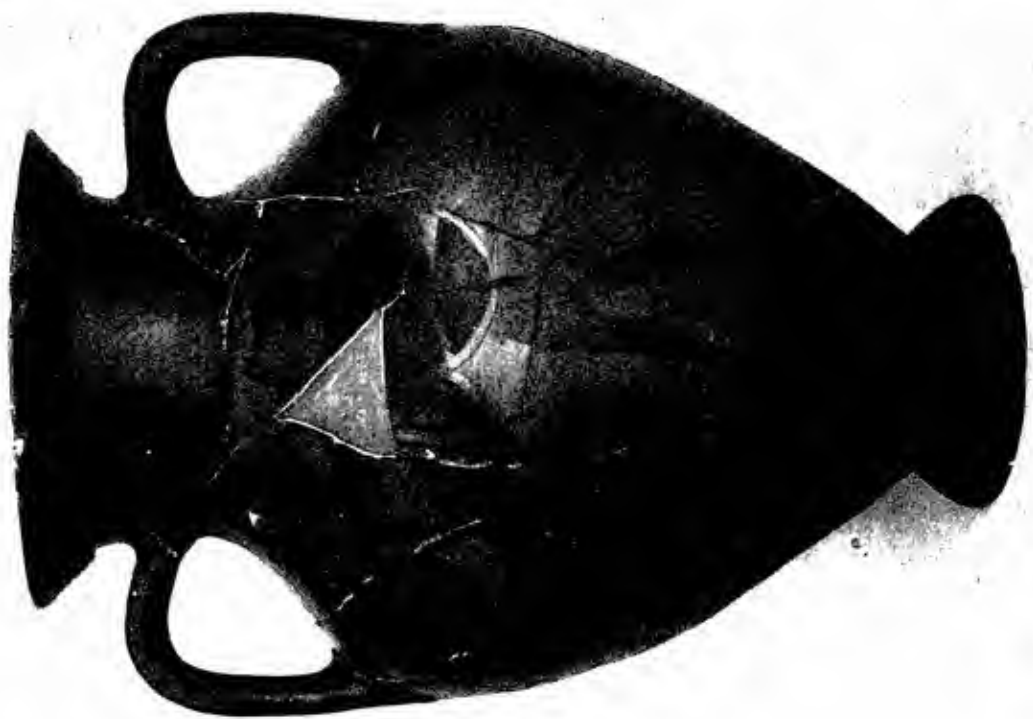


*a*



*b*

POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. *a* THE WEDDING AMPHORA. *b* THE HERAKLES AMPHORA.



POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. B.F. no. 1, THE SILEN AMPHORA.



B.F. 4.



B.F. 17.



B.F. 16.



B.F. 6.



B.F. 7.



B.F. 9.



B.F. 11.



POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. BLACK FIGURE.





B.F. 8.



B.F. 5.



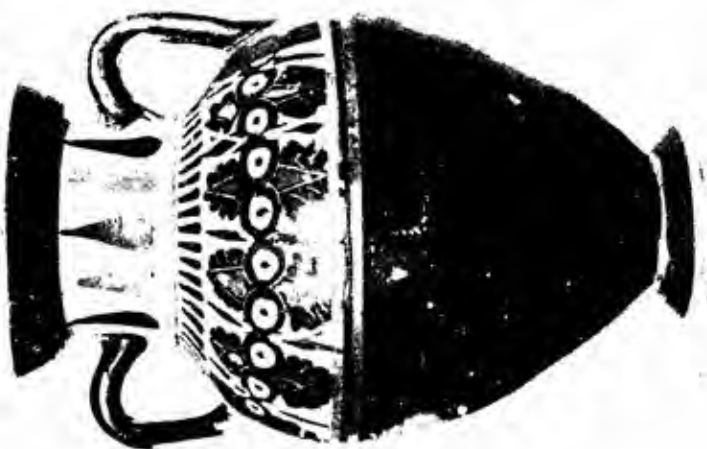
B.F. 12.



MYKONOS KA 1028.



MYKONOS KA 1028.



ATHENS N.M. 3635.

POTTERY FROM ERETRIA. BLACK FIGURE.



414 Γ'



438 Δ'



492 Β'



439 Α'



472 Ε'



523 Ε'



450 Β'



414 Β'



414 Α'



438 Γ'



438 Β'



438 Α'

KHALKIS TOMBS, ALABASTRA.



542 Γ'

426 A'



492 A'

450 Γ'



553 Z'

472 A'

514

416



427

452

482 A'

475



402 I''

402 Δ'

402 E'



542 B'

472 B'

402 B'

450 Δ'

426 B'



553 A'

553 B'

523 A'

512 A'

553 Δ'



523 Δ'

472 G'

523 I''



553 G'

462 Δ'

524

523 B'

494

KHALKIS TOMBS, ALABASTRA.





469 A'

520 A'

526



415

451 B'

451 A'



469 B'

520 B'

428

525

451 Δ'



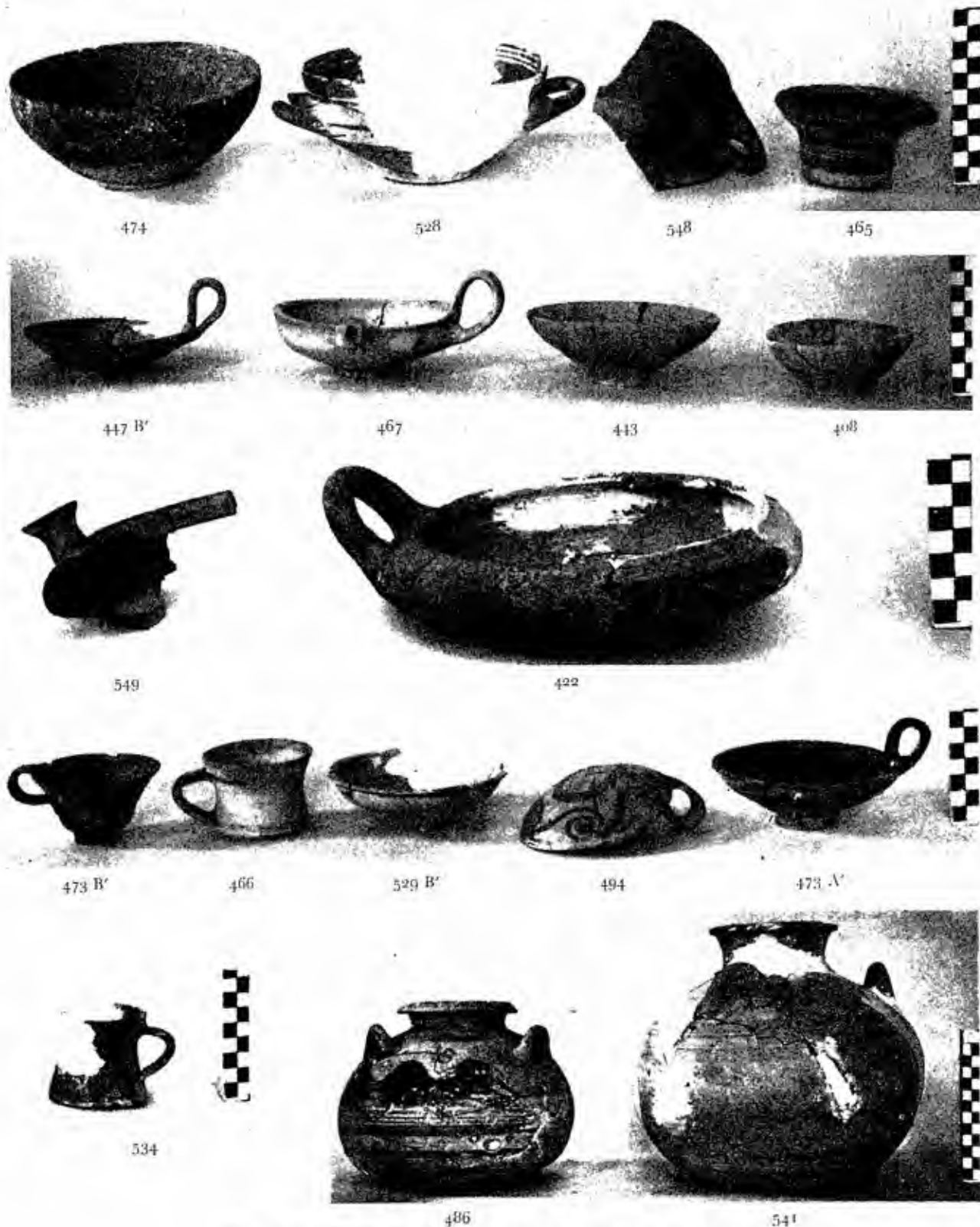
461

402 A'

462 I''

451 Γ'

KHALKIS TOMBS, ALABASTRA.



KHALKIS TOMBS, ALABASTRA (486, 541), BOWLS AND CUPS.



543



544



493



429



493



529 A'



421



440



521



446



540



555

KHALKIS TOMBS, CUPS AND JARS.



444 B'



480 A'



444 A'



420



406



556



405 A'



405 B'



448



515 B'



515 A'



532 I'



479 I'



470



519 B'



464 A'



480 B'



479 A'



532 B'



519 I'

KHALKIS TOMBS, JARS.





479 B'

532

519 A'



447

471



463

449 B'

449 A'



442

454

517



413



425



533

417

453



418 A'

495

419

430



546

418 B'



484

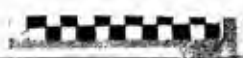


464

KHALKIS TOMBS, JUGS AND JARS.



481



491



468



412



539



437

KHALKIS TOMBS, JUGS.



460 II'

460 IA'

460 Δ'

460 A'



460 B'

554

530 A'

518 A'



545

531

518 B'

460 Θ'

485

460 I'



460 Z'

460 G'

530 I''

460 I''

460 E'

530 B'

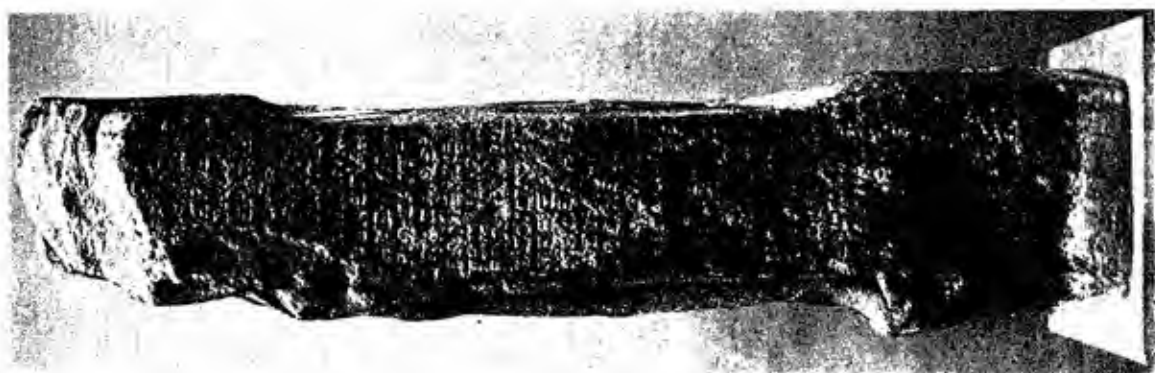
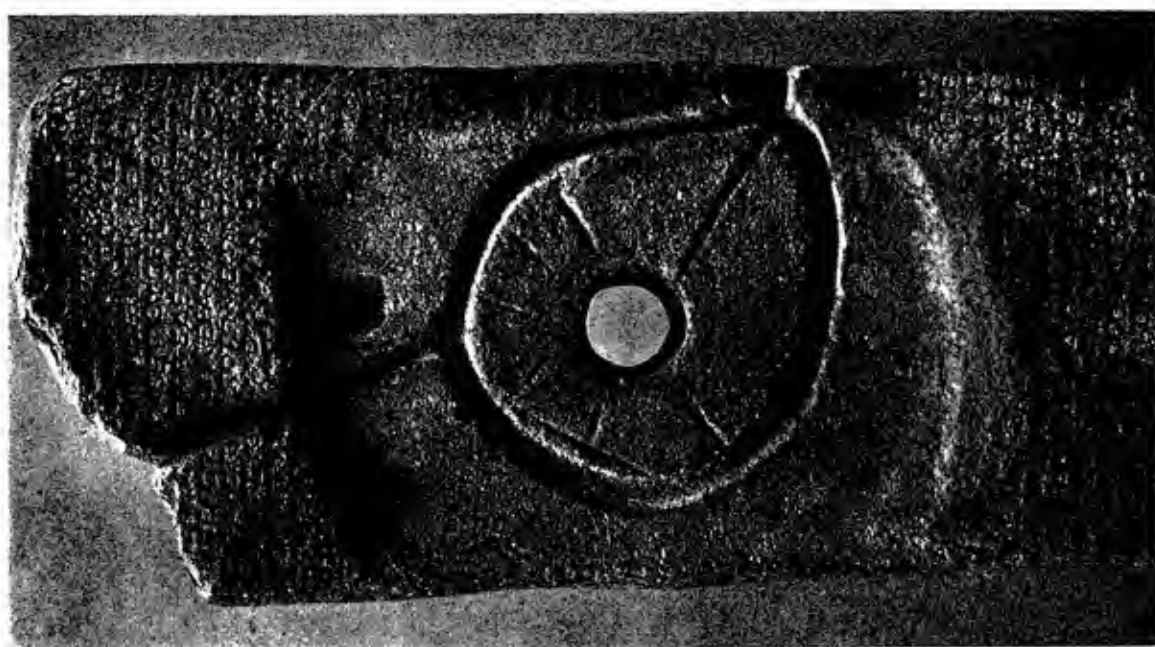


409



527





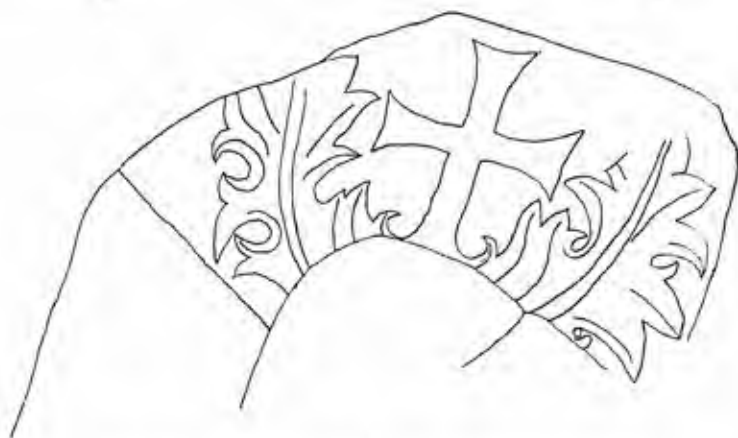
B.M. STELE FROM COMMAGENE.



a



b



c

NEW FRAGMENTS OF IG II<sup>2</sup> 10 FROM AIGINA.



(1)



(2)



(3)



(4)

(5)



(6)

(7)



(8)

(9)

CRETAN RELIEF PITHOI IN DR. GIAMALAKES' COLLECTION.



1



2



3



4

CLAZOMENIAN POTTERY.

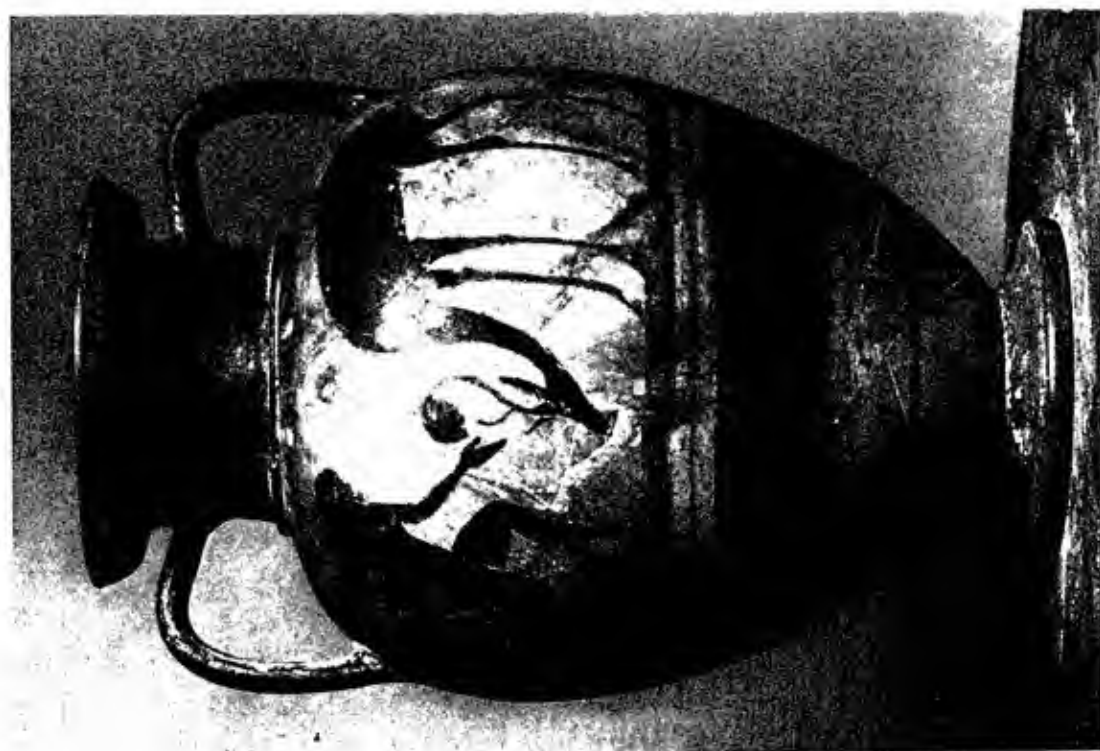
1-2. HEIDELBERG (A.a); 3. BERLIN UNIVERSITY D.155 (C. III. 3); 4. LOUVRE A.873 (A.26).

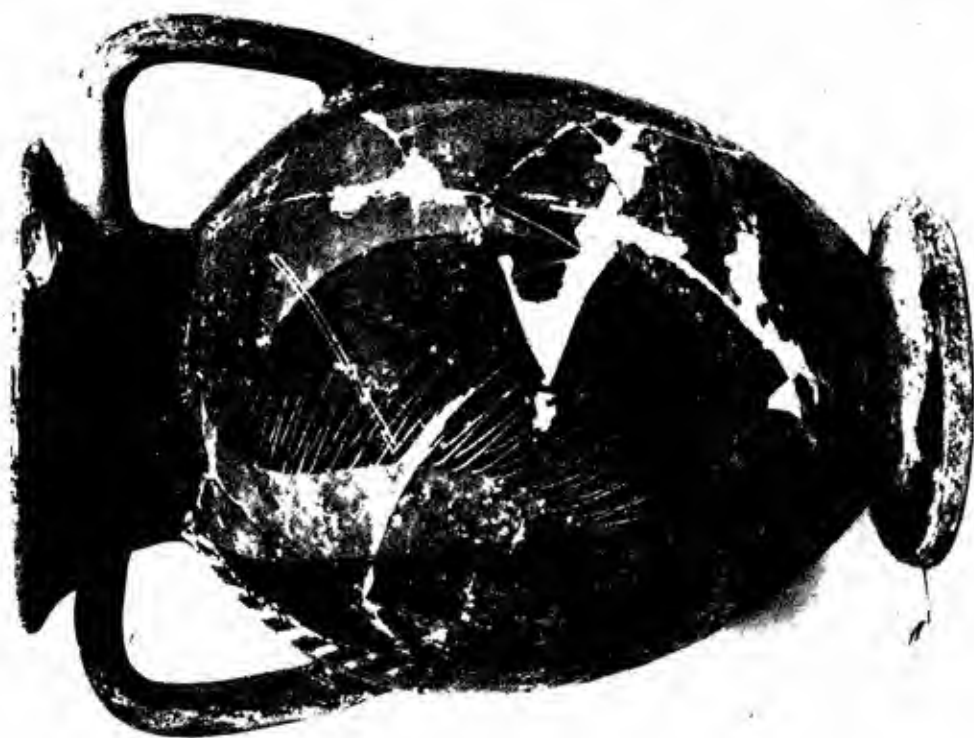
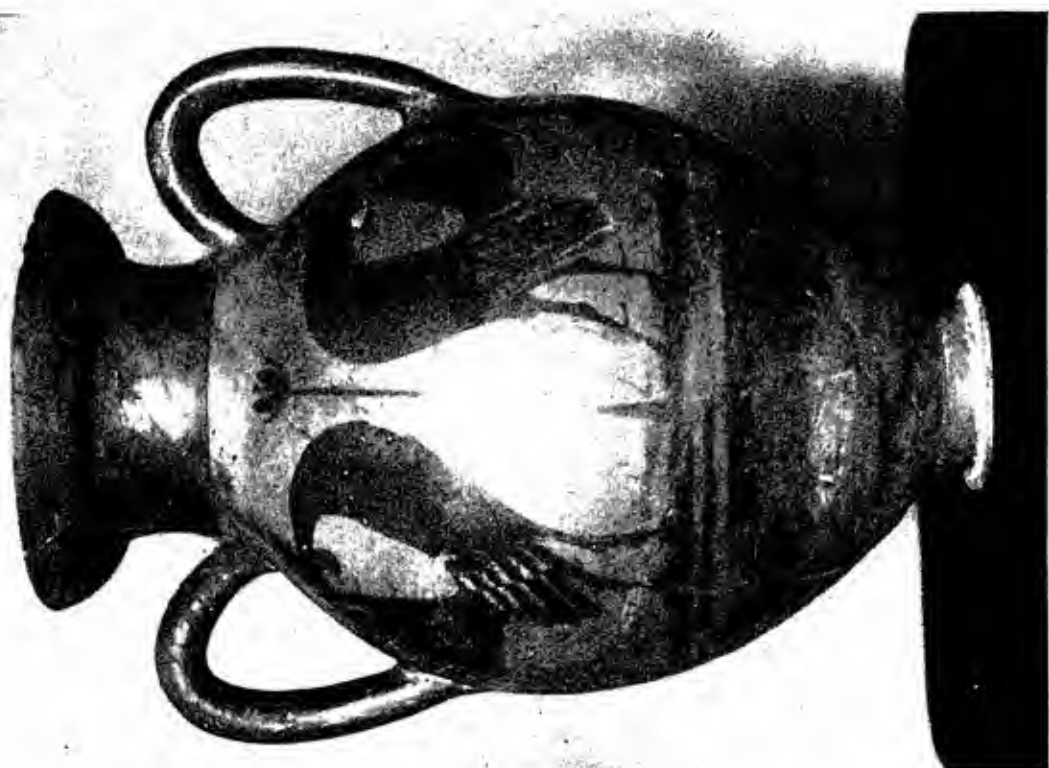
Scale about 1 : 1.





CLAZOMENIAN POTTERY.  
AMPHORA IN VIENNA (D.3).





CLAZOMENIAN POTTERY.

1. ATHENS 12713 (E III. 2/3); 2. HILDESHEIM 1539 (D.8).



CLAZOMENIAN POTTERY.

BERLIN INV. 5844 (F.a).



2



3

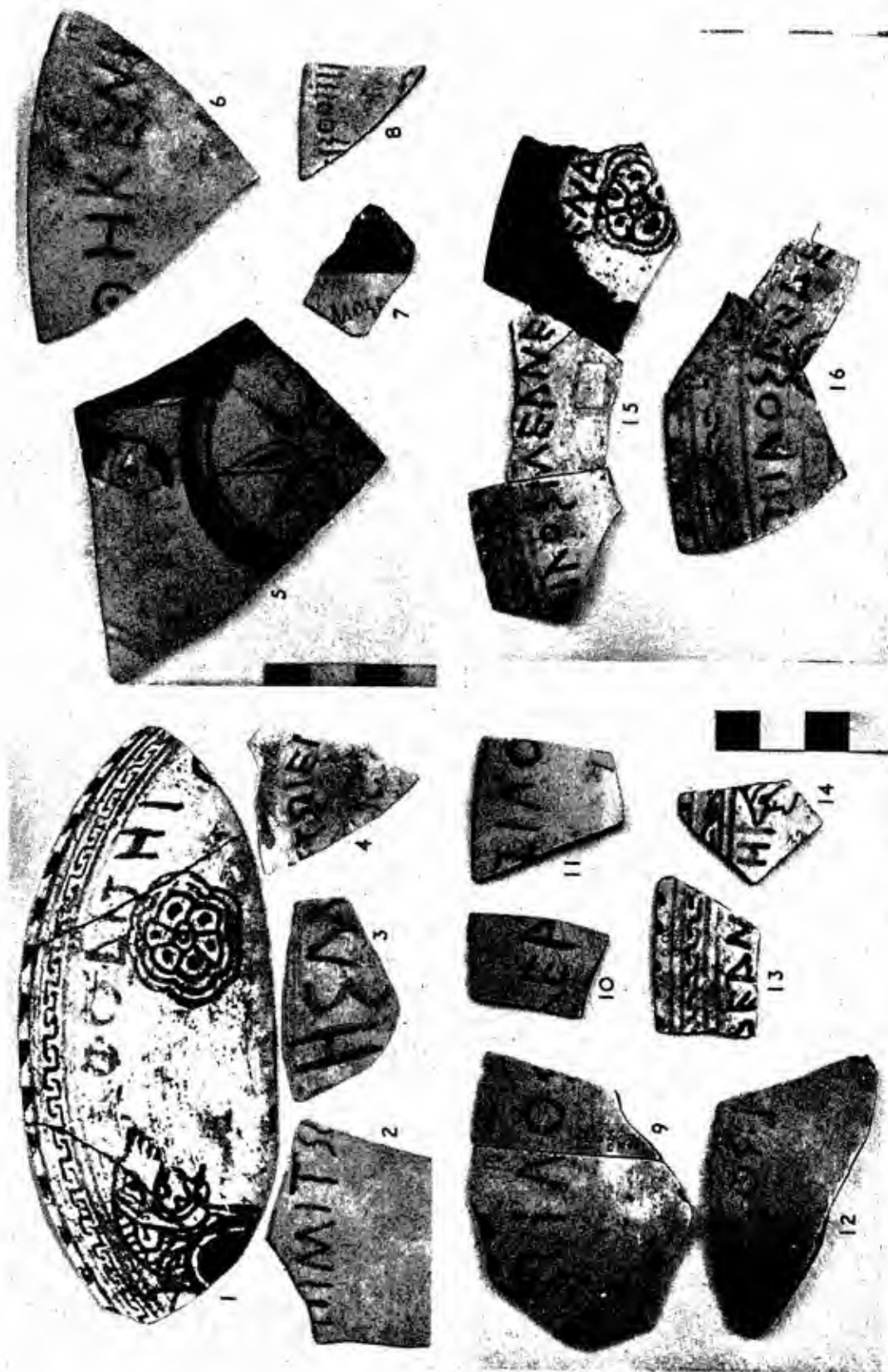
CLAZOMENIAN POTTERY.

1-2, BERLIN INV. 30070; 3, KASSEL T. 469 (see p. 152).



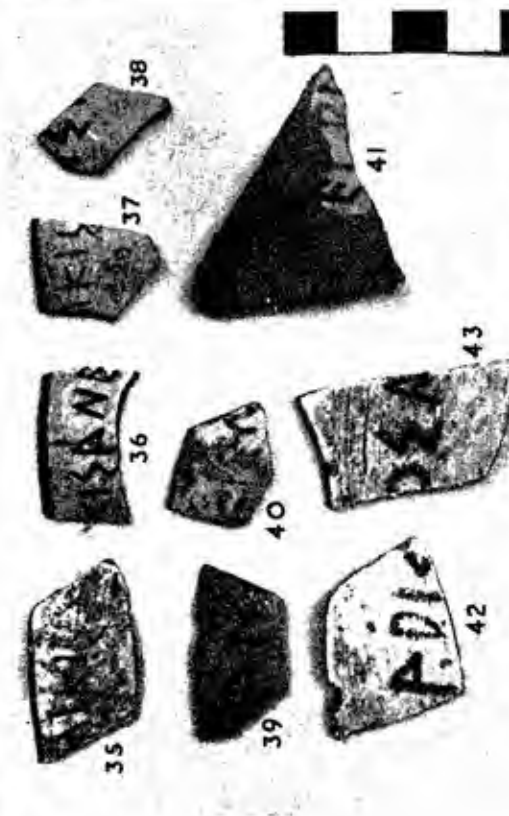
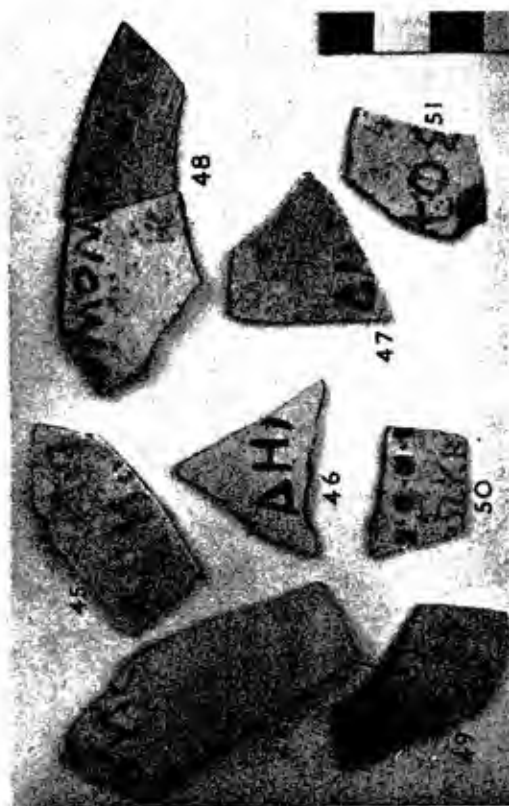
1





PAINTED INSCRIPTIONS ON CHIOT POTTERY.

Sherds in Berlin, British Museum, and Oxford. All to same scale, which is in cm. (For key see p. 170.)



PAINTED INSCRIPTIONS ON CHIOT POTTERY.

Sherds in British Museum. Scale in cm. (For key see p. 170.)



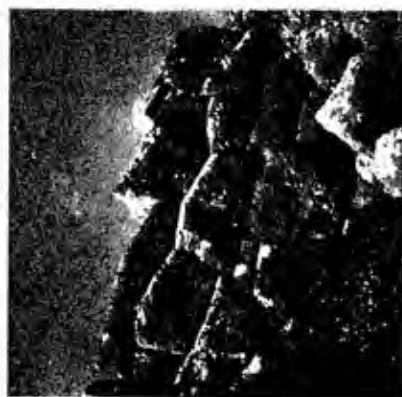
(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



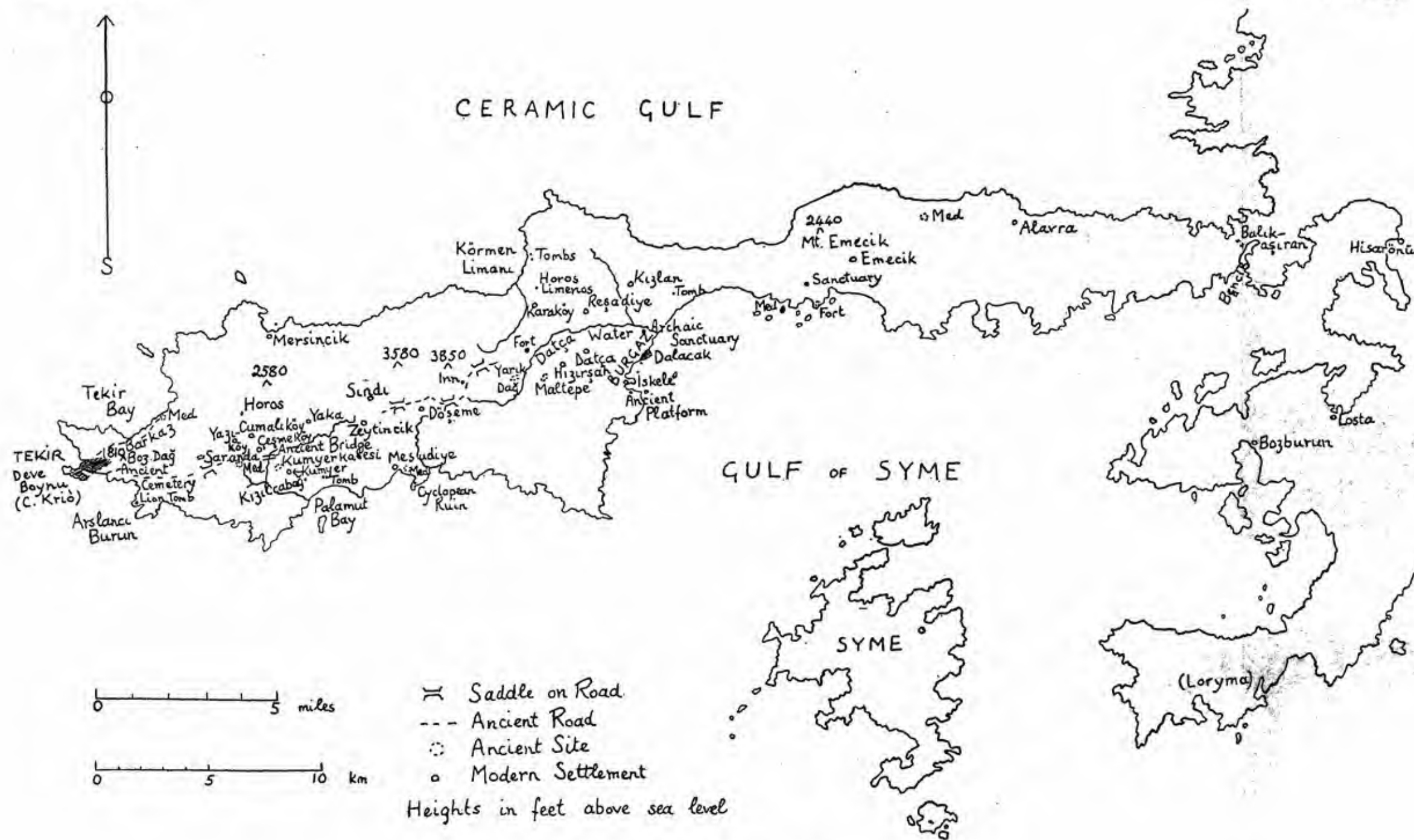
(e)



(f)

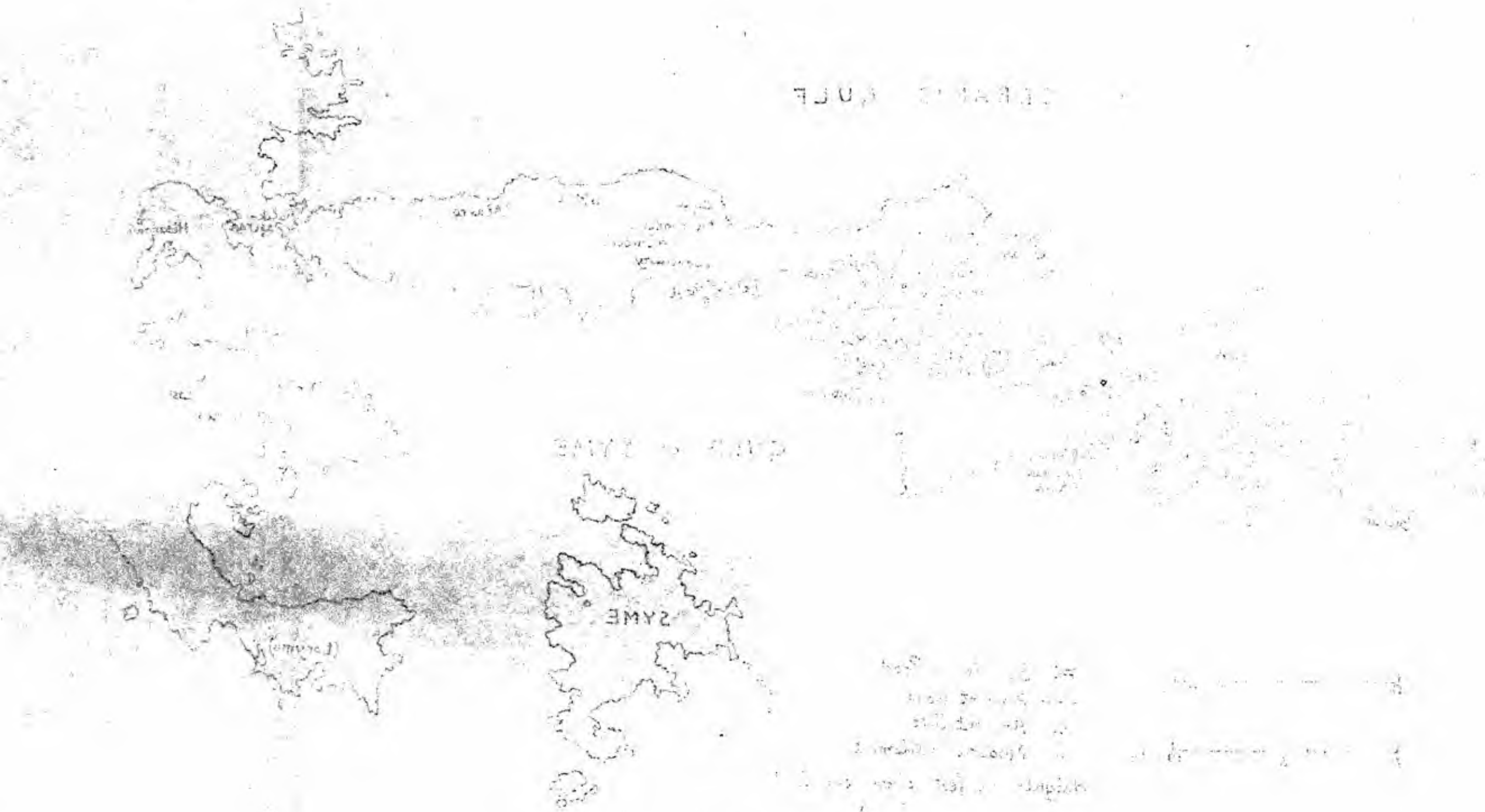
CNIDIA.

(a) EMECIK, SQUARE BUILDING. (b), (c) DALACAK, WEST SIDE. (d), (f) KUMYER, CITADEL. (e) TEKIR, TERRACE WALL.





LEBRARD GULF



LEBRARD GULF

ZYME

Map of Lebrard Gulf

Scale of 1:100,000  
Nautical Miles  
Miles  
Feet



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)

## CNIDIA.

(a) DALAĞAN, FROM NORTH. (b) ARCHAIIC GRAVE STELE. (c) TEIR, FROM PROMONTORY. (d) VLADUCT NEAR KUMYER. (e) ARCHAIIC CAPITAL NEAR KARAKÖY. (f) EPIGRAPH FROM TEIR.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

CNIDIA.

(a) CARVING NEAR EMECIK. (b) BRONZE FIGURINE FROM HIZIRŞAIL. (c), (d), (e) STATUETTES FROM KIZILCABAĞ.



(a)



(b)



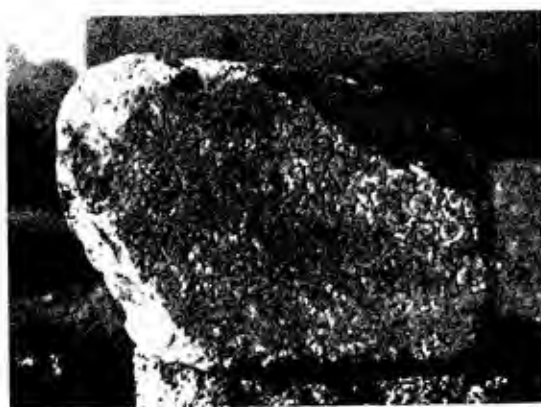
(c)



(d)



(e)

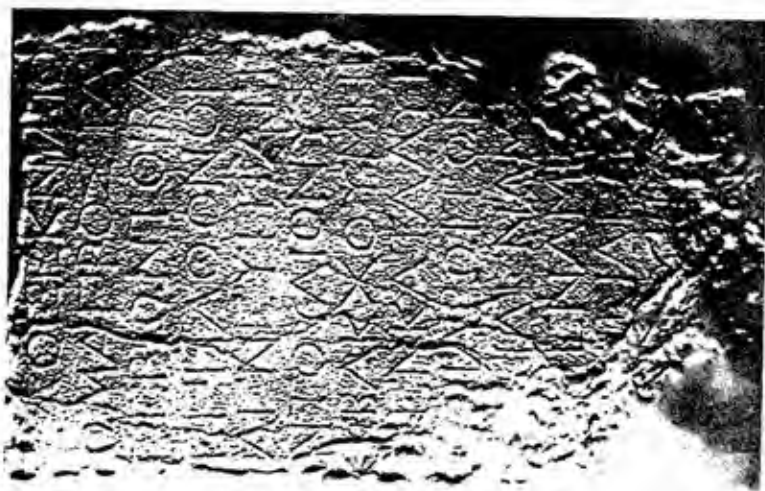


(f)

CNIDIA.

(a) ARCHAIC INSCRIPTION NEAR KUMYER. (b) STELE FROM BURGAZ. (c) RELIEF IN RESADIYE. (d) BOUNDARY MARK NEAR CUMALIKÖY. (e) ARCHAIC STATUETTES IN RESADIYE. (f) INSCRIPTION FROM BURGAZ.





(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



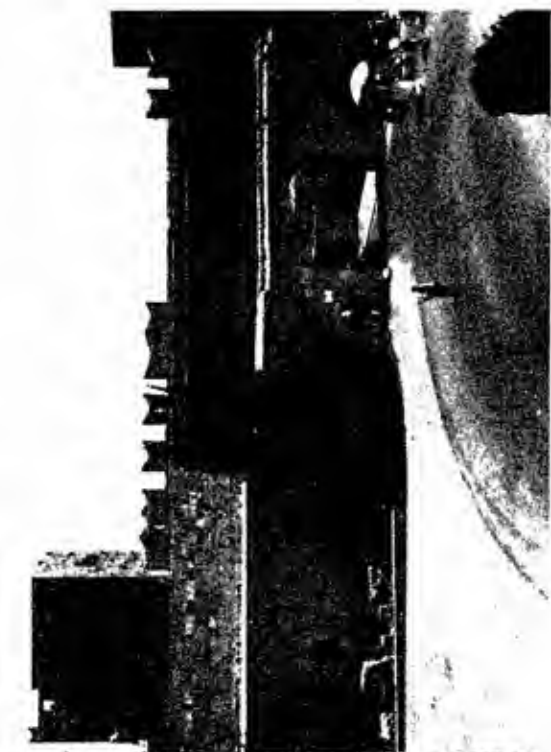
(e)



(f)

## CNIDIA.

a: INSCRIPTION FROM TENIR IN BRITISH MUSEUM (BMI 786; SQUEEZE). (b), (d) GRAVE STELAE FROM BETGE. (c) INSCRIPTION FROM KIZILAN. (e), (f) INSCRIPTIONS FROM TEKIR IN BRITISH MUSEUM, (e) BMI 796; (f) BMI 813 (SQUEEZES).



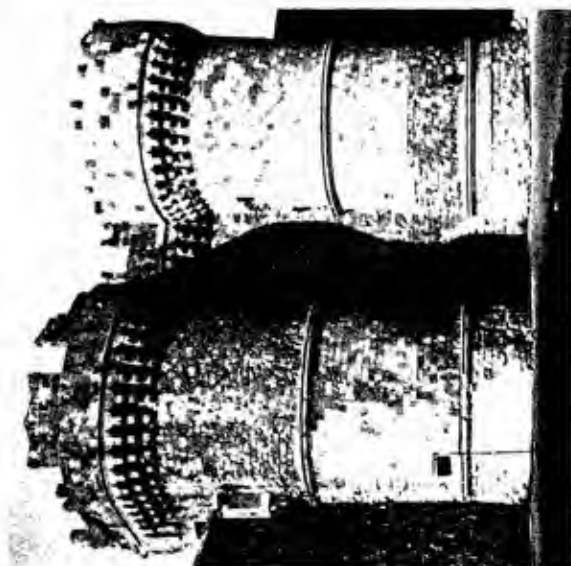
(a)



(b)



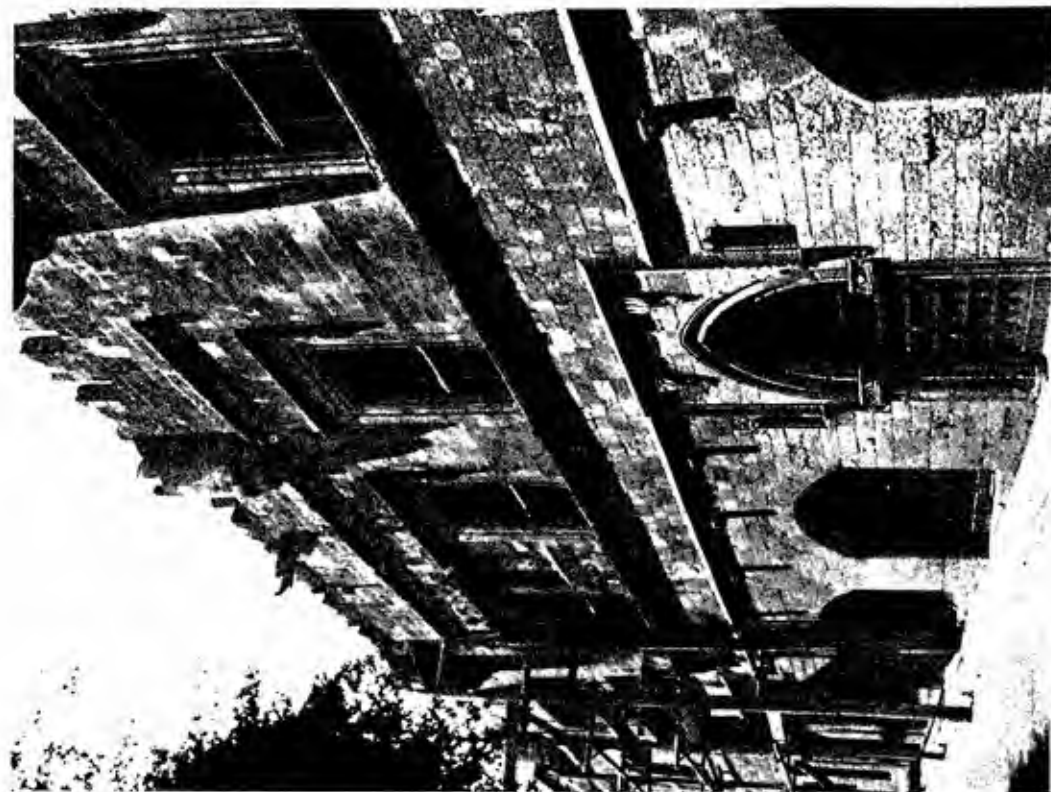
(c)



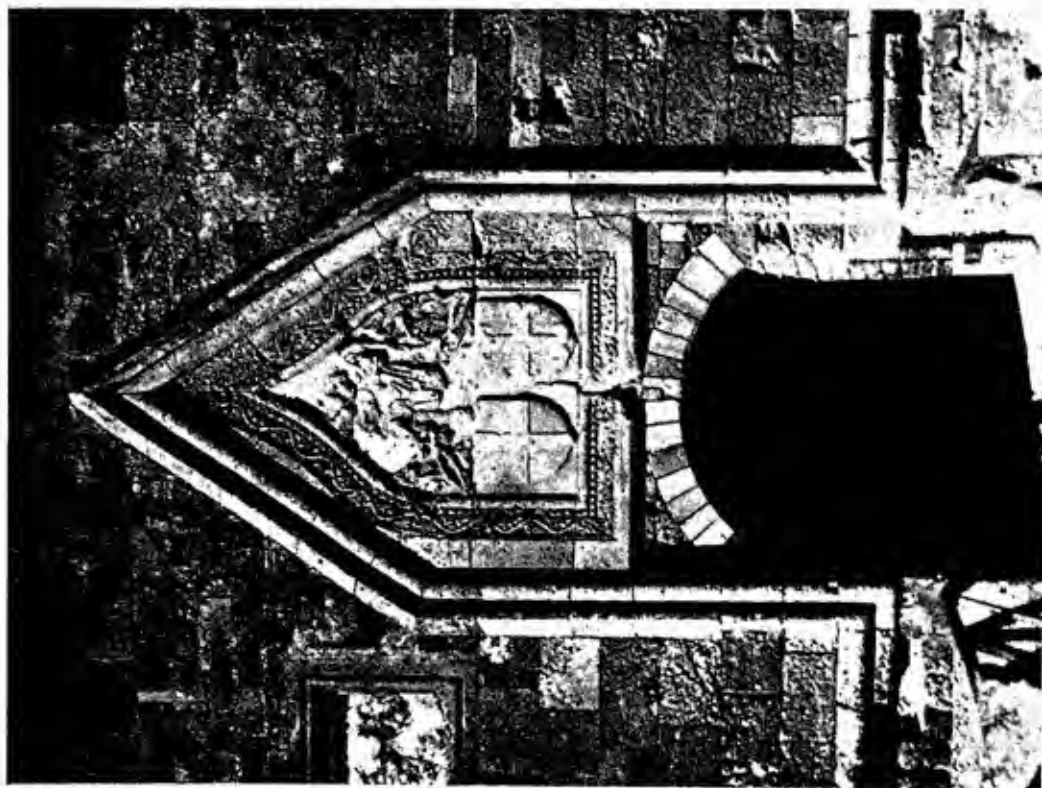
(d)

RHODES.

(a) WALL AND HEREDIA TOWER AS RECENTLY RESTORED. (b), (c) GREAT GATEWAY BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION. (d) HOUSE OF THE TONGUE OF AUVERGNE AS RECENTLY RESTORED.



(b)



(a)

RHODES.

(a) THE GATE OF ST. JOHN AS RESTORED. (b) THE HOUSE OF THE FRENCH TONGUE IN THE STREET OF THE KNIGHTS (UNDER REPAIR).



(a 1)



(a 2)



(a 3)

(a) (1) ANCIENT ATTIC FIGURINE, (2) MODERN DERIVATIVE, AND (3) MODERN MOULD USED TO PRODUCE IT.



(b 1)



(b 2)

(b) (1) TWO SMALL MODERN *PROTOTYPES* FROM MODERN PART-MOULDS (2), DERIVED FROM ANCIENT SEATED FIGURINE (a 1).



(c 1)



(c 2)



(c 3)

(c) MODERN ARCHETYPE (1), FINISHED RELIEF (2) AND MOULD (3).





(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)



(h)

EXAMPLES OF A SINGLE ATTIC TERRACOTTA SERIES FROM THE ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS.



(a)



(b)



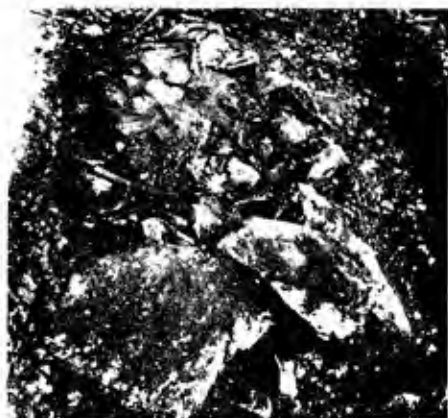
(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)



(c)

ITHAKA, STAVROS, 1937.

(a)-(b) GRAVE I. (c) GRAVE II. (d)-(e) GRAVE IV. (f) GRAVE VII. (g) GRAVE XII.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(c)



(d)



(f)

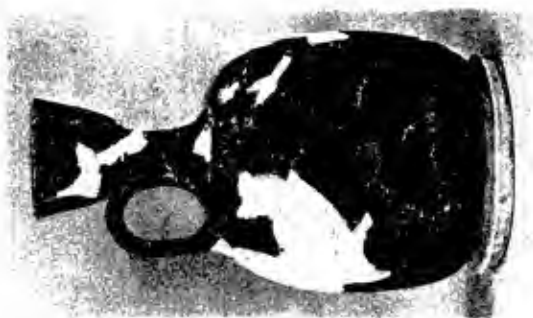
ITHAKA, STAVROS, 1937.

(a) GRAVE I (1). (c. 1:3). (b) GRAVE VII (3). (c. 1:3). (c) GRAVE XIV. (c. 1:3). (d) GRAVE I (2).  
 (c. 1:3). (e) GRAVE IX (13). (c. 1:2). (f) GRAVE V. (c. 3:4).



ITHAKA, STAVROS, 1937. GRAVE IX.





(a)



(b)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)

ITHAKA, STAVROS, 1937.

(a) DESTROYED GRAVES (p. 236), 2, (c. 1:2), (b)-(c) DESTROYED GRAVES, 5 AND 3, (c. 2:3), (d) GRAVE VIII (1), (c. 1:4), (e) POTTERY NOT FROM GRAVES, 12 (EARLY HELLADIC), (c. 3:7), (f) GRAVE XI (1), (c. 1:4), (g) DESTROYED GRAVES, 1, (c. 3:5).



(a)



(b)

KNOSSOS. (a) THE HELMET V (8), SIDE VIEW. (b) THE SWORD II (3) WITH GOLD-PLATED HILT.



(a)

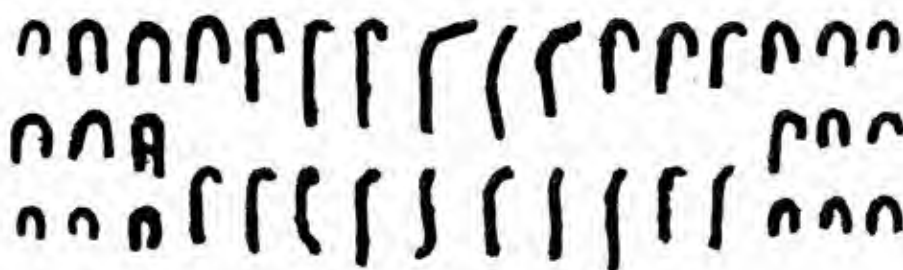


(b)

KNOSSOS. THE HELMET V (81): (a) END VIEW. (b) VIEW FROM ABOVE WITH CHEEK-PIECES AND PLUME KNOB (*top left*) AND LEAD DISC V (8a) (*top right*).



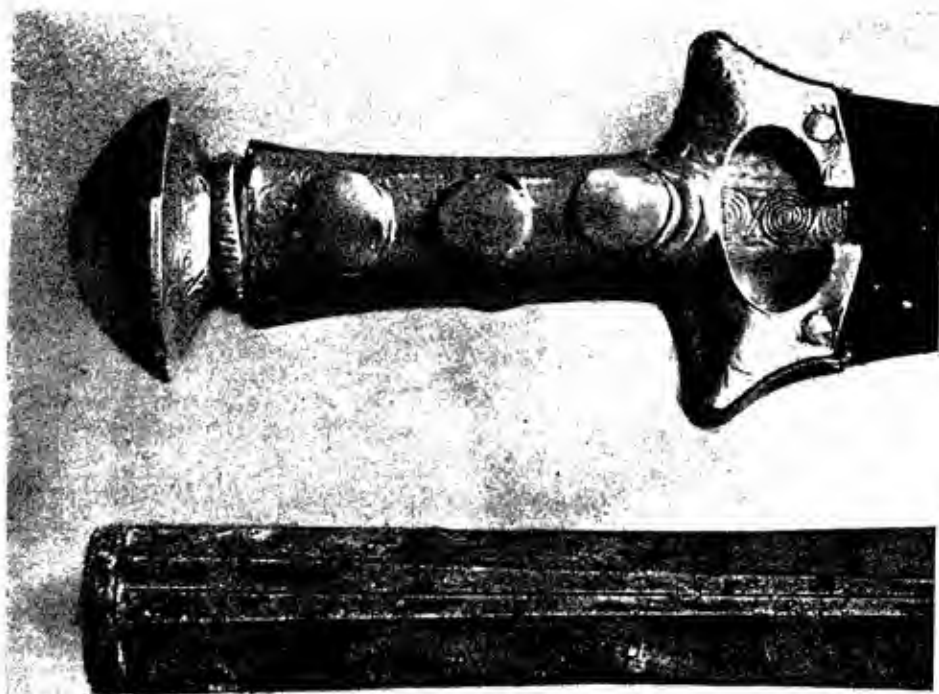
(a)



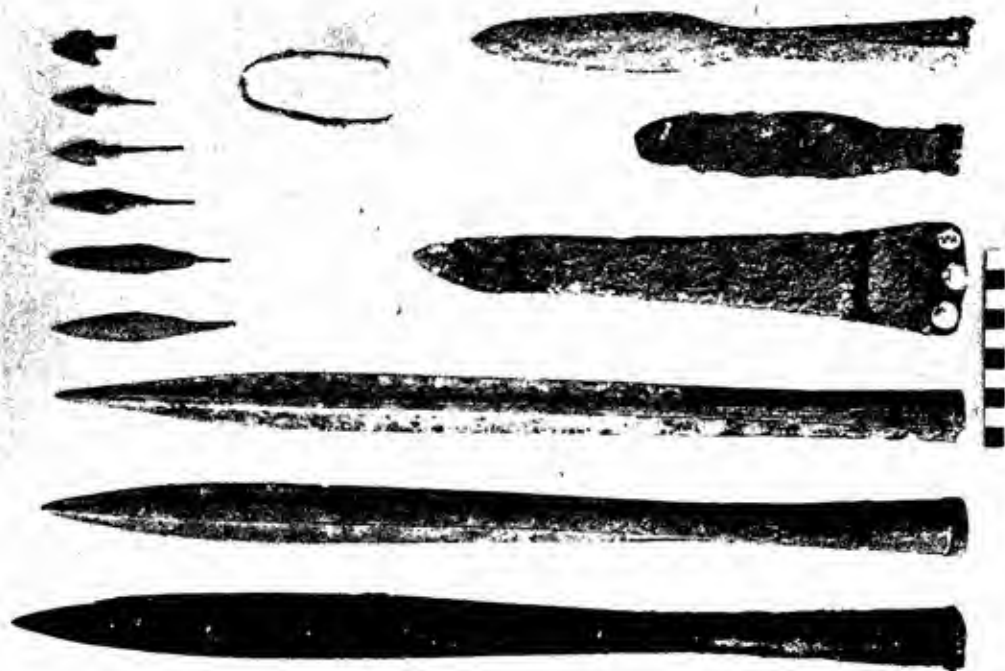
(b)

KNOSSOS. (a) FRAGMENTS OF THE HELMET V (B) BEFORE RECONSTRUCTION (WITHOUT PLUME KNOB OR CHEEK-PIECES). (b) COPPER STAPLES III (16) WITH SCRAPS OF COPPER/BRONZE PLATE III (17) (to left).



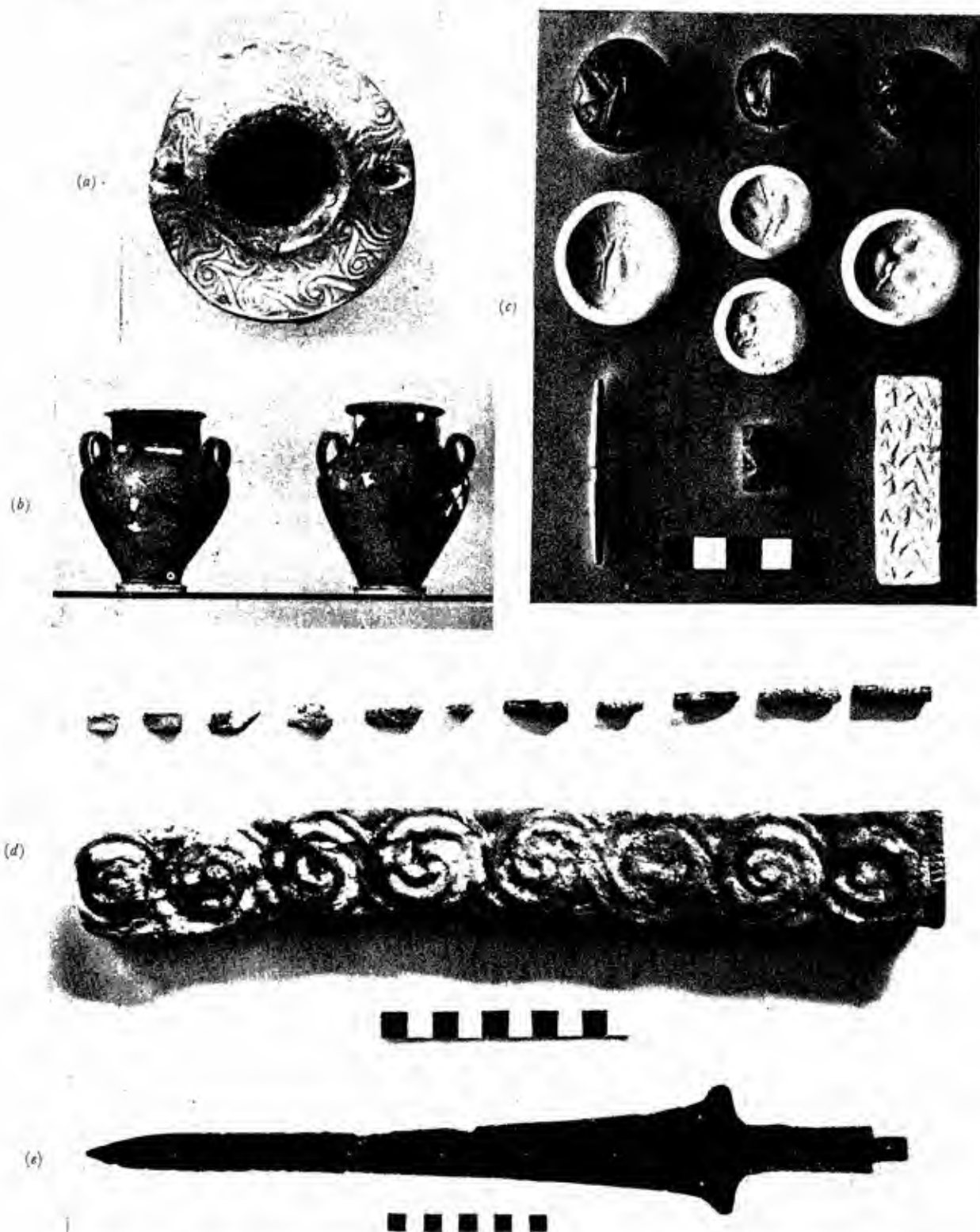


(a)

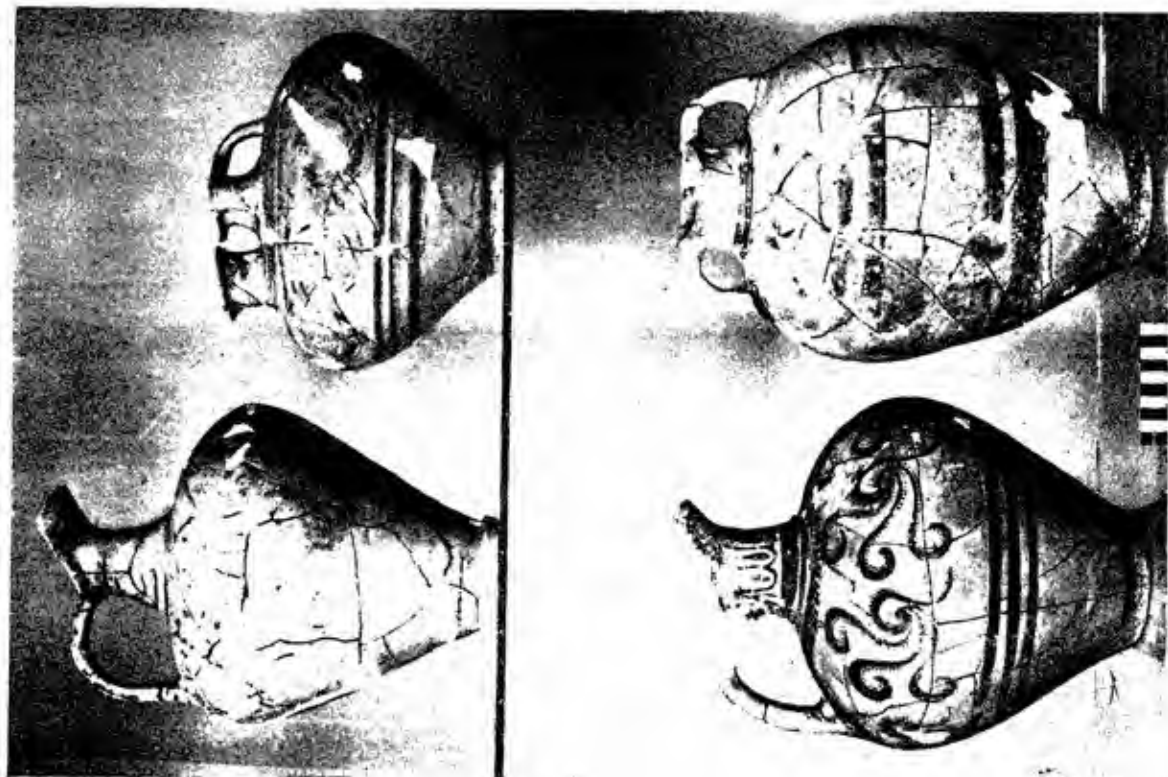


(b)

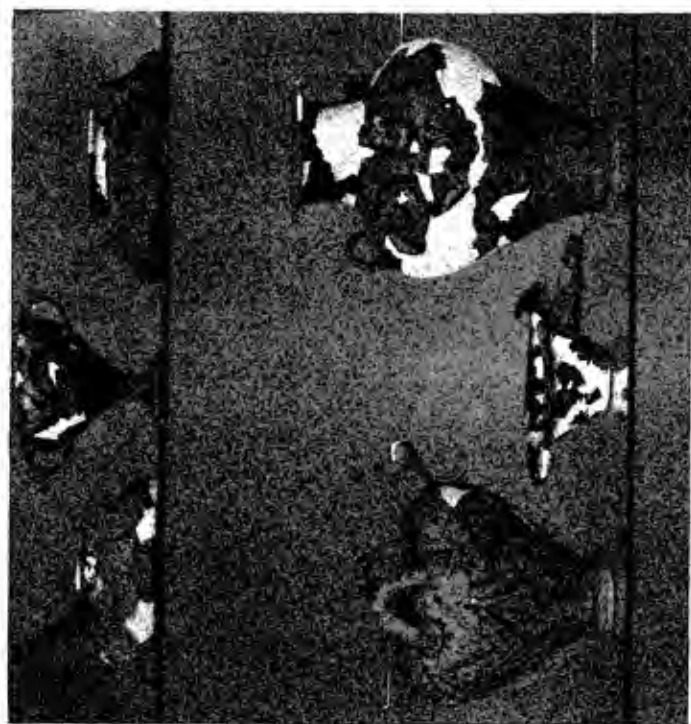
KNOSSOS. (a) HILT OF II (3) AND BUTT OF II (4). (b) BRONZES FROM THE HOSPITAL SITE. *Top left:* ARROW-HEADS III (18a-f), TWEEZERS I (12). *Top right:* SHORT SPEAR-HEAD I (11), RAZOR AND DAGGER III (15) AND (13). *Bottom:* SPEAR-HEADS II (4), III (14), V (7).



KNOSSES. (a) GOLD 'CUP' FOR POMMEL KNOB OF SWORD II (3). (b) VASES FROM TOMB I (7) AND (8). (c) SEALS (left to right) III (20), (22), (21); CYLINDER SEAL (23) (below, centre); GOLD TOGGLE (19) (below, left). (d) IVORY PANEL III (24). (e) THE SWORD\_V (6).



(a)



(b)



(c)

KNOSSOS. VASES FROM (a) TOMB I (3) AND (5) (above) AND III (2) AND (9) (below); (b) TOMB III (8), (1), (7) (above), III (3), (10), (4) (below); (c) TOMB I (2), (9), (1).



(a)




(b)

KNOSSOS. (a) THE 'BIRD' VASE I (6). (b) VASES FROM TOMB V (3), (1), (2) (above); STONE BOWLS FROM TOMB V (5) AND (4) AND VASES FROM TOMB II (1) AND (2) (below).









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